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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

CALENDAR

OF THE

STUART PAPERS

BELONGING TO

HIS MAJESTY THE KING,

PRESERVED AT

WINDSOR CASTLE.

VOL. VI.

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This Report has been prepared and edited, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by Mr. F. H. Blackburne Daniell, M.A. The Index has been compiled by Mr. S. C. Ratcliff, M.A.

INTRODUCTION.

The first part of this volume contains "An Historical Narrative of some remarkable matters concerning King James the Second's succession, Sunderland's contrivances and corruptions, Tyrconnell's getting the government of Ireland, his proceedings there contrary to his Majesty's positive injunctions and his particular malice against Sheridan, together with some passages relating to the public, the King's case and the management of affairs in Saint Germains by the King's ministers Lord Melfort, Lord Middleton and Mr., now Lord, Caryll," written by Thomas Sheridan in 1702 and drawn out of several papers he had written at the times when the several things therein mentioned happened.

The author was a brother of William and Patrick Sheridan, Bishops of Kilmore and Cloyne respectively in the reign of Charles II, but had himself become a Roman Catholic. He was the father of Sir Thomas Sheridan, the preceptor of Charles Edward, who accompanied him to Scotland in 1745 being one of the seven men of Moidart, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the orator and dramatist, was a grandson of his brother, James. He accompanied Tyrconnell to Ireland as Chief Secretary and was First Commissioner of the Revenue there.

This Narrative would have been printed in one of the earlier volumes of the Calendar, had there not then seemed to be some prospect of its being published independently. It is the work continually referred to by Macaulay as the Sheridan Manuscript, on which he principally founds his character of Tyrconnell. Whatever may have been the latter's merits or demerits, it appears throughout the narrative that he and Sheridan were most bitter enemies, a circumstance passed over by Macaulay.

Sheridan sums up Tyrconnell's character in the following words :—"He was a tall, proper, handsome man, but publicly known to be most insolent in prosperity and most abject in adversity, a cunning dissembling courtier, of mean judgment and small understanding, uncertain and unsteady in his resolutions, turning with every wind to bring about his ambitious ends and purposes, on which he was so intent that to compass them he would stick at nothing and so false that a most impudent notorious lie was called at Whitehall and St. James' one of Dick Talbot's ordinary truths." (*p.* 46).

The object of the work is evidently to clear King James as far as possible from blame for the policy pursued in Ireland during his reign and to throw it on Tyrconnell. For instance (*pp.* 16, 22, 23) Sheridan says that the King told Tyrconnell that no man was to be put out of his employment on account of

his religion and that one of his chief injunctions to him was not to disoblige his Protestant subjects. Tyrconnell made great changes not only in the army but in the Privy Council and the judges contrary to his Majesty's express commands at parting confirmed in a letter written with his own hand 15 Feb., 1686–7. The King himself declared to Sheridan that he intended him and the Chancellor, Mr. Fitton, to be a restraint on the violence of Tyrconnell's temper and inclinations (*p.* 16).

The whole of the earlier part of the narrative is full of interest. It describes the intrigues between Sunderland and Tyrconnell for removing Rochester and Clarendon, the offer to Sunderland of 50,000*l.* in money or 5,000*l.* a year in land for getting the Act of Settlement broken, the alleged offer to the Queen for the same purpose of a pearl necklace worth 10,000*l.* left by Prince Rupert to his mistress (*pp.* 19, 38), Tyrconnell's jealousy as one of the new Irish against the old Irish, who were distinguished by the Os and Macs prefixed to their surnames, his plan of making Ireland a separate kingdom under French protection &c.

The latter part contains an account of Sheridan's proceedings in France, to which he retired in January, 1688–9, and particularly of his mission in October, 1695, to the Elector Palatine, who had offered to the exiled King his services and interest with the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Catholic allies.

The rest of the volume consists of a calendar of the papers from 1 March to 30 June, 1718, during which period the most important events were the death of Queen Mary and the King's proposal of marriage to Princess Clementina Sobieska.

Though the Prince de Vaudemont thought he had never seen the Queen looking so well or so lively (*p.* 244), she had felt deeply the dismissal of Mr. Inese (*p.* 289), which he had accepted in the most dutiful and submissive manner (*pp.* 310, 312), yet she did not drive things as far as James had apprehended (*p.* 319). He feared, however, that she might be uneasy with regard to his religion or might apprehend that Mar was influencing him against her and the Catholics (*p.* 175). As late as 24 April she seemed to be in good health (*p.* 367), but on Sunday, 1 May, she got a chill at the church of St. Germains and died at half-past 7 on Saturday morning, the 7th. A minute account of her illness and death was sent by Father Gaillard, her confessor, to the King, which is printed in full *pp.* 416–420, and Countess Molza, her Bedchamber woman for many years, describes how an hour before her death she gave her a small crucifix, which she desired should be sent to her son (*p.* 413). The description of her last night on earth would be sufficient, were it still necessary, to refute the calumny that the King was not really her son. Her last letter in the collection is dated 26 April (*p.* 367) to Lady Nithsdale regretting that the King had not seen his way to

make her a Lady of the Bedchamber when he should marry (*see* his letter, *p.* 151). Some blamed much the physicians who attended her (*p.* 451). On *p.* 436 Dr. Ingleton describes her funeral at Chaillot.

The King had in March (*p.* 175) sent General Dillon a dormant power to him and Mr. Dicconson to be witnesses in case of the Queen's death to the sealing up of her papers and to have them consigned in a proper place till further order. Dillon was empowered to open the King's letters to her except those endorsed: To the Queen alone.

On 27 May the King, being informed that the seal had been placed on the effects and papers of the late Queen by the officers of justice of St. Germains, ordered that it should be removed by the said officers in the presence of the Earl of Middleton, Generals Dillon and Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson and that everything should be left in the hands of the said four persons. The papers were to be placed in locked and sealed boxes, which were to be deposited with the Mother Superior of Chaillot (*p.* 481). By a subsequent order of the next day (*p.* 484) all goods and moveables of the late Queen were to be taken into the custody of the said four persons, all papers on religious matters were to be given to Father Gaillard and all other papers were to be deposited in the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson. Inventories were to be made of them and also of the contents of all her cabinets and boxes, which were to be sealed up and placed in the same hands. The coaches and horses were to be sold, except that three or four coach horses were to be given to General Dillon and two saddle horses to Mr. Nugent, equerry to the late Queen. The Queen's clothes and linen were to be given to the Bedchamber women and the table linen and furniture of the kitchen to Mr. Dicconson, the vestments and other things belonging to her private chapel to Mr. Inese and Dr. Ingleton and her books to the same persons and Father Gaillard. The plate was to be inventoried and sealed up in a box and placed in Sheldon's and Dicconson's hands.

Already in March the Queen's pension was much in arrear (*p.* 75) and was paid very irregularly (*p.* 216), and now by her death it was quite cut off. In June Gordon, the banker, wrote that there was no fund for paying April, May or June, so that a good many were reduced to great straits and Mr. Dicconson gave no great hope of relief, for the Queen's family being 11 months in arrears must be supplied with the first money paid him (*p.* 527). The latter part of the volume is full of letters from distressed servants and pensioners of the late Queen imploring assistance from the King.

Father Gaillard had been asked by the Queen on her death-bed to solicit payment of the arrears of her pension that her servants might be paid (*p.* 420).

The very day of her death M. and Madame de Mezières applied to M. le Duc [de Bourbon] and the Duc de Chaulnes

to use their influence with the Regent for the continuance of her pension (*pp.* 409, 410). The Regent promised to continue the list of St. Germains, to which it was replied that what he intended to give should be given directly to the King, to be distributed by him. The Regent then said that ways must be found to give to the King, but it was not easy because of the treaty with England (*p.* 435). The King wrote himself to the Regent on the 28th (*p.* 488) reminding him of the message he had given him by Mr. Dillon, when he left Avignon, that, in the event which had happened, in addition to the secret pension he then granted him, he would secretly continue the Queen's to him. It was impossible for him without the Regent's assistance to continue to maintain the Queen's old servants and the many officers and persons of quality who had sacrificed everything for him.

Dillon on 11 June (*p.* 515) described his interview with the Regent, when he delivered this letter, who ordered him to assure the King that he would do all in his power for his service, but Dillon was unable to get anything more definite out of him and found that the Regent intended to speak of the matter to the Council of Regency, before giving final orders. The good offices of the Duke of Lorraine with the Regent were offered by him and solicited by the King (*p.* 496).

The Queen, it was reported, by her will bequeathed to the King of France the arrears of her jointure due from England and also her estate in Cambridgeshire, which had been given to Lord Torrington. Lord Stair was informed of the bequest and asked the Regent for a copy of the will to be sent to his master. The Jacobites hoped that this bequest might cause differences between the French and English courts (*pp.* 504, 534).

It had been suggested, while she was still alive, that she should make such an assignment to the Regent (*p.* 83).

By her death the groundless fear prevalent in England of her influencing the King in matters of religion, which had gone so far that some had declared she should never enter the country, was removed (*p.* 425).

The King in his reply to a letter of condolence of the Marquis d'Angeau desired him to present his compliments to Madame de Maintenon, whose kindness to the Queen and himself would never be effaced from his memory. He would have written to her himself, but thought she would prefer his sending them through the Marquis (*p.* 580).

Ormonde could not obey Queen Mary's orders to send to Petersburg for information about the age and character of the Czar's daughter, as two gentlemen, who must have appeared at court to see the person of the Princess, could not have been concealed from the inquiry of the foreign ministers and the court. Sir H. Stirling, however, was visiting his uncle, Dr. Erskine, and Ormonde instructed him to make careful inquiries about the Princess. Ormonde added that she was born before the Czar was married to his present wife and during

the life of his first wife, who was still alive, but that she and the other children born before marriage had been made legitimate (*pp.* 78, 79). The King himself and also Mar suggested that, if the daughter was too young, one of the Czar's nieces might be thought of (*pp.* 174, 191). Ormonde had heard that they were very beautiful young princesses and had very good characters but that there was the same obstacle about them as about the daughter (*p.* 404). On March 3–14, Sir H. Stirling wrote that it was now unnecessary to send a description of the Princess, as the Czar said he could not think any more of the marriage till he saw what prospect there was of a treaty with Sweden (*p.* 147). The King himself was very reluctant to the marriage, if the person was downright a bastard (*p.* 380).

St. Saphorin, the English minister at Vienna, having heard of a projected marriage between the King and the Duchess of Courland, the Czar's niece, urged on the Emperor's ministers that such a marriage, accompanied by a peace between Russia and Sweden to the exclusion of the Elector of Hanover, would be dangerous to the peace of Europe (*pp.* 117, 121). A picture of the Duchess had got into the possession of Menzies and Anne Oglethorpe, who showed it to a great many people, some of quality and some not, as the picture of one of the Czar's nieces, which possessed people so much of a belief that the marriage was concluded that the common health of his friends had been what would have been proper on a public declaration of such a thing. Many knew not from whom or to whom the picture came (*p.* 215). The affair had become so public that it was alluded to in parliament by Lord Sunderland (*pp.* 104, 279).

Wogan continued his tour of inspection in Germany. Following Queen Mary's orders he did not go to see the Princess of Saxony, who was too old. The King's principal object in negotiating about her was to gain time (*pp.* 221, 233). Wogan arrived at Ohlau, Prince James Sobieski's residence, 27 Feb. after a most dreadful journey from Prague. He had been overturned in sledges and swam in chaises and slid down precipices, but, to be well received, he had to get to Ohlau in Carnival time. He introduced himself to his cousin Major O'Reilly, the commander of the town, as intending to go as a volunteer against the Turks and was prevailed on at his request to stay a few days. He found the intended marriage had been talked of for some months and the youngest Princess called our Queen. No pains were taken to conceal the inclinations of the Prince's court to such an alliance nor the correspondence on the subject between Olive Trant and Chateaudoux, a Frenchman in Prince James' service. Wogan described the court and the politics of the family, whose principal aim was the crown of Poland, and then gave an account of the three daughters. The youngest, "the darling of the family by the advantages she has over the others in point of

sense, discretion and evenness of temper, and a very becoming modesty, is about 15, but much of low stature though taller almost by the head than Prince Lewis' daughter, light brown hair, very pretty black eyes and genteel little features with a good shape and a behaviour already as much formed and as becoming as can arise from good education and good sense, very devout and no manner of airs or variety of humour. She has a good mixture of haughtiness in her composition but cunning enough to disguise it. She is healthy but somewhat thin" (*p.* 94). A fuller description of Clementina and one of Charlotte, the second sister, doubtless also by Wogan, will be found on *p.* 389.

While Wogan was at Ohlau, Olive Trant wrote to the King advising him to marry Clementina (*p.* 92).

Wogan was back at Urbino before the end of March (*p.* 221). The King before coming to any decision had to wait for definite answers about the proposed Russian marriage (*p.* 221), and then the Queen's death and his own illness caused further delays, but towards the end of June James Murray was dispatched to Ohlau with formal proposals for the hand of Clementina. The King's letters to her and her father and mother are given on *p.* 573 and on the next page the power to Murray and his instructions.

The great point being secrecy, the King dared not send Wogan back, and the rather that he could not make a better choice than Murray nor one more agreeable to friends in England. Ormonde was conjured to observe the utmost secrecy and mention nothing to anyone but Dillon, on whom he was to impose the same secrecy (*p.* 564).

The King was at Urbino during the period included in this volume. Several allusions occur to his visit in February to Fano during the Carnival and to his enjoyment of the operas there, in which all the women's parts were taken by eunuchs. He had become a great liker of Italian music (*pp.* 101, 136, 141, 150). Tempesti, with Italian vaudevilles, paid visits to Urbino (*pp.* 265, 379) and an oratorio was performed there 6 April (*pp.* 265, 266). Later on a daughter of the Doge of San Marino, who was very pretty and charmed everybody by her singing, made a universal conquest of the court (*pp.* 379, 381, 382). Lucca had been thought of as a residence in lieu of Urbino, but that was found to be impracticable on account of its dependence on the Emperor (*p.* 373).

Mar had long been wishing to visit Rome and set out from Urbino on Monday, 28 March (*p.* 204). That morning the King went early for a day's excursion to the Furlo pass, which is a tunnel made by the Romans to carry the road from Aqualagna through a precipitous cliff in the valley of the Cardigliano. His departure caused great speculation among his followers, some of whom imagined he had left Urbino for good, perhaps for Cadiz or Danzig. These speculations were confounded by the King's return in the evening (*pp.* 221, 235–237, 242).

The King thought these little mysterious journeys from time to time would have a good effect, when it would be a question of leaving for good. He saw that, when the time came, it would not do to let the President of Urbino into the secret, and discovered that the Duke of Parma had an agent at Urbino, who was to send him an express whenever he left for good (*p.* 222). The President's letter set people at Rome a speculating, but the news of the King's return quieted them again and occasioned some laughter at the President (*p.* 242).

Mar was mightily pleased with what he saw at Rome, particularly the remains of Roman greatness (*p.* 264). Cardinal Gualterio wished him to go with him to a Consistory on 6 April, which he declined, but he went privately with Lord Southesk, but he had not been there ten minutes, when he found the eyes of most of the company were on him, so he made his stay very short. At his first visit to St. Peter's he saw but pretended not to see the Duke of Queensberry, who, however, came up to him and Mar told him it was on his account he was unwilling to take notice of him. The Duke thanked him and said they might meet sometimes (*p.* 264). Mar's letters are full of accounts of the buildings, statues, &c. that he saw (*pp.* 278, 309, 318, 333). He spent two days at Frescati and one at Tivoli (*p.* 374). On the 26th he had an interview with the Pope, Stewart of Invernity acting as interpreter. The Pope spoke of Mar's liking architecture and presented him with the Book of St. Peter's. On the Pope's expressing his wish for a restoration Mar ventured to say, he was morally sure that within a twelvemonth it would be in his power to restore the King. The Pope seemed surprised and asked Stewart to repeat it again. His Holiness then said Mar had told him good news, and that nothing depending on him should be wanting. The King notwithstanding had but little hopes of the Pope's giving him money (*p.* 290), but in May promises were made through Cardinal Gualterio, on certain unspecified conditions, which were thankfully accepted (*p.* 391). Cardinal Gualterio approved of what Mar had said to the Pope (*p.* 375). Mar was to leave Rome on 5 May for Urbino, travelling by Caprarola and Perugia (*p.* 388). While at Rome he had his miniature taken by the Abbé Ramelli (*p.* 517) and had some other pictures executed (*pp.* 517, 561). John Alexander, a Scottish artist, sent the King a copy of the Parnassus of Raphael (*p.* 561). Mar had sent to Rome some drawings he had made of a little villa to have drafts of the elevations of the sides made by some good architect (*see* last volume, *p.* 382). When he received them he was much disappointed and declared that the architect had made a goose-pie of his plan worthy of nobody but Vanbrugh (*p.* 162).

Mar ventured to congratulate the King on the improvement of his handwriting and asked him to forgive his saying that his common hand usually required a cipher, a description with which the editor of this calendar fully agrees (*p.* 377).

In May Cardinal Gualterio visited Urbino (*pp.* 401, 403).

The King had been a little indisposed before he received the news of his mother's death (*p.* 467). The illness proved to be a tertian ague (*pp.* 447, 477). Before the end of June he was convalescent, but was much weakened by his illness and the great heat (*pp.* 564, 580).

The Earl Marischal wrote in April to Queen Mary that a man, who said he had been a sergeant under him and was now an upholsterer, told him that he saw in Lord Stair's cabinet a letter signed Sutherland, saying that their only security was in the Chevalier's being dispatched and that Stair should immediately send an envoyé, he said first to Venice and then to Vienna, and that one was sent the previous morning (*p.* 247). It was said that the Jacobites intended to publish Douglas and Macdonald's affair with some others employed to assassinate the Chevalier (*p.* 317). Douglas himself was arrested in April at Paris for coining, but was bailed by Lord Stair (*pp.* 343, 365).

In June several persons were at Bologna, who under pretence of travelling and playing were to pass by Urbino in order to make an attempt on the Chevalier's person. One of them had a book for making the devil appear and for availing oneself of his assistance (*p.* 590).

Uneasiness was felt at Rome by the terms of the King's letter to Dr. Leslie calendared in the last volume, *p.* 244. To appease it he wrote 11 March to Cardinal Gualterio. He had become the mark of certain ambitious and worldly Catholics, while he suffered in the eyes of Protestants by his open profession of his religion. While they had now no hope of his changing his religion, he trusted it might be possible to remove the prejudice against the Catholics. He enclosed a memorial proving that what was said in the letter touching the power of the Keys was to be taken as a quotation and not as a declaration of his personal opinion. Inese had by a mistranslation appropriated the power of the Keys to the King. He had written to England that the sole intention of the letter was to show that his own religion did not hinder him from granting complete protection and favour to the Protestants (*p.* 133). On the 24th the King wrote again to the Cardinal that, if the Pope spoke to him on the subject, he might inform him that his only intention had been to confirm a right, which he could not take away, and which in no wise concerned his own religion nor the Catholic doctrine, and that he had taken measures to prevent the Protestants from taking his letter in a bad sense and would take further measures, if these were not sufficient (*p.* 185). Dr. Ingleton had shared the alarm when he heard apart the sentence that caused the difficulty, but, when he saw the whole letter, he was convinced that in that sentence the King had expressed not his own sense but that of the Protestants (*p.* 361). The opinion of Father Brown, his confessor, is given on *pp.* 608, 609. Dr. Leslie wrote that

the letter had been received with entire satisfaction in England (*p.* 194).

Anne Oglethorpe complained that Lord Orrery's letters pressed too much on the subject of the King's changing his religion, and begged his orders how she was to behave. She could not refuse to forward his letters nor did she venture to tell him she thought it ill-timed on his part (*p.* 260.)

In England a schism had arisen among the Non-jurors, one party proposing alterations in the Liturgy, such as mixing water with the wine in the Communion, praying for the dead &c. Three of their bishops, Spinks, Hawes and Gandy, were against the alterations, four, Collier, Bret, Campbell and Gadderar, in favour of them, but the first three objected to Campbell's and Gadderar's interference in an English Synod as being Scottish bishops. The majority of the clergy in town were in favour of the innovating party, most of the officiating clergy and the majority of the people against them. It was apprehended that this schism might prejudice the King's cause and Lord Pitsligo and George Mackenzie suggested that the King should intervene to unite the two parties, who had now renounced communion with each other (*pp.* 261, 582).

The Duke of Ormonde in reply to the question in the letter to him of 28 Dec. (calendared in the last volume, *p.* 340) whether the King should use his right of nominating a cardinal advised that he should act according to the advice of his servants in England. Lord Oxford thought that nominating an Englishman would enrage England, but would not have him drop the privilege. He asked whether the actual giving might not be suspended till the King could find a proper object, and suggested whether a proper person in France might be found, who could serve the King and fix the Regent to his interests (*pp.* 208, 224).

On 26 March Carbery O'Kelly was appointed on the King's nomination Bishop of Elphin but, for reasons easily understood no mention of the nomination being made in the brief, the Pope declared that the omission should be no prejudice to his right of nomination (*pp.* 167, 196, 223).

Notwithstanding the King's tolerant views complaints were made that Protestant exiles living at St. Omer were not relieved unless they became Roman Catholics. Some, it was said, had complied, while others chose rather to go home at the risk of their lives. One had actually been arrested. Such a story, if true, was likely to ruin the King's interest in England (*pp.* 315, 569).

At the end of February Ormonde was still at Mittau but had heard nothing from Jerningham, who had embarked for Sweden on 15 October. The hopes of the Jacobites were raised by a letter from Charles Cæsar to Mar of 20 Jan. saying he had a letter from his friend, the King of Sweden's agent (*i.e.* Gyllenborg), in which was the following paragraph : My master is now very busy in making up his accounts with one

of his chief creditors, which done, I do not question he will be able to answer all other demands, especially yours (*p.* 127), and on 11 March Ormonde received a letter from Sir H. Stirling, who had gone to his uncle, Dr. Erskine, at Petersburg (*p.* 78), that the treaty between the Czar and the King of Sweden was as good as finished (*p.* 138). But on 3–14 March Sir H. Stirling wrote to Ormonde that he had had a letter from Dr. Erskine's secretary informing him of the Czar's opinion that Ormonde should go to Sweden, since he thought that Jerningham had not taken the proper method to get the King of Sweden to enter into the King's measures or else that the Swedish ministry wanted to have the proposition come from one of greater weight and authority, since all the pressing instances of the Czar have had no effect with the King of Sweden to make him relish the project you know of (*i.e.* the restoration), which the Czar has extremely at heart. "I wish you may soon have advices from Jerningham, which will probably give light into that matter and also free the Czar from his uneasiness at your staying where you are, for he has had letters from England demanding him to remove you or they will look on it as an open breach. Though the Czar has no further regard to this than that he would give as little umbrage as possible, till matters were fully prepared, yet he shows more than ordinary uneasiness to have you gone, which must be attended with several inconveniencies, should it happen before some advices come from Jerningham" (*p.* 147). The Czar's suggestion that Ormonde should go to Sweden was impracticable, for the King of Sweden would not let Jerningham and Sheridan stay there, being very uneasy for fear of their being discovered, and would not consent to any person who belonged to the King coming to Sweden (*p.* 226). A few days later the Swedish Resident at Vienna had heard that the Swedish and Russian plenipotentiaries had left Abo and that the Czar had given way about Reval (*p.* 153). Danzig was suggested as the place for a formal congress (*pp.* 155, 159).

Letters from Jerningham had been received at Urbino on 19 March and both the King and Mar were well satisfied with the results of his negotiation (*pp.* 173, 188). He arrived at the Hague on the 16th (*p.* 161), having come there from Lübeck to find out how affairs stood rather than make a long and expensive journey in the uncertainty in which everything then appeared (*p.* 195).

His chief object was to give Prince Kurakin a true light on the situation of affairs in Sweden with regard both to the Russians and the Jacobites.

"If this had not been done, the Czar would not have had any idea of our having an interest there, which was the first motive that induced him to look our way and, if he should conclude from my return that my expedition had been ineffectual, he would soon change. I prevailed with the Prince to represent these matters in the light he saw them in

to the Czar, and to get the Swedish minister at the Hague to write to his court to assure them of the manner we still employed for their service and that I was going to Petersburg to make the last effort" (*p.* 396). He heard from the Prince that the Czar had sent ministers to Finland to meet Görtz or some other Swedish minister, but that Görtz had desired them to give him a rendezvous somewhere higher up the country. Jerningham conceived this delay to be due to new offers from England (*p.* 195).

On the 24th Mar wrote (*p.* 191) to Dr. Erskine that the King had received through Jerningham an answer from the King of Sweden, who showed inclination enough to serve him, but said plainly it was not in his power, till he had settled with the Czar. If that failed, he must make up with his other enemies, especially King George, but, if the Czar and he could agree and if the Czar would enter into measures with him for serving the King, he would do it with all his heart.

Sir H. Paterson in April (*p.* 316) requested the Swedish minister at the Hague to send information of the present state of England through Poniatowski, who was going to Sweden, showing that only a small assistance would be required. This the minister agreed to and said the only thing the King of Sweden wanted to make a descent secure was men for the ships, for he had eight good men of-war at Gottenburg, and plenty of transports (*p.* 316).

In April there was a report in Paris that the King was actually embarked with the King of Sweden, having gone incognito through Germany (*p.* 342). According to another version the King of Sweden had landed in Scotland (*p.* 364). At Vienna there was a report that the King had parted for Livonia to marry the Duchess of Courland (*p.* 378).

On 29 March Thomas Sheridan, who had been with Jerningham in Sweden, arrived at Mittau with a letter from him to Ormonde about the King of Sweden's resolution to the same effect as Mar's letter to Dr. Erskine of 24 March above cited. Ormonde wrote to Sir H. Stirling that he might acquaint Dr. Erskine with the contents of the letter, and, if there was no likelihood of an agreement between the Czar and the King of Sweden, requested that passports might be sent to him and his company for their return (*p.* 226).

News coming to Holland that Görtz was to have set out for Finland on 10 March, but was kept back on account of M. Fabrice arriving with proposals from England, which proved however unacceptable, as the Elector of Hanover was resolved to keep Bremen and Verden, Jerningham resolved to join Ormonde without delay (*p.* 217) and started from Amsterdam on 3 April (*p.* 254). Prince Kurakin told him that, unless the King of Sweden would give up Livonia, nothing would be done. Jerningham said nothing, knowing how the King of Sweden and his ministry pushed that matter much more earnestly

than Görtz, who, having distant views, would give up that or almost anything to finish affairs with the Czar, thinking that on his death whatever they gave up now would easily come back again (*p.* 217).

On the receipt of Jerningham's letter of 13 Feb. from Lübeck Dillon had written to him by Queen Mary's orders to go straight to Ormonde but, on hearing he was in Holland, Dillon wrote that she was of opinion he should remain there until he had certain accounts of the meeting of the representatives of the Czar and the King of Sweden (*p.* 249). These last orders, however, were too late to stop Jerningham. He arrived at Mittau on 23 April (*p.* 362).

The greatest obstacle to peace between Sweden and Russia arising from the King of Sweden's insisting on the restoration of Livonia, while the Czar had set his heart on keeping Reval, where he had expended a great deal of money in improving the harbour, Ormonde by orders from Queen Mary (*p.* 76) wrote to Sir H. Stirling on 3 April, to ask Dr. Erskine, if he thought it proper, to make an offer to the Czar from the King of 200,000*l.* to be paid three months after his restoration as an equivalent for what he should give up to the King of Sweden (*p.* 247). It was also proposed that the King should offer his good offices as a mediator between the Czar and the King of Sweden (*pp.* 255, 313). Ormonde much doubted that the offer of the money would be accepted. Sir H. Stirling wrote on 11 April, n.s., that Dr. Erskine had not hitherto had an opportunity of acquainting the Czar with the proposal (*p.* 341).

Passports for Ormonde were sent from Petersburg on 2 May (*p.* 396) and were received at Mittau on the 7th (*p.* 414) and Ormonde set out on the 13th by way of Prussia (*p.* 432) and arrived at Metz on 9 June (*p.* 514) and was in or near Paris by the 20th (*p.* 565), where he lived very privately till his departure for Spain the following November. Sir H. Stirling wrote that Ormonde's removal could be attended by no bad effect, for he could not be received in Sweden till matters were adjusted and then he would be more useful elsewhere and that the Czar had advised it, not ordered it, not from any good will to the Elector of Hanover or coolness to the King but only to remove all suspicion, in order that in case of peace the other affair might be the better carried on (*p.* 465). Stirling thought it next to an impossibility that Jerningham's schemes should take effect, for, if the King of Sweden insisted on the restitution of Reval and Viburg, he might as well demand Petersburg, and yet Jerningham talked of this as a thing he wondered the Czar could refuse (*p.* 465).

Jerningham was at Petersburg before the end of May; where he was informed that negotiations were actually going on in Aland. He found Dr. Erskine ill and not to be seen, so he gave in writing the heads of his business to be communicated to the Czar that he might know how far he would assist, if affairs came to an agreement, but Dr. Erskine found the Czar

so much out of humour that he thought it not a fit time to mention them. Jerningham had desired Dr. Erskine to acquaint the Czar that the King's motive for sending him was purely that the Czar might be informed of the true situation and temper of Sweden from the person whom the King had sent thither, desiring that he would appoint one of his ministers to hear what he had to communicate. He did this that the business might come before the Vice-Chancellor, Schapiroff, without whom it was vain to expect to do anything. Unfortunately the Vice-Chancellor hated Dr. Erskine implacably, which made it impossible for Dr. Erskine to keep any correspondence with him, and therefore all their affairs had in some measure been kept a secret from him. All Jerningham could do, if Dr. Erskine found it not expedient to open his commission to the Czar, was to seek some other to petition that he might lay his business before the said minister, for, if Dr. Erskine did this during the negotiations and things should not agree to their reports afterwards, he would risk losing his head, which necessarily made him very circumspect (*pp.* 495, 506).

In June through an acquaintance, who was courting the Vice-Chancellor's daughter, he obtained a meeting with the Vice-Chancellor (*p.* 524). He wrote on the 24th that the Vice-Chancellor had spoken to the Czar on each point he had recommended to him. "The Czar was well pleased with my errand and bids me assure the King that he would assist the King of Sweden with anything for that purpose after the agreement, and that I might correspond with Görtz, only requiring that they might read my letter before they forwarded it. You will see by the copy of it how I have pushed the main question, and made Görtz those offers, which the Czar approved I should do, viz., of his willingness to assist in that affair after the treaty and I begged that the Czar would empower one of his ministers to make Görtz the same declaration and I am since informed that Osterman had orders sent him to mention the same to Görtz" (*pp.* 571, 582).

Ormonde frequently complained of Dr. Erskine's laziness and delay in answering his letters (*pp.* 78, 80), going so far as to say never was there such a brute as our trusty Dr. Erskine. His silence was probably due partly to the illness (*pp.* 495, 506), of which he died before the end of the year, but more so from his own precarious position at the court (*pp.* 506, 507).

The Czar was embarrassed by a dangerous conspiracy in Russia (*p.* 86). His eldest son, Alexis, was compelled to renounce his rights to the crown (*p.* 201). This news was unfavourably received at Vienna, that Prince being brother-in-law of the Emperor (*p.* 230). The Emperor contradicted the Czar's statement that the Prince had been induced to return to Russia by his advice and even by his threats, whereas he had left the matter entirely

to his own decision (*p.* 499). The tragic story and death of Alexis is well known.

As to Jacobite hopes from Spain, *Nondum advenit plenitudo temporis*, as Alberoni had oracularly observed (*p.* 175). Fanny Oglethorpe in April suggested the employment of a person who was in secret correspondence with a person in Spain, who could influence the Queen and Alberoni, but, as he was not employed, it does not appear who he was (*p.* 270).

In May memorials were sent by the King to the King of Spain representing the present condition of England. The trade with Spain was so considerable that all the merchants, particularly the South Sea Company, were extremely alarmed at the first prospect of a misunderstanding with Spain and remonstrated on a fleet being sent to the Mediterranean. They were told their fears were groundless, that the fleet was for maintaining the peace and that the difference between the Emperor and the King of Spain would soon receive a determination, which would be supported by France and England. Coin, particularly silver, was very scarce in England, the balance of trade with most countries being against England, and great sums being remitted abroad to pay the interest on investments by foreigners in the public funds. Should there be a war, the funds would fall at least 20 per cent. and everyone would desire to realise and, should there be a declaration by Spain of an intention to serve the King, all public securities would be no better than waste paper (*p.* 442). The Elector of Hanover had undertaken to support the Emperor in consideration of his promising to maintain him in the possession of his new dominions in Germany and, if the King of Spain persisted in his Italian enterprise, the English ministry would without doubt send a fleet against him to the Mediterranean, on which a war would inevitably ensue. As the war was to be carried on entirely in defence of a German cause, it was submitted whether it might not be proper for the King of Spain to make a distinction between the King and the people of England and the present German government there. The danger was also represented of the German troops in Italy being ordered to seize the King, and he therefore requested the King of Spain to allow him a retreat in some part of his dominions (*p.* 461).

Capt. Camocke in conjunction with Charles Pye suggested that the King should offer a pardon to the pirates in the West Indies, who had several ships and were in possession of one of the Bahamas, and should send them a person, who had been in the Royal Navy, with a commission as Captain General with instructions to reduce the Bermudas, by which the West India and Guinea trade might be destroyed. Camocke further offered, if he was thought fit to undertake this great work, with the assistance of friends in England to purchase a 50 gun ship at Cadiz (*p.* 213).

Another project of Camocke's was to attempt to win over some of the officers and seamen in the fleet that was to be sent

to the Mediterranean against Spain. He declared that he had influence on Sir G. Byng, the admiral, and many of his chief people, and that he was well known to the inferior officers and seamen (*pp.* 302, 525). A translation of Camocke's memorial was sent on 3 May to Cardinal Aquaviva giving full particulars of the plan (*p.* 397) and private instructions were sent to Camocke for carrying out the design (*p.* 500).

Camocke himself had received the King's permission through Queen Mary to serve the King of Spain as Rear-Admiral (*p.* 432). He arrived in Barcelona on 25 May and hoisted his flag on the 29th as Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Barcelona squadron (*p.* 490). He described the splendidly equipped expedition that was to sail for Italy in ten days, which actually sailed 18 June (*p.* 585). News arrived at Bologna on 28 June of its arrival at Vado, near Genoa (*p.* 589).

On the motion in the House of Lords for going into committee on the Mutiny Bill on Feb. 20—March 3 Lord Trevor's instruction that the punishment of death should be taken out of the Bill was rejected by a majority of 14. The Prince of Wales having been threatened by the Jacobites that, if he deserted them, they would leave him to the resentment of the King's friends, came to the House, it was said by Argyle's advice against that of Walpole and Townshend, but went away about 4, which discouraged and offended his party highly. Lord Sunderland among other reasons for maintaining the army declared that the Pretender's ministers were received at several courts, that some had openly espoused his cause and that he had negotiated a marriage with a certain Northern princess (*pp.* 83, 85, 104, 106).

The bill for appointing Commissioners for the forfeited estates in Scotland was also carried. It was remarked that three Scottish members, who had voted in favour of the petition of the wives and widows on forfeited estates in England for empowering the King to grant their jointures &c. to their children after their decease, when the same thing came before the House in favour of the Scottish wives and widows, voted against it and it was consequently rejected (*p.* 106). It was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of 6 or 7 (*pp.* 164, 257). Sir D. Dalrymple declared that the Lords of Session might now shut up their doors (*p.* 164).

About 400 merchants petitioned the House of Commons to consider the trade with Sweden, since Holland had a free trade there and the King had promised they should enjoy the same privilege as soon as the Dutch. A proclamation was promised that would render that easy to them, but, when it came out, it gave liberty of trading in iron to all ports except those in the King of Sweden's dominions, so that the merchants were much exasperated to see that trade closer shut up from the English and given over to the Dutch. They renewed their petition, which the Court vigorously opposed, but they obtained a good part of their desires. Particulars of the

trade had been furnished by Sir H. Paterson, which were put in order by Menzies and supplied to the merchants, whom he and Lord Oxford had prompted. It was suggested that the King of Sweden should be informed, that he might see that his friends were not unmindful of his interests (*pp.* 105–107).

An address was moved for an account of the losses lately sustained by the privateers in the West Indies, of what orders and ships had been sent to suppress them and of what might be further necessary. As the usual forces for the year had been voted, it was considered that this was perplexing and might cause the Baltic and Mediterranean squadrons to be diminished (*p.* 105).

Menzies summed up in a few words what the English Jacobites were worth. "You have had," he wrote to Mar, "and have and will have fine stories of fine persons and things for your service. I could tell you of all those persons and ten thousand more and it signifies not one straw to your service. Intriguing and talking and drinking will just do as much, as you had experience. When you bring the effects, you will have more friends than you can manage and till then all Mrs. Cann's (the Church of England's) fine doings will end in a can" (*p.* 345).

The Duke of Shrewsbury died the beginning of February (*p.* 110). Marquis Paleotti, his widow's brother, was hanged at Tyburn for murdering his servant (*pp.* 228, 249).

A letter from Inese enclosing an extract from Mr. Dicconson's accounts showed that Menzies had remitted to Paris 1,000*l.* more than Mar had supposed and cleared him from the suspicions mentioned in the last volume (*pp.* 145, 146). Menzies on March 30—April 10 explained how he had remitted the money (*p.* 293) and complained of the Bishop of Rochester's objecting that he had not told him before giving Gyllenborg the money and gave his reasons for not doing so.

The English Jacobites were hopeful that the Regent might assist the King and suggested that advantage might be taken of the Duke of Lorraine's visit to Paris to approach him and discover what might be expected from him (*p.* 85). Lord Orrery suggested that some one should be sent to represent to him the condition of affairs in England (*p.* 165). Dillon, however, wrote that neither the Regent nor his ministers would hearken to any proposal that could draw the least appearance of war on them or interrupt the tranquillity they expected through King George's mediation with the Emperor to induce the latter to acknowledge the King of Spain and renounce all pretensions to his possessions. If these expectations should fail, then the King might reasonably hope for succour from both the Regent and Spain and Dillon hoped that the King would employ his friends at Rome to learn the Emperor's resolution as soon as possible. Dillon had not yet informed

friends in England of the little hopes there were of the Regent's serving the King for fear of discouraging them (*p.* 111).

In March Lord Oxford wrote to the King and Mar that the King's interest daily increased in England and that of King George dwindled. Many were afraid to come in on account of their former actions. Oxford suggested that assurances of pardon should be sent. He represented the difficulties about collecting money, though he would do his utmost in that and everything else (*pp.* 207, 223). In later letters he approved of the dismissal of Inese and repeated what he had said about the collection of money. He stated that there had never been the least intercourse between him and Menzies, but that he was very honest and zealous for the cause, though peevish (*pp.* 267, 268).

Menzies also considered that the collection of money would be very difficult, if not quite impracticable. Everyone shrugged up their shoulders at the risk, and he saw no appearance of any quantity. He asked what the Bishop of Rochester said, who undertook so fairly (*p.* 299).

It was mentioned in the last volume that, in view of Dillon's being obliged to leave Paris, it was intended that James Murray should come over and undertake part of his business. On receiving the King's commands he took leave of the Bishop of Rochester on 31 March—April 11. He thought it necessary to communicate his design to Lord Hay, Sir W. Wyndham and Mr. Shippen, who all considered that his going would be of the utmost disadvantage to the King's affairs for the reasons given at length on *p.* 305. He therefore determined to delay his departure till he had consulted the Bishop of Rochester, whose directions he would follow. Apparently the Bishop advised his going, for he set out on April 7–18. He made but a short stay in Paris leaving on the 25th (*p.* 368) for Urbino. In June as already mentioned he was sent to Ohlau to negotiate the marriage with Princess Clementina.

Lord Oxford expressed a guarded opinion of James Murray (*pp.* 267, 268), but his mistress, Anne Oglethorpe, quarrelled violently with him (*p.* 286) and he treated Menzies very cavalierly (*pp.* 345, 346). On the other hand Mar was warned against Anne Oglethorpe's influence with Lord Oxford and that she would see everything written to him. It was suggested that anything of moment to be communicated to Lord Oxford should be written on a separate piece of paper enclosed (*pp.* 325, 326, 327).

The Bishop of Rochester did not answer the King's letter of 7 January (calendared in the last volume, *p.* 370) till June 14–25, in which he declared that he had nothing at heart but the service of the cause and would do all in his power to extinguish jealousies and would never do anything to raise them (printed in the *Stuart Papers*, *p.* 22).

On the other hand Menzies wrote on 30 March—10 April (*p.* 291) that they were all in great harmony till reports came

from the other side of differences and divisions, that Mar was engrossing everything and that there was a design to diminish Ormonde's interest, which extremely alarmed the Bishop and soon some others. He complained that there was such a design, that Lord Oxford was at the bottom of it, and that Mar was his friend. Menzies defended Mar and assured the Bishop that he was incapable of such a design and that he and Ormonde went hand in hand together. The Bishop would be soothed for a few days but then the fit would return. He would declare that men of Scotland, which he mortally hated, were always addicted to their own countrymen. So bizarre was his temper that his most intimate friends either laughed at him or lamented for him. With very quick parts and a great deal of learning he had a peculiar restlessness of temper, which, in all situations in which he has been, had proved so troublesome that no man in England had more inveterate enemies, even on the side of which he was thought to be. Several of his own colleagues would long ago have gone over to the Jacobite side, but that they could not bear the thought of being yoked with him in any thing. Menzies notwithstanding advised he should be continued in employment and caressed. His ungovernable passions would do more hurt, were he slighted.

There was a current report that the Bishop was resolved to break the neck of the Scotch interest, as he called it, in which interest Lord Oxford was included, and that Dillon had declared himself freely on that head. though it was necessary for the present to keep measures with Mar (*pp.* 325, 329).

Dillon however declared that he would endeavour to deserve the continuance of the confidence the King and Mar had in him and that he had lately written so amply to the King that it could be no fault of his if any distrust remained on either side (*p.* 322).

Lord Oxford and Lord Arran, Ormonde's brother, were in perfect harmony (*p.* 533).

On the other hand a party in Paris said to be headed by the Earl Marischal, Brigadier Hooke, General Hamilton and Robert Leslie was reported to be doing all they could to ruin Mar and to have sent an express to the King with their grievances. Some believed Lord Middleton was at the bottom of it. It was stated by Malcolm of Grange that Hooke had in 1708 carried proposals from the King of France to the Duke of Hamilton that there should be an entire separation between England and Scotland, that the Duke should be King of the latter country and that the old friendship between it and France should be renewed (*pp.* 427, 471, 491, 548, 581).

Negotiations continued with the brothers, Argyle and Ilay. On 10 March a warrant for a patent was signed by the King creating the latter a baron and earl of England, the titles not being specified (*p.* 132). The reasons for not granting him a dukedom are given on *p.* 131. To ensure secrecy the warrant

was written in Mar's own hand and was sent to Fanny Oglethorpe to be kept by her brother-in-law with the pardon granted the previous June (*Vol. IV*, *p.* 369). A copy in cipher was to be sent to Ilay. This Fanny Oglethorpe thought would be unsafe, but she would write to inform him in the terms she mentioned (*p.* 227).

James Murray and Lord Orrery thought that Mar might depend on the good disposition of the brothers. Ilay had spoken to Orrery more frankly than ever and thought he had more than ordinary reason to detach himself from King George and his son, but feared lest more assistance should be expected from him than was consistent with his own security or indeed necessary (*pp.* 164, 166). Orrery believed that his uneasiness proceeded from James Murray's way of talking to him and suggested that he should be authorized to tell the brothers (or indeed any other he should think proper) that they might promote the trade in their own way and that the King would gratefully acknowledge their services in whatever way they might choose to serve him. Similar reports of the brothers being in the King's interest had reached Paris, which Dillon endeavoured to suppress as much as he could (*p.* 211).

On March 28—April 8 Lockhart of Carnwath replied to Mar's letter of 4 Jan. (calendared in *Vol. V*, *p.* 366) fearing that there was less reason than ever to expect anything from the brothers. He was under the greatest personal obligations to them especially for their services after the rebellion, when but for them he had well nigh perished. They had proposed to him last summer, when they thought there would be a dissolution in the winter, that he should stand for his old constituency, offering him their support (*pp.* 274–276).

In June Lockhart wrote to the King (*p.* 535) detailing a conversation with Col. John Middleton, a particular friend of the brothers, about the way they had been treated by King George and suggesting they should join with the King, and also one with another friend named Campbell, who confirmed what Middleton had said and who was very hopeful, if right measures were taken, and concluded that, when Ilay came to Edinburgh, Lockhart should put the question fairly to him. Lockhart asked the King to consider how far it might be proper for him to write to a person he could trust and who would be acceptable to the other side, empowering him to invite the brothers to join him and to assure them of his good intentions towards them and that none but the person entrusted with the commission knew anything of it. Lockhart had imparted the contents of his letter only to the Bishop of Edinburgh and Capt. Straiton and, as the affair required the greatest dexterity and secrecy, he had communicated it directly to the King.

Capt. Straiton, in enclosing this letter to Mar, said that Lockhart desired him to apologize for not writing to him.

His reason was that he might be able to say to the brothers that he had written to nobody but the King on the subject (*p.* 554).

A further account of these transactions is given by Lockhart (*Lockhart Papers, Vol. II, pp.* 12–17) where he charges Mar with having intercepted his letter to the King and with having answered it only in a postscript to a letter to Capt. Straiton.

Glendarule on 29 April (*p.* 386) wrote that he heard that Argyle had been at much pains to make himself acceptable among the King's friends, which he thought no good symptom of his sincerity, having no permission for it nor any direct correspondence with the King. He suggested that the King should take the first opportunity of re-assuming the hereditary jurisdiction possessed by Argyle and his family.

In April Ilay desired Fanny Oglethorpe to come over to see him, but M. de Mezières advised her to answer that, not knowing the situation of affairs so as to be able to give him an account of anything, she does not do what he desires, but that she had written Mar word of it, but that, if he has anything to say for himself, she would come over immediately (*p.* 342).

Walkinshaw of Barrowfield wrote (*p.* 422) to Col. Middleton asking him to meet him at Dieppe. His design was to know how the two brothers resented the treatment they met with. Middleton replied, declining an interview but representing that they wished well to the King and would take their own way (*p.* 423).

Ilay was in much trouble with his wife and had been forced to give 18,000*l.* bail to commit no violence against her. She was pursuing him for a separate maintenance. Fanny Oglethorpe's advice was that he should make up with her (*p.* 227).

Negotiations took place between Argyle and Lord Breadalbane for the purchase of the estate of the latter in Scotland (*p.* 277), but they ended in nothing (*p.* 538).

On Feb. 25—March 8, Capt. Straiton wrote (*p.* 259) that friends in Scotland were by no means discouraged and were ready to help as far as their small stock would go and that the Clans were very frank, some who had not on the late occasion done as well as was expected being anxious for an opportunity to retrieve their mistake. When the King should make a descent on England or Scotland, some horses as well as men would be required and also plenty of arms and ammunition.

Capt. Straiton had applied to those mentioned in Mar's letter of 3 Jan., but had not yet received a farthing on account of the proposed collection of money. However, he would continue to use his best endeavours (*p.* 353). It was apprehended that the Highlanders would be in great want of bread in summer and Capt. Straiton and Sir J. Erskine were in a project to get them supplied (*pp.* 355, 371). The crop was bad last year and most of their cattle died.

The Act already alluded to about the forfeited estates empowered the Commissioners to turn out the factors appointed by the Lords of Session and to put the estates immediately to sale and cut off personal creditors. Some hoped no purchasers would be found but others thought there would, and some talked of the London Companies buying them as they did the Irish forfeitures (*p.* 250).

It was said that orders had been sent to Scotland to try all those concerned in the late rebellion, who had returned to prevent the Act about prescription taking effect (*p.* 257).

The mention of Lord Dunfermline (*p.* 555) is puzzling, all peerages stating that the title became extinct on the death of the fourth earl in 1694. The name is quite distinctly written. Perhaps the title was assumed by some relative of the last lord, who was recognized by the King.

Early in May Father Calanan or Callaghan delivered to the King at Urbino a paper drawn by Robert Leslie stating that he had been assured that gentlemen of interest in the North of Ireland would join the Jacobites and that Enniskillen, Derry, Charlemont and Carrickfergus would be seized. The proposer desired to know whether the project was acceptable, that he might have all things ready for an insurrection the moment his Majesty arrived in either of his kingdoms. Leslie requested that neither Mar, Nairne, or any one else at Urbino should be privy to the project except Wogan, who was in Leslie's confidence. The King considered it the greatest impertinence in Leslie to lay down rules for his master, and declared that any proposition of importance could not be kept from Ormonde, Mar and Dillon. The proposal itself he thought was very good, but so general and unexplained in all particulars that he must send it to Dillon and act according to the information he should receive from him (*pp.* 406–408). From letters in the next volume (*pp.* 86, 154) it appears that this scheme was only Leslie's own thoughts.

The Duke and Duchess of Lorraine travelling as the Comte and Comtesse de Blamont visited Paris in March and were very popular there (*p.* 244). At a great feast given them by the Duchesse de Berri the ambassadors of England, Portugal and Sicily were placed at the second table, which they resented and walked off. The Regent sent them great excuses and laid the blame on the Master of the Ceremonies, who was sent to the Bastille (*p.* 118), but Lord Stair was extremely angry, while the ambassadors not invited were piqued (*p.* 119).

In March Dillon noted the great and increasing influence of the Abbé Dubois on the Regent, which was entirely used in favour of King George. Some of the most distinguished of his advisers did not doubt that, if they could get Dubois removed, they would be able to convince the Regent that his true interest and that of France was to support the Kings of Spain and Sicily and the Italian princes against the Emperor. Dillon had sent warnings to England against trusting Dubois

(*p.* 196). Law was a fast friend of Dubois, who had lately obtained his pardon from King George, and the Regent's chief people complained that they and Stair were closeted with the Regent for hours and governed all foreign affairs (*p.* 205).

On the other hand Law himself wrote to the King and Mar expressing how sensible he was of the honour the former had done him by writing to him and declaring he should embrace with pleasure every opportunity of showing his attachment (*pp.* 179, 180). At an interview with Dillon he promised to do all he could for the King's service (*p.* 516). Early in May he became a Roman Catholic (*p.* 411). The scheme for fixing the value of the new coins above their intrinsic value was attributed to him. The *Parlement de Paris* remonstrated with the Regent and issued a *prise de corps* against Law (*pp.* 540, 559). The *denouement* will be related in the next volume.

The heat in Paris in June was unprecedented (*p.* 515).

An order was sent in June to all the Intendants to banish the English from France. The Regent, however, when applied to, declared it was a thing he was obliged to by the treaty, but that it was *un coup d' espé dans l'eau* (*p.* 540).

Lord Peterborough paid the Mezières family a visit. He charged them with being the authors of his arrest through their eldest sister, Anne Oglethorpe's, means, but accepted their disclaimer (*p.* 411).

It appears that it was only Lord Oxford's interposition that saved Steele, the essayist, from a beating on some former occasion by the hot-tempered Capt. Ogilvie (*p.* 328). On the same page is described a snuff box with a representation of an incident that befell King George and his mistress, the Duchess of Munster.

Lord Bolingbroke was at Paris in May and making his court to Stair, as was also Lord Jersey, said to have come for his health, which was very bad and tended to madness for grief at his wife's behaviour (*p.* 411).

Dr. Garth, the well-known Whig doctor, was at Paris in June. He spoke well of King George, but said that his son was despised by everybody and would never be able to hold the reins, should he ever come to govern (*p.* 556).

Sir Peter Redmond describes his interview with the King of Sicily (*p.* 229). The King had written to the King of Sicily in March about the projects for his marriage and told him of the excitement and alarm caused at Urbino by his visit to the Furlo (*p.* 222). After Queen Mary's death he requested him to tell the Queen of Sicily that she need be in no anxiety about her letters to Queen Mary, for all necessary precautions had been taken for their safety and, as he had not been able to decide whom he should marry, to send him the list of possible princesses that she had promised to send Queen Mary (*p.* 496).

At Bordeaux Sir Peter dined with the Duke and Duchess of Berwick, who justified Bolingbroke, denying that he had written the villainous letter, and declared that he himself

on seeing a good probability of a restoration would venture his life and fortune in it (*p.* 584). Sir Peter was to endeavour to get permission at Madrid for making the swords and targes which Barry was to have supplied (*p.* 184). Barry, it turned out, had been all along in correspondence with the English government (*pp.* 149, 198), and on the next page his letters to Col. Stanhope and General Carpenter are given. He escaped from the convent, where he had taken sanctuary, and sailed for London, where Clanranald believed he might be, if the water had not rived the woodie (*i.e.* cheated the gallows) (*p.* 148). He then went to Leyden, from which he had the effrontery to write to Mar (*p.* 513).

William Fraser in June (*p.* 530) recurred to the information he had received from M. Delfosse, Archdeacon of Tournai, that some of the chief managers in the States General were well disposed to enter into friendship with the King and to engage not to assist his enemies in England, in case he made a new attempt. Many of them were mightily dissatisfied with the English ministry, complaining much of their forcing them into measures they had no mind to and not making good what had been promised them. The person the Archdeacon had most interest with was the Baron de Velderen, a representative of Guelderland. If the King would give Fraser powers to treat, the thing might be of great use to him. Sir Hugh Paterson approved of the plan and proposed that powers should be sent accordingly and that the Archdeacon should be thanked (*p.* 544). Powers were accordingly sent but nothing came of the project.

There was a great riot at Brussels on 24 May. The Sovereigns of Brabant always swore at their inaugurations to maintain the privileges of the people and the Emperor had done so at his inauguration; but during the late wars some new oath had been contrived, which passed over some of these privileges. In Brabant subsidies were refused till the oaths were taken. The ministers offered the new oaths but the people insisted on the old. The *doyens* of Brussels were assembled by the Burgomaster, but all but one refused to agree to the new oath. His house and the Burgomaster's were plundered by the rabble. All the troops, about 5,000, patrolled that day and night and next day the burghers assembled in arms and by 9 about half the town was occupied by the burghers and about half by the troops. The tumult was appeased by the Governor promising to give them the old oath (*p.* 473).

A great many, especially of the clergy, were in favour of a restoration of the Spanish monarchy, while others wished for a Sovereign, a cadet of the House of Spain, who would have no other possessions and would reside among them. They suffered from two great grievances, the Dutch prohibition of trade on the Scheldt and the Barrier treaty (*pp.* 475, 476). By the latter a small piece of territory was given to the Dutch contrary to the old oath taken by the Emperor and his people,

by which the Sovereign swore not to dismember or alienate any of the territories of the Ten Provinces. The people in the ceded territory talked of taking up arms rather than be made subjects of Holland and the other provinces seemed to espouse the quarrel (*p.* 493). There was a riot in June at Malines, in which several townsmen were killed and wounded and several soldiers wounded and the whole garrison driven out of the town. It began among some tradesmen, who refused to comply with the sentence against them about some of their privileges. If the Emperor did not prevent the execution of the Barrier treaty, a universal insurrection was expected (*p.* 571).

A few documents omitted in preceding volumes are calendared in the Appendix. The first is a long paper by Lord Middleton written in 1709 giving reasons why England and the European powers should oppose the Hanoverian succession (*p.* 597).

A long letter from William Leslie, Bishop of Waitzen, explains his conduct towards Barrowfield, the Jacobite agent to Vienna (*p.* 599).

A paper by the King endeavoured to remove the Duke of Modena's objections to his marriage with his daughter (*p.* 601).

Several letters and papers (*pp.* 603–606) relate to Lord Peterborough's arrest.

A long memoir (*p.* 607) describes the differences between the Elector of Hanover and his son and their probable effects in England (*p.* 607).

It remains to fulfil the promise in the Introduction to the last volume of printing the keys to some of the principal ciphers, which now follow. Some of them will explain ciphers undeciphered or wrongly deciphered in the former volumes, *e.g.* the curious will be now able to discover, who was the Mr. Watkins, mentioned in the King's letter to Bolingbroke of Christmas Day, 1715, by whose delays he was hindered from sailing to Scotland (*Vol. I.*, *p.* 476).

The most important is the cipher for the King, the Queen, Ormonde, Mar, Dillon and Inese, which is evidently one that had been used for many years and added to from time to time, the occurrence of a cipher for the Princess of Denmark (Queen Anne) showing that it was drawn up before her death.

Christian names without Mr. or Mrs. :—

A	Queen.
B	Elector of Hanover.
C	French ministry.
D	Lorraine Duke.
E	King of France.
F	Duke of Mar.
G	King of Sweden.
H	England.
J	France.
K	Scotland.

L	Ireland.
M	Czar.
N	Holland.
O	Harley (Lord Oxford).
P	King.
Q	Religion.
R	Parliament.
S	Duke of Ormonde.
T	The Regent.
V	The Emperor.
W	Inese.

A cipher of figures with cant names :—

A

Army	1	Adamson.
Arms	2	Alms.
Artillery	3	Abervy.
Ammunition	4	Apples.
Atholl, Duke	5	Ashton.
Aberdeen, Earl	6	Anderson.
Annandale, Earl	7	Armstrong.
Argyle, Duke	8	Aylmer.
Ailesbury, Earl	9	Auberry.
Arbuthnot, Robert	10	Ashby.
Arran, Earl	11	Allen.
Aberdeen town	12	Anderton.
Avignon	13	Altena.
Abbé Alberoni	14	Amorslie.
Alps towards France	15	Adam.
Alps towards Germany	16	Anchor.

B

Bishop of Bristol	1	Beuron.
Bolingbroke	2	Boynton.
Breadalbane	3	Brown.
Beaufort, Duke	4	Baker.
Butler, Abbé	5	Brent.
Berwick, Duke	6	Belson.
Balcarras, Earl	7	Burton.
Balmerino, Lord	8	Bart.
Belhaven, Lord	9	Brusson.
Brandenburg, Elector	10	Byarly.
Bavaria, Elector	11	Bolton.
Boin, Laird	12	Bromley.
Booth	13	Belinsham.
Abbé Dubois	14	Benoist.
Brest	15	Boston.
Buckingham, Duke	16	Booth.
Bayonne	17	Brayne.
Bordeaux	18	Borton.
Bilboa	19	Bradrobe.
Brussels	20	Bramford.

Bread	21	Burt.
Bologna	22	Bellington.
Bagnal, Mr.	23	Busbie.
Butler, Mr.	24	Brate.
A Baron	25	Banfield.
Breslaw	26	Burnet.
Bergen	27	Bull.
Butler, the Bavarian	28	Barber.
Bordeaux	29	Burton.
Byng, Admiral	30	Brewer.
Bastard	31	Bently.

C

Canterbury, Archbishop	1	Crane.
Chalons	2	Carny.
Church of England	3	Collier.
Churchill, Lord	4	Crabe.
Catholicks	5	Cook.
Court party	6	Crew.
Country party	7	Crofts.
Clans	8	Crofton.
Carnwath, Lockhart	9	Cary.
Commission	10	Clinton.
Correspondent	11	Conway.
Council	12	Campbel.
Commander in Chief	13	Colson.
Cromarty	14	Carter.
Court of France	15	Coventry
Clermont, Lord	16	Cranston.
Clanranald	17	Crow.
Clarendon, Earl	18	Clerk.
Civil war	19	Cragg.
Lord Chancellor	20	Chester.
Cipher	21	Cross.
Castelblanco	22	Carberry.
A Countess	23	Cunrie.
Calais	24	Croftson.
Cadix	25	Cranfield.
Cannon	26	Colbertson.
Father Callaghan or Callanan	27	Colt.
Carnegy, Mr.	28	Cumsley.
Czar	29	Coalman.
Cologne, Elector	30	Cresswel.
Cologne, town	31	Cumming.
Carlescroon	32	Crammond.
Cadogan	33	Cobler.
Cockburn	34	Clayton.

D

Denmark, Princess	1	Dormer.
Dalrymple, President	2	Drycoat.
Dundonald, Earl	3	Dilton.

Dutch	4	Dikes.
Dundee town	5	Duff.
Dupplin, Lord	6	Dun.
Dispatch	7	Davison.
Dauphin	8	Dormisson.
Desmaretz	9	Dolben.
Declaration	10	Durfy.
Dicconson, Mr.	11	Derby.
Dumbarton, Earl	12	Dawson.
Dunkirk	13	Dunstable. Dormont.
Dieppe	14	Dupper.
Dantzick	15	Ducker.
Dumbarton town	16	Domartine.
Dillon, Mr.	17	Dutton.
Downs, Mr.	18	Dobson.
D'Uxelles, M.	19	Darnby.
Distress	20	Drub.
Danger	21	Dacly.
A Duke	22	Dingsley.
Drummond, Lord Edd.	23	Dracy.
Drummond, Lord John	24	Dalmer.
Debarkation	25	Duncan.

E

England	1	Evans.
English	2	Erskine.
Emperor	3	Elmore.
Empire	4	Ellis.
Employment	5	Elmesley.
Erroll, Earl	6	Elford.
Edinburgh city	7	Eliot.
Edinburgh Castle	8	East.
Edinburgh, Bishop	9	Edsworth.
Episcopal party	10	Edgcomb.
Enemy	11	Edwards.
Ellis, Sir William	12	Effingham.
Edwards, Mr.	13	Edgemore.
Erskine, Sir John	14	Edin.
Erskine, Doctor	15	Elderley.
Erskine, Charles, the third brother	16	Eglenby.
Expedition	17	Ering.
Express	18	Enfield.
Earl	19	Endersby.
Embarkation of troops	20	Embersley.
Embarkation, time of	21	Enderly.
Embarkation, place of	22	Elliby.
Erskine, William	23	Ellington.
Eugene, Prince	24	Embrun.

F

Captain Flanagan	1	Farrel.
Mr. Fortmer	2	Fanshaw.
Fingal, Lord	3	Frett.
Floyd, Captain	4	Fulham.
Fox, Mrs.	5	Fleet.
France	6	Fraser.
French	7	Frost.
Forces	8	Foster.
Faction	9	Flint.
Foot	10	Floyd.
Flanders	11	Fleeming.
Fleet { English	12	Farmer.
Fleet { French	13	Ferguson.
Fleet { Dutch	14	Fox.
Fleeming, Charles	15	Fogarty.
Forbes, Lord	16	Fray.
Fraser, Simon Lovat	17	Frankland.
Farquharson, Charles	18	Feeman.
French ministers	19	Frampton.
Forrester, Sir John	20	Finch.
Forrester, Mr. Tom	21	Fairly.
Frankfort upon Oder	22	Frem.
Francia, the Jew	23	Frisk.

G

Gordon, General	1	Ganet.
Gallas, Count	2	Garland.
Gaillard, Père	3	Gernon.
Gordon, Duke	4	Gold.
Gordon, Duchess	5	Green.
Godolphin, Lord	6	Grant.
Government	7	Grahame.
Glengarry, Laird	8	Gordon.
General	9	Goodman.
Garrison	10	Goff.
Great Duke	11	Gowen.
Geraldin, Nicholas	12	Golston.
Germans	13	Gorman.
Guards	14	Gravener.
Giffard, Bishop	15	Gray.
Gualtier, Abbe	16	Gardener.
Gualterio, Cardinal	17	Galt.
George, Captain	18	Gregg.
Glasgow	19	Grigston.
Gough, Mr.	20	Gibson.
Görtz, Baron	21	Gamely.
Gallies	22	Geldersley.
Genoa	23	Griffins.
Gibraltar	24	Gasper.
Gottenburg	25	Gemlaw.

Gyllenborg, Count	26	Gastrel.
Granard, Earl	27	Grim.
Gnesne	28	Ginkle.
Gottenburg	29	Gorcom.

H

Heggins	1	Harison.
Hamilton, Duke	2	Harris.
Hubbast, Doctor	3	Hasting.
Hicks, Doctor	4	Habden.
High church	5	Henyson.
Highlands	6	Holmes.
Highlanders	7	Hunters.
Holland	8	Hasty.
Horse	9	Hay.
Hundred	10	Harway.
Honest	11	Homely.
Hanover, Duke	12	Herne.
Hook, Colonel	13	Holton.
Hall, Mr.	14	Hebb.
House of Peers	15	Hewit.
House of Commons	16	Homby.
Hamilton, Richard	17	Hartly.
Harley (Lord Oxford)	18	Hughs *or* Honington.
Hanmer, Sir Thomas	19	Hickop.
Hamburg	20	Hyd.
Havre	21	Hereford.
Hay, Mr.	22	Horsley.
Hamilton, Zech.	23	Hill, Hawker.
Hesse, Landgrave	24	Hornby.
Hamilton, General G.	25	Harper.

J

Jersey, Lady	1	Jerry.
Ingleton, Doctor	2	Jeremie.
Ireland	3	Jones.
Irish	4	Jackson.
Invasion	5	Ironson.
Interest	6	Jasmin.
Intelligence	7	Jordan.
Instructions	8	Jenkins.
Inese, Mr.	9	Jamison.
Jesuits	10	Joddrel.
Jacobites	11	Jonston.
Iberville	12	Jennings.
Indemnity	13	Jolly.
Inverlochy	14	Jerbeville.
Jerningham, Mr.	15	Jery *or* Hooker.
Inverness	16	Jossings.
Italy	17	Island. Jassin.

Innsbruck	18	Indel.
Ilay	19	Isaac.

K

King of England	1	Knight.
King of France	2	Knipe.
King of Spain	3	Ker.
King of Portugal	4	Kurl.
King of Sweden	5	Kemp.
King of Denmark	6	Knox.
King Augustus	7	Kirkton.
King Stanislaus	8	Kirk.
Kilsyth, Viscount	9	Kinnaird.
Kilmarnock, Laird	10	Kennedy.
Kelly, Earl	11	Kenyon.
Kenmure, Viscount	12	Knolls.
The King's friends	13	Kelly.
Kenyon, Mr.	14	Kirby.
Kinnoul, Earl	15	Karnton.
Kennedy, David	16	Karrel.
Kelly, Mr.	17	Kier.
Kinnaird, Charles	18	Kilmore.

L

Leeds, Duke of	1	Lumley.
Lochyel	2	Lory.
London, Bishop of	3	Lery.
London	4	Limery.
Liberty	5	Lamb.
League	6	Lally.
Loyal	7	Lermont.
Low Church	8	Leak.
Letter	9	Lee.
Leven, Earl	10	Lawson.
Lothian, Lord	11	Lamont.
Linlithgow, Lord	12	Lindsay.
Lowlands	13	Lowther.
Litchfield, Lord	14	Lorimer.
Lesley, Charles	15	Lidcoat.
Lockhart of Carnwath	16	Lacy.
Lorraine, Duke	17	Lumsden.
Leers, Mr.	18	Linch.
Lyons	19	Laumont.
Lieth (? Leith)	20	Littleton.
Lawless, Mr.	21	Longhorn.
Loretto	22	Longford.
A Lord	23	Laller.
Loudoun, Earl	24	Lesbie.
Leghorn	25	Lute.
Liége	26	Laton.

M

McDonald, Reny	1	Munson.

Mezières, M.	2	Matha.
Money	3	Mantle.
Manifest	4	Mildmay.
Militia	5	Monk.
Minister	6	Marvel.
Maintenon, Mad.	7	Morison.
Montrose, Marquess	8	Massy.
Marischal, Earl	9	Mohun.
Melfort, Duke	10	Montfort.
Middleton, Earl	11	May.
Midleton, Charles	12	Mossman.
Mar, Earl	13	Martel.
Murray, Earl	14	Maitland.
Malcomb	15	Morris.
Murray, Lord George	16	Matson.
Montrose town	17	Morgan.
Middleton, Countess	18	Marsal.
Men	19	Malt.
Matignon, Marischal	20	Morton.
Menzies, John	21	Moor.
Masham, Mrs.	22	Mew *or* Melvil.
McMahon, Mr.	23	Milton.
Monteleon, Marquis	24	Meridith.
Montpelier	25	Maston.
Mull, Isle of	26	Maryton.
Magny	27	Mirepoix.
Murray, James	28	Mr. Morpeth.
Modena, Duke	29	Masters.
Marriage	30	Marsfield.
Munich	31	Masterton.
Marseilles	32	Merry.
Merchant	33	Mathew.
Medicis, Princess	34	Maxton.

N

Nihill	1	Nasby.
Nation	2	Norton.
Nuncio	3	Norris.
Nottingham, Earl	4	Neal.
North	5	Narbon.
Nithsdale, Earl	6	Nash.
Nobility	7	Nesmith.
Nairn, Lord	8	North.
Nairn, Master	9	Newman.
Nonjurors	10	Nelthorp.
Norfolk, Duke	11	Newcomb.
Newcastle, Lord	12	Nelson.
Netherfield	13	Newson.
Neutrality	14	Nantly.
Noailles, Cardinal	15	Nalson.
Noailles, Duke	16	Nasfield.

O

Oglethorpe, Mistress	1	Olderon.
Ormiston, Laird	2	Oneal.
Opposition	3	Oliver.
Orleans, Duke	4	Otway.
Ormonde, Duke	5	Onslow.
Orange, Prince	6	Obrian.
Orkney, Earl	7	Oldfield.
Ogilvy, John	8	Oldcorn.
Ougan *i.e.* Wogan, Mr.	9	Orme.
Opinion	10	Oldmie.
Orford	11	Ogston.

P

Prior, Mr.	1	Parry.
Panmure, Earl	2	Price.
Packington, Sir John	3	Peters.
Parliament	4	Percy.
Proclamation	5	Parsons.
Perth, Duke	6	Philips.
Paterson, Sir Hugh	7	Payton.
Portmore, Earl	8	Paterson.
Protestants	9	Primrose.
Presbyterians	10	Prat.
Powry, Laird	11	Polton.
Plowden, Mr.	12	Povey.
Porter, Mr.	13	Preston.
Pope	14	Pritchard.
Priest	15	Pen.
Picture	16	Peacoke.
People	17	Prinn.
Peace	18	Powel.
Paris	19	Panton.
Peterborough	20	Prescot.
Prince Eugene	21	Perrot.
Polignac, Cardinal	22	Porter.
Pension	23	Panter.
Philps, Mr.	24	Palmer.
Port	25	Pralin.
Port Mahon	26	Paston.
Pajot, Monsieur	27	Pocock.
Palatine, Elector	28	Priest.
Palatine, Princess	29	Pucklie.
Parma, Duke	30	Pansford.
A Press	31	Pelson.
Protestation	32	Potter.
Project or scheme	33	Pelford.
Paterson, John	34	Parryfield.
Prague	35	Pelly.
Pesaro	36	Purves.
Piedmont	37	Pamford.

Poland	38	Pilton.
Poniatowski	39	Ploiden.
Primate of Ireland	40	Preshaw.
Lord Pitsligo	41	du Pont.

Q

Queensberry, Duke	1	Quixot.
Quakers	2	Quinten.
Queens's joynture	3	Quarrel.
Queen of Sicily	4	Quelly.
Queen of Spain	5	Qualson.

R

Rothe	1	Robinson.
Rome	2	Roberts.
Religion	3	Roper.
Rochester, Earl	4	Ross.
Rothes, Earl	5	Reynolds.
Roman Catholicks	6	Rogers.
Robertson of Strowan	7	Rich.
Rouen	8	Rachecourt.
Restoration	9	Ranford.
Rochester, Bishop	10	Rigg.
Roxburgh, Duke	11	Rangly.
Ratisbon	12	Ramsay.
The King's residence in general	13	Rankin.

S

Selinger	1	Stanhope, Lord.
Southcot	2	Scravenmore.
Stuart, Sir James	3	Stepney.
Sinclair, Lord	4	Sanderson.
Sophia, Princess	5	Setle.
Sackville, Major-General	6	Seymor.
Scots	7	Sturton.
Switzerland	8	Snow.
Scotland	9	Story.
Seafield, Earl	10	Shuffleworth.
Spain	11	Sorrel.
Spaniards	12	Swift.
Soldiers	13	South.
Strafford, Lord	14	Sempil.
Succour	15	Sharp.
Secret	16	Scroop.
Strafford, Mr.	17	Simpson.
Stormont, Viscount	18	Stow.
Strathmore, Earl	19	Somery.
Shrewsbury, Earl	20	Seaton *or* Shrimpton.
Succession	21	Stubbs.
St. Germains	22	Stiel.
Ships	23	Stanley.

Somerset, Duke	24	Sands.
Seaforth, Marquis	25	Spencer.
Saint Amant	26	Sparrow.
Sheldon, Dominick	27	Senior.
Stirling	28	Succour.
St. Malo	29	Sarmoise.
Stair, Earl	30	Silby.
Spar, Baron	31	Sangfield.
Spy	32	Spurt.
Support	33	Samuel.
Suspected person	34	Sudson.
Stirling, Sir Harie	35	Stelbie.
Strickland, Roger	36	Smart.
Stockholm	37	Spence.
Savoy	38	Sim.
Sicily, King	39	Shaw.
Suedeland	40	Sorby.
Stanhope, Mr.	41	Stoker.
Saxony, Princess of	42	Saxby.

T

A Tory	1	Tamiere.
Torcy, Monsieur de	2	Taylor.
Tweeddale, Marquess	3	Tomkins.
Traitor	4	Trally.
Treason	5	Tery.
Thousand	6	Tilly.
Treaty	7	Trent.
Treaty betwixt the Regent, George and Holland	8	Trently.
Tallard	9	Tofts.
Tarbet, Lord	10	Tredenham.
Townshend, Lord	11	Teller.
Tildesey	12	Trentain.
Toulouse	13	Triel.
Tullybardine, Lord	14	Tarver.
Tower of London	15	Turner.
Tilbury fort	16	Tilson.
Trade	17	Trape.
The Test	18	Turton.
Thesaurie	19	Tralbie.
Turin	20	Tally.
Trent town	21	Tomson.

V

Villeroy, Marischal	1	Vernon.
Villars, Marischal	2	Vatel.
Venetians	3	Vandermel.
Voyage	4	Vanbroke.
Victory	5	Villars.
Undertaking	6	Vere.
Union	7	Vetch.

Vaudemont, Prince	8	Vaine.
Vicelegat	9	Viner.
Venice	10	Vandersley.
Vistula river	11	Vert.

W

Wind	1	Watkins.
Wharton, Earl	2	Wake.
Wigton, Earl	3	Weston.
Whigs	4	Wall.
War	5	Watson.
Westmorland, Lady	6	Wilson.
Wisheart	7	Weyburns.
Widrington	8	Williamson.
Winton, Earl	9	Wright.
Wood, Doctor	10	West.
Walkinshaw	11	Waters.
Wyndham, Sir W.	12	Wanly. Westmore.
Walpole	13	Waling. Wilky.

Y

York, Archbishop	1	Yalden.

Key to the Letter cipher used in this cipher.

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*m*
1.	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r	q	p	o	n
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*n*
2.	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r	q	p	o
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*o*
3.	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r	q	p
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*p*
4.	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r	q
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*q*
5.	p	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*r*
6.	q	p	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*s*
7.	r	q	p	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t

8.	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*t*
	s	r	q	p	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v
9.	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*v*
	t	s	r	q	p	o	n	m	z	y	x	w
10.	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*w*
	v	t	s	r	q	p	o	n	m	z	y	x
11.	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*x*
	w	v	t	s	r	q	p	o	n	m	z	y
12.	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*y*
	x	w	v	t	s	r	q	p	o	n	m	z

There are also two other copies of this cipher which differ in some of the cipher names at the end of the letters as follows :—

Antrim, Earl of	a 15	Ash.
Athenry, Lord	a 16	Ashburn.
Byng, Admiral	b 26	Brewer.
Butler, the Bavarian	b 27	Barber.
Bruce, Tom	b 28	Black.
Bathurst, Lord	b 29	Bingly.
Bromley, Mr.	b 30	Bowen.
Belings, Arundel	b 31	Burnet.
Brooke, Lord	b 32	Bennet.
Burke, Sir John	b 33	Brown.
Barrymore, Lord	b 34	Benson.
Boyle, Capt.	b 35	Brady.
Cadogan	c 30	Cobler.
Cæsar, Charles	c 31	Cowley.
Crawley, son of Sir Nicholas	c 32	Cranmer.
Carlingford, Lord	c 33	Crone.
Dunmore, Lord	d 25	Digby.
Duffus, Lord	d 26	Danly.
Dillon, Lord	d 27	Daly.
Dunkellin, Lord	d 28	Deering.
Donnelan, Mr.	d 29	Dean.
Everard, Sir Redmond	e 25	Eagle.
Eweurs, Mr. (? Avery) a parson's son	e 26	Ermin.
Gottenburg	g 25	Gorcom.
Goreld	g 26	Gunning.

Granard, Earl of	g 27	Gettings.
Gifford of Chillingson	g 28	Gunner.
Ilay, Earl of	i 18	Isaac.
Inchiquin, Earl of	i 19	Ingram.
Jemison, *alias* Scott	i 20	Jobber.
Johnson *alias* Kelly	i 21	Ireton.
Liége	l 25	Laton.
Lansdowne, Lord	l 26	Lemon.
Massereene, Lord	m 31	Miller.
Mayo, Lord	m 32	Manly.
Montague, Lord	m 33	Masson.
North and Grey, Lord	n 17	Nolan.
O'Brien, John	o 12	Onserlie.
O'Brien, Daniel	o 13	Overbie.
Poniatowski	p 35	Ploiden.
Pitsligo, Lord	p 36	De Pont.
Prague	p 37	Pally.
Phipps, Sir Constantine	p 38	Pelly.
Primate, Lindsay	p 37	Plower.
Petre, Lady	p 40	Pooley.
Sicily, King of	s 37	Sorby *or* Shaw.
Stanhope, Mr.	s 38	Stoker.
Southesk, Earl of	s 39	Strabo.
Shippen, Mr.	s 40	Stoner.
Sanderson, Col.	s 41	Stanton.
Walpole	w 11	Walling. Wilky.
Walkinshaw	w 12	Waters.
Wogan, Nicholas	w 13	Weyms.
Webb, General	w 14	Wisely.
Westmeath, Earl of	w 15	Wrong.

On a separate slip of paper are some additional ciphers :—

Bathurst, Lord	b 26	Beaumont instead of Bingly.
Bernard, Lord	b 37	Bartrer.
Ilay, Earl of	i 21	Jenkins.
King of Prussia	k 18	Kersey.
Prince of Hanover	p 38	Poor.
Sandwich, Lady	s 41	Santry.
Trevor, Lord	t 21	Tonson.
Walpole	w 15	Wallop.
Wyndham, Sir W.	w 16	Wicherly.
Gower, Lord		Mr. Gavin.

The following is the new cipher used with John Menzies, the Jacobite Agent in London, through whose hands most of the Jacobite correspondence passed. It was also used by his assistant, James Hamilton, commonly called the Squire, and is marked cipher No. 1, sent July, 1717.

1	Scotland	Abington. Acton.
2	The Highlands	Mr. Altorfe.
3	Aberdeen	Mr Adams.
4	Inverness	Mr. Anderton.
5	Montrose	Mr. Albert.
6	Dundee	Mr. Airs.
7	Perth	Mr. Abraham.
8	Edinburgh	Mr. Arthur.
9	Edinburgh Castle	Mr. Atwood.
10	Stirling Castle	Mr. Agen.
11	West of Scotland	Mr. Alcorn.
12	North of Scotland	Mr. Ashton.
13	Murray Frith	Mr. Astell.
14	Frith of Forth	Abert van bourk.
15	The Clans	Mr. Addiss.
16	A ship	A ton of anything.
17	An army	Amarkit.
18	An ambassador	A broker.
19	Bar le Duc	Mr. Abernethy.
20	An admiral	Mr. Atkins.
21	A captain of a ship	Mr. Antony.
22	A lieutenant of a ship	Mr. Archbald.
23	Lord Onslow	Mr. Alcock.
24	Baron Bothmar	Mr. Alllove.
25	The Speaker	Mr. Bond.
26	House of Lords	Messrs. Bennett and Brumfield.
27	Lord Chancellor	Mr. Beard.
28	House of Commons	Messrs. Benn and Bord.
29	The Whigs	Messrs. Barker and Borrows.
30	Horse	Burgundy.
31	1,000 horse	One dozen of Burgundy.
32	West of England	Mr. Brank.
33	North of England	Mr. Bowles.
34	Money	Brandy.
35	1,000*l.*	One gallon of brandy.
36	Yorkshire	Mr. Beausells.
37	Wales	Mr. Blundell.
38	Newcastle	Mr. Bostock.
39	Bristol	Mr. Black.
40	Oxford University	Mr. Banister.
41		
42	Parliament	Messrs. Barners and Baylie.
43	London	Mr. Bruxon *or* Mr. Briell.
44	Mr. Jerningham	Mr. Bronsword.
45	A messenger or express	Bills of Exchange.
48	A fleet	Canary.
49	Ten transports	10 doz. of Canary.
50	England	Change Alley.
51	The Tories	Messrs. Colebrack and Clench.

52	The Whig Clergy	Messrs. Campbell and Carpenter.
53	The Tory clergy	Messrs. Clave and Crowder.
54	The bishops	Messrs. Coleman and Cour.
55	The Archbishop of Canterbury	Mr. Crumpton.
56	The Archbishop of York	Mr. Claveland.
57	The Church of Rome	Mr. Curell.
58	Roman Catholics in England	Mr. Crown.
59	The Church of England	Mr. Cann.
60	Ireland	Mr. Canoval. Coventry.
61	Foot	Champagne.
62	1,000 foot	One dozen of champagne.
63	Ammunition	Côte Roti.
64	1,000 stand of arms	One doz. of Côte Roti.
65	Poland	Mr. Chealsey.
66	Denmark	Mr. Chamberline.
67	Muscovy	Mr. Crafton.
68	Petersburg	Mr. Colvine.
69	Spain	Mr. Crellins.
70	France	Mr. Cheauvell.
71		Creditor.
72	Hanover	Mr. Daniel.
73	Bremen	Mr. Duncaster.
74	Flanders	Mr. de la Port.
75	Holland	Mr. Dormer.
76	Brussels	Mr. Davis.
77	Liége	Mr. Dawkins.
78	Toulouse	Mr. Davanda.
79	Leyden	Mr. Dickison.
80	Havre	Mr. Derbie.
81	St. Malo.	Dort.
82	Bordeaux	Mr. Dunster.
83	Rouen	Mr. Duncomb.
84	Dunkirk	Mr. Dorrine.
85	Calais	Mr. Doboyville.
86	King of Sweden	Monsr. Degroot. Monsr. De la Cruce.
87	King of Sicily	Monsr. De la Rue.
88	King of Spain	Mr. Du Price.
89	King of Poland	Mr. Driver.
90	King of Denmark	Mr. Dunklyn.
91	The Czar	Monsr. Dubourgh. Mr. Dorrien. Monsr. Du Mont.
92	Prince Eugene	Mr. Deboy.
93	Elector of Bavaria	Mr. De la Beer.
94	The Pope	Mr. Depont.
95		Debitor.
96	Elector of Cologne	Mr. Eelkine.

97 Elector of Palatine	Mr. Exeter.
98 Elector of Treves	Mr. Emmott.
99 Duke of Holstein	Mr. Eastland. Mr. Ettrick.
100 Princess of Holstein	Mr. Evans. Mr. Echard.
101 King George	Mr. Erasmus.
102 Prince of Wales	Mr. Enfield.
103 Princess of Wales	Mr. Euclid.
104 Duchess of Munster	Mr. Ensome.
105 The funds	The East India Company.
106 A battalion	Florence, one chest.
107 Prince Ernest	Mr. Francia.
108 Prince Frederick	Mr. Forbes.
109 The States of Holland	Mr. Fisher. Mr. Friburg.
110 The Emperor	Mr. Fenwick. Mr. Farwell.
111 Invasion	Fishery.
112 A descent	Mr. Farrow.
113 The King's interest	Mr. Frame.
114 The Regent	Mr. Frederick.
115 The French ministry	Messrs. Fletcher and Furly.
116 The King's ministers	Mr. Ferdinand.
117 Duke of Marlborough	Mr. Grifeth.
118 Lord Townshend	Mr. Gilborn.
119 Duke of Bolton	Mr. Gold.
120 Gen. Stanhope	Mr. Gates.
121 The English ministry	Messrs. George and Gunston.
122 Mr. Walpole	Mr. Gathard.
123 Lord Cadogan	Mr. Gissith.
124 Duke of Argyle	Mr. Gibson.
125 Duke of Roxburgh	Mr. Green.
126 Duke of Montrose	Mr. Gell.
127 The Lord Justice Clerk	Mr. Granoe.
128 Presbyterians in Scotland	Messrs. Garth and Guillo.
129 Loyalists in Scotland	Messrs. Gerard and Genkell.
130 Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls	Mr. Gracie.
131 A thousand men	Holland, one piece of.
132 Arms	Herrings.
133 A thousand stand of arms	Herrings, 10 last of.
134 The King	Mr. Holloway. Heer van Flett. Heer van Rolsie.
135 Queen Mary	Mr. Huckle. Mr. Hutchison.
136 Ormonde	Mr. Henduck. Mr. Hartage. Heer Hagen.

137 Mar	Mr. Hardy. Mr. Holyock. Heer Keuvell.
138 Inese	Mr. Herbert. Heer Miranda. Mr. Hatton.
139 Menzies	Mr. Heart. Heer van Aller. Heer van Derbouse.
140 Dillon	Mr. Holyday.
141 Paris	Hammersmith.
142 Sir Hugh Paterson	Mr. Harriss.
145 Bishop of Rochester	Mr. Hatchet. Mr. Hayton. Heer Janson.
146 Sir R. Everard	Mr. Huggens. Heer Toepkine. Mr. Hewitt.
147 Earl of Arran	Mr. Higden. Mr. Heyburn.
148 Mr. Hungerford	Mr. Hannett.
149 Capt. Urquhart	Heer Rieboome.
150 Father Græme	Mr. Harvie.
151 Will. Erskine	Heer van Catts.
153 St. Germains	Hampstead.
154 The Non-jurors	Mr. Hadden.
155 Mr. Hampden	Mr. Henderson.
156 Mr. Pulteney	Mr. Huthcut.
157 Friends in England	Messrs. Johnson and Jerie.
158 Earl of Sunderland	Mr. James.
159 Lord Lovat	Mr. Isaac.
160 Earl of Ilay	Mr. John.
161 Earl of Sutherland	Mr. Jackson.
162 Earl of Oxford	Mr. Joseph. Jan de Witte.
163 The Tower	Mr. Jefferies. Islington.
164 Amsterdam	Mr. Jamison.
165 Rotterdam	Mr. Jonathan.
166 Plymouth	Mr. Kennett.
167 Portsmouth	Mr. Keer.
168 Hull	Mr. Kerby.
169 Harwich	Mr. Kersie.
170 Dover	Mr. Knight.
171 Liverpool	Mr. King.
172 Capt. Ogilvie	Mr. Keys.
173 Duke of Gordon	Mr. Keary.
174 Macintosh of Borlum	Mr. Killegrew.
175 Lord Seaforth	Mr. Lessiman.
176 Earl Marischal	Mr. Lawrence.
177 Duke of Berwick	Mr. Lamburne.

178	Duke of Perth	Mr. Lame.
179	Charles Kinnaird	Mr. Leviston.
180	Lord Kilsyth	Mr. La Fever.
181	Correspondence	the Linen trade.
182	Earl of Southesk	Mr. Lewis.
183	Earl of Linlithgow	Mr. Lenard.
184	Lord North and Grey	Mr. Mercer.
185	Lord Bolingbroke	Mr. Morton.
186	Duke of Devonshire	Mr. Maynard.
187	Duke of Newcastle	Mr. Maurice.
188	Joseph Addison	Mr. Meyer.
189	Count Gyllenborg	Mr. Mercie.
190	Baron Sparre	Mr. Manwering.
191	Baron Görtz	Mr. Man.
192	M. de Mezières	Mr. Manning.
193	Henry Maule	Mr. Mathews.
194	Earl of Panmure	Mr. Motteux.
195	Duke of Buckingham	Mr. Meuse.
196	Earl of Nottingham	Mr. Moses.
197	Lord Stair	Mr. Mease.
198	Earl of Dundonald	Mr. Made.
199	Earl of Portmore	Mr. Nash. / Mr. Nevill.
200	Lord Gower	Mr. Neill.
201	Earl of Strafford	Mr. Nisbett.
202	Mr. Prior	Mr. Norriss.
203	Lord Orford	Mr. Nathaniel.
204	Sir George Byng	Mr. Newcomb.
205	Lord Wharton	Mr. Newton.
206	Restoration, a	Mr. Newland.
207	Lord Dupplin	Mr. Newington.
208	Col. Hay	Mr. Nairn.
209	Mr. Joseph Taylor	Mr. Newbridge.
210	Duke of Atholl	Mr. Osburn.
211	Lord Tullibardine	Mr. Olly.
212	Gen. Gordon	Mr. Ormsby.
213	Col. Clephan	Mr. Oliver.
214	Earl of Breadalbane	Mr. Oriss.
215	Lord Glenorchy	Mr. Oldham.
216	Capt. Thomas Gordon	Mr. Ogle.
217	Glengarry	Mr. Popjoy.
218	Avignon	Mr. Penny.
219	Stockholm	Mr. Pelly.
220	Carlscrona	Mr. Piercy.
221	Gottenburg	Mr. Peters.
222	Copenhagen	Mr. Porter.
223	Mecklenburg	Mr. Pluckney.
224	Pesaro	Mr. Prince.
225	A declaration	a picture.
226	Norway	Mr. Parrot.
227	Capt. H. Straiton	Mr. Raisins.

228	Robertson of Struan	Mr. Rochfort.
229	Lord Lansdown	Mr. Rawlins.
230	James Murray	Mr. Robins.
231	The Duke of Shrewsbury	Mr. Rashfield.
232	Sir Constantine Phipps	Mr. Rich.
233	Sir Thomas Hanmer	Mr. Richards.
234	Mr. Bromley	Mr. Roberts.
235	Earl of Anglesey	Mr. Riverts.
236	Lord Harcourt	Mr. Rend.
237	Lord Harley.	Mr. Reed.
238	Duke of Kingston	Mr. Rooke.
239	Sir W. Wyndham	Mr. Riven. Mr. Rogers.
240	Robert Leslie	Mr. Stone.
241	Ezekiel Hamilton	Mr. Schetclif.
242	Sir John Erskine	Mr. St. Lever.
243	Lord Middleton	Mr. Sage.
244	Mr. Cæsar	Mr. Savage.
245	Mr. Charles Leslie	Mr. Steele.
246	Italy	Mr. Sidgwick. Mr. Sutton.
247	Dr. Erskine	Mr. Stratfield. Mr. Shipard. (This is also keyed as the Czar.)
248	Mr. Shippen	Mr. Shaw. Mr. Sute.
249	Rome	Mr. Shard.
250	Sir H. Stirling	Mr. Symonson.
251	Mr. Lechmere	Mr. Spirling.
252	David Floyd	Mr. Smith.
253	Lord Mansell	Mr. Spencer.
254	Duke of Powis	Mr. Sterry.
255		Stocks.
256		Stockjobber.
257		South Sea.
258	King of Prussia	Mr. Thornhill. Mr. Terry.
259	Mr. Downs	Mr. Torine.
260	Duke of Tuscany	Mr. Tyrill.
261	The King's service	Trade. Traffic.
262	Lord Parker	Mr. Toriano.
263	Money	tea.
264	1,000*l.*	a pound of tea.
265	The French ambassador in London	Mr. Walker.
266	Mr. Methuen	Mr. Wigley.
267	Duke of Florence	Mr. Wills.
268	James Hamilton	Mr. James Wilkinson.

There is also a figure cipher and any Christian name beginning with A means the Queen.

,,	B	,,	Elector of Hanover.
,,	C	,,	Prince of Hanover.
,,	D	,,	Dillon.
,,	E	,,	Menzies.
,,	F	,,	Mar.
,,	G	,,	King of Sweden.
,,	H	,,	England.
,,	I	,,	France.
,,	K	,,	Scotland.
,,	L	,,	Ireland.
,,	M	,,	The Czar.
,,	N	,,	Holland.
,,	O	,,	Lord Oxford.
,,	P	,,	The King.
,,	Q	,,	Religion.
,,	R	,,	Parliament.
,,	S	,,	Ormonde.
,,	T	,,	The Regent.
,,	U	,,	the Emperor.
,,	W	,,	Inese.
,,	X	,,	a declaration.
,,	Y	,,	an invasion.
,,	Z	,,	the Bishop of Rochester.

A separate paper contains some names in one of Menzies' new ciphers.

Lord Churchill *i.e.* Marlborough	Monsr. de la Cruce.
Lord Townshend	Gerard Roeters.
Mr. Stanhope	Huckle.
Walpole	Hardy.
Cadogan	Nisbett.
Argyle	Arthur.
Lord Sunderland	Sutton.
Lord Ilay	Bread.
Lord Oxford	Olley. Plunckny.
The King	Heer Seabrook. Monsr. Nicholas Duprise. Cleave.
The Queen	Jan de Witte. Joseph Mercy. Alcorn.
Ormonde	Gathard. Hagen. Meyer. Walton.
Mar	Crowder. Griffith. James Berdo.

Inese	Heer van Aller.
	Hutchison.
	Rivers.
Charles Kinnaird	De la Rue.
	Joseph Culmer.
	Maurice.
Lord Portmore	Brownsword.
Lord Arran	Sidgwick.
	Emmot.
	Tourain.
Lord Wharton	Isaac Mercer.
Sir W. Wyndham	Heer Toepkin.
	Bowles.
	Holloway.
Menzies	Beausils.
	Van du bourg.
	Morton.
Lord Dupplin	Farwell.
	David Waldo.
Bishop of Rochester	Bostock.
	Steele.
Capt. H. Straiton	Black.
	Ormsby.
Lord Lansdown	James Maynard.
James Murray	Rooke.
Duke of Shrewsbury	Wigley.
	Savage.
Sir R. Everard	Banister.
	Tuchin.
James Hamilton	John Eelkine.

In addition there are a certain number of cipher names in the correspondence with Menzies which are not given in these two keys, but many of them are keyed in the letters themselves. Where the interpretation is a guess, it is put in italics. They are as follows :—

Barker	stands for	Lord North and Grey.
Brank	,,	Lord Strafford.
Bullock	,,	Charles Cæsar.
Carny	,,	Lord Carnwath.
Campbell, Churchill	,,	James Hamilton.
Carss	,,	*Charles Kinnaird.*
Creane	,,	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Dampré	,,	the Regent.
de Prie	,,	Mar.
Driver	,,	the army.
Derk, Mynheer	,,	Duke of Berwick.
Dutton	,,	Dillon.
Gardiner	,,	Menzies.
2 gallons of brandy	,,	2,000*l.*

Garford	stands for	the Regent.
Holyock	,,	King of Sweden.
John Smith		
Kemp	,,	C. Kinnaird.
King	,,	a Tory.
Le Brun	,,	Capt. Ogilvie.
Morpeth	,,	James Murray.
Morris	,,	*Mar.*
Muslin	,,	money.
O'Neal	,,	Lord Oxford.
Oldfield	,,	Anne Oglethorpe.
Onslow	,,	Ormonde.
Primrose	,,	Lord Oxford.
Robins	,,	Holland.
Shard	,,	Prince of Wales. (This also stands for Rome.)
Strong waters	,,	money.
Stubbs	,,	Monsr. St. Amand.
Swift	,,	Mrs. Ogilvie.
Thompson	,,	C. Kinnaird.
Tracy	,,	a Tory.
Willoby	,,	Craggs.

The following is the cipher used between Mar and Capt. Harry Straiton, the Jacobite agent in Scotland.

A	A	A
King	Augustus of Poland ..	Archbald.
The Duke of	Argyle	Arbuthnot.
	Atholl	Ashton.
The Marquess of	Annandale	Abercromby.
The Earl of	Anglesea	Agnes.
	Abingdon	Ashby.
	Aberdeen	Abell.
Of Scotland ..	Advocate	Appleton.
	Army.	Alexander.
	Armies	Anderson.
English		Antony.
Scots		Andrew.
French	Army	Allester.
Confederate		Agneu.
Dutch		Abraham.
	Arms	Anchoves.
	Ammunition	Armstrong.
The	Allies	Ashburnham.
The	abjuration	Anabaptist.
An	address	Addison.
The	admiral	Amy.
Arthur	Angley	Allen.
Francis	Angley	Attwoode.
Steuart of	Appine	Ashdale.
B	B	B
Great	Britain	Barbara.

The Duchy of ..	Bavaria	Barbor, Mr.
	Bavarians	Bruce.
	Battle	Brandy.
	Brest	Benson.
	Bishops	Black.
of { Canterbury, York, London, Rochester, Edinburgh }	Bishop	{ Burtch. Beatley. Baily. Brent. Brewer. }
The Duke of	{ Bavaria	Boucher.
	Berwick	Burton.
	Beaufort	Baxter.
	Bedford	Blondell.
	Bolton	Bridgett.
	Buckingham. ..	Banks.
The Earl of	{ Berkshire	Bings.
	Bath	Bolton.
	Balcarras	Burnet.
	Breadalbane. ..	Blackwell.
Lord	Balmerino	Bennett.
Mr. Dougal Stuart	Blairhall	Briggs.
Mr.	Bromley	Broun.
Ogilby of	Boyne	Burley.
of Carleys ..	Burnett	Buller.
Captain John ..	Bruce	Blaithwayt.
Mr. Secretary ..	Boyle	Boswell.
of England, The ..	Bank	Boudler.

C	C	C
of Muscovy, The ..	Czar	Cofeild.
of Spain	Charles	Courtley.
The Prince of	{ Condé	Castle.
	Conti	Charters.
Monsieur	Chamillard ..	Cooper.
Chancellor or keeper	Chancellor	Coudain.
The Earl of ..	{ Carlisle	Cary.
	Crawford	Clevland.
	Carnwath	Cornhill.
	Cromarty	Campion.
The Lord	{ Craven	Chester, Mr.
	Clermont	Cutts.
Archibald	Campbell	Crew.
Mr. Jeremy ..	Collier	Cressy.
University of ..	Cambridge	Cambden.
of Killruy, Wm. ..	Cochran	Cumming.
Father	Carnagy	Cotton.
the Captain of ..	Clanranald	Charleton.
Highland ..	Clans	College, Mr.
The Scots, West ..	Coast	Crofts, Mr.

The party of the		Court		Cramond.
		Country		Cant.
English / Scots		Commons		Christopher. / Charles.
The		Cavaliers		Couley.
of England / of Scotland	the	Church		Craufurd.
		Church		Cook.
High / Low		Church		Christian. / Craig.
In General		Clergy		Chalmers.
English / Scots		Clergy		Churchill. / Crow.
A		Commission		A cane.
The		Covenant		Collier.
		Covenanters		Crighton.
of Carsland		Carr (spy)		Coulter.
D		D		D
The		Dauphin		Davis.
The Kingdom of		Denmark		Dolben.
The		Danes		Deborah.
The		Dutch		Dalton.
		Dunkirk		Davison.
The Duke of		Devonshire		Dryver, Mr.
The Marquess of		Dorchester		Dinah.
Earl of		Denbigh		Deans.
Mr.		Dillon		Duburge.
The Lord		Drummond		Duncan.
		Dartmouth		David.
Castle of		Dumbarton		Duns, Mr.
A		descent		Dundass.
One thousand		dragoons		Damask, one yard or ell.
The		dissenters		Duncomb.
Earl of		Dumfermline		Don.
E		E		E
The		Emperor		Edward
		Episcopacy		Evans.
The Kingdom of		England		Eden.
The		English		Edgar.
The north / The west	of	England		Eleanor. / Ellys.
The plantations		English		Epsom.
The city of		Edinburgh		Edmiston.
The castle of		Edinburgh		Elizabeth
Prince		Eugene		Elliot.
The Earl of		Exeter		Eyres, Mr.
		Erroll		Eupham.
		Eglington		Elphingstone.
The Countess of		Erroll		Egerton.

Sir William ..	Ellis	Etheridge.
Sir John	Erskine	Errington.
F	F	F
Kingdom of ..	France	Freeman.
The	French	Fox.
Monsieur	Fourbine	Flamstead.
	Flanders ..	Falmouth.
of Forth, the ..	Firth	Francis.
Dumbarton ..	Firth	Frederick.
Murray	Firth	Forden.
A	Fleet	Fisher.
English, French, Dutch	fleet	Farmer. / Forrester. / Frankland.
a thousand soldiers	Foot	A flask of wine.
Mr. Charles ..	Fleeming	Frazer.
Mr. Robert ..	Ferguson	Felton.
of Poury	Fotheringham ..	Foley.
Lady	Frescheville ..	Farrington.
G	G	G
The Empire of ..	Germany	Gloucester.
the	Germans	Gunter.
The Duke of	Grafton	Gregg.
	Gordon	Gray.
the Duchess of ..	Gordon	George.
the Earl of ..	Godolphin	Green
The Lord	Guilford	Gesling.
	Guernsey	Grasier, Mr.
	Gower	Grindall.
	Griffith	Graham.
	Gray (of Scotland)..	Guy.
the Master of ..	Gray	Guant, Mr.
Horse, Foot	guards	Guandy. / Gold.
A	general	Gibson.
English, Scots, Irish	government ..	Guthry. / Griffell. / Goar.
English, Scots, Irish	gentry	Grizell. / Grace. / Gull.
Town of	Glasgow	Gillespie.
A	garrison	Gullen.
Of Grant	Grant	Gilbert.
Advocate, Mr. James	Graham, senior ..	Gwyne.
Doctor	Gray	Gibb.
Mr. James ..	Gadderar ..	Gilchrist.

H	H	H
	Holland ..	.. Hodges.
the States of ..	Holland ..	.. Hobbs.
Duke of	Hamilton ..	.. Holmes.
Marquess of ..	Huntly ..	.. Hammond.
Earl of	Home ..	.. Harvey.
Lord	Haversham ..	.. Heastings.
The	Highlands	.. Harper.
The	Highlanders	.. Hutcheson.
Lords / Commons	House ..	.. Hyslope. / Hillson.
Mr.	Harley ..	.. Henderson.
Colonel	Hooke ..	.. Hill.
Sir Simon ..	Harcourt ..	.. Harbottle.
Sir Thomas ..	Hanmer ..	.. Hartford, Mr.
Doctor	Hickes ..	.. Hilyard.
	Horses ..	.. Heifers.
a thousand ..	Horsemen ..	.. Herrings one barrel.

J	J	J
East / West	Indies ..	.. Jeweller, Mr. / Jumper, Mr.
The East	India Company	.. Jesper, Mr.
The Kingdom of ..	Ireland ..	.. John.
English / Scots / Natives	Irish ..	.. James. / Jeremy. / Jacob.
	Italy ..	.. Jarden.
The Earl of ..	Jersey ..	.. Irton.
	Ilay	.. Johnston.
Steuart of	Innernitty ..	.. Jeffreys.
Father	Inese ..	.. Jackson.
an	Invasion ..	.. Jamieson.
an	Indemnity ..	.. Isabella.
	Instructions	.. Indentures.
The	Juncto ..	.. Jean.
The	Junctillo ..	.. Joab.
	Inverlochy	.. Joseph.
English / Scots	Jacobites ..	.. Jannet. / Jenkins.

K	K	K
A	King ..	.. Kidder.
James	King ..	.. Knox *or* Kirkton.
French .. / Spanish, Phi[lip] / Portuguese / Swedish / Danish / Prussian / Polish, Stan[islaus]	King ..	.. Kennedy. / Kemp. / Kirk, Mr. / Knowles. / Kelly. / Kidd. / Kinross, Mr.

Earl of	Kinnoull	King, Mr.
Viscount of ..	Killsyth	Kendall.
The Scots	Kirk	Kerby.
Mr. Charles ..	Kinnaird	Knightly.
Doctor	Kenyon	Kingston.
McDonald of ..	Keppoch	Knaveacre.
L	L	L
Princess	Louisa	Lauder.
the duchy of ..	Lorraine	Levant.
the Duke of	Lorraine	Laton.
	Leeds	Little John.
Marquess of ..	Lothian	Land.
Earl of	Lerchfield (Lichfield)	Lechmore.
	Linlithgow	Lough.
	Leven	Litleton.
of Carnwath, Mr. .	Lockhart	Lamb.
Cameron of ..	Lochiell	Lang.
Mr. Charles ..	Lesly	Lighton.
Captain David ..	Loyd	Liddell.
	Loyd, younger ..	Leak.
of Aughterhouse ..	Lyon	Lewis.
the city of ..	London	Leicester.
Mr.	Lawes	Laurence.
M	M	M
	Monarchy	Methven.
Madam	Maintenon	Merideth.
the Duchess of ..	Marlborough ..	Monteith.
Duke of	Marlborough ..	Melvill.
	Montrose	Martine.
	Melfort	Morison.
Earl of	Middleton	Manly.
	Marishall	Mitchell.
	Murray	Mercer.
	Mar	Montague.
the Countess of	Middleton	Mary.
	Marishall	Minster.
	Murray	Maud.
	Moscow	Monmouth.
The	Muscovites ..	Mackfarline.
Captain James ..	Murray	Monkton.
Captain Robert ..	Murray	Morrice.
General	Maitland	Mushett.
General	Murray	Mead.
Mrs.	Masham	Moore
	Money	Muslin.
	Manifesto	Manufacture.
A	messenger	Meldrum.
John	Menzies	Murray.
Mr. Henry	Maule	Mordaunt.

Mr. Charles	Middleton	Marjory.
Sir John	McLean	Mall.
Sir Donald	McDonald	Magnus.
Colonel	McIntosh	Masterton.
Gaven	Mason	Montgomery.
Mr. John	Manly	Manson.
a	man of war	Mistress.
Sir George	Maxwell	Mearns, Mr.
Captain	McDonald in France	Merton, Mr.
Mr. James	Murray	Mr. Morpeth.
N	N	N
Duke of	Norfolk	Naball.
	Newcastle	Neucomb.
	Northumberland	Northall.
Earl of	Northampton	Ninian.
	Nottingham	Neuton.
Lord	Nairn	Nicholson.
Lady	Nairn	Neill.
Mr.	Nelson	Norman.
O	O	O
Duke of	Orleans	Okely.
	Ormonde	Offield.
university of	Oxford	Orlando.
Earl of	Orkney	Ogle.
Lord	Oliphant	Oglevie.
Cockburn of	Ormiston	Orr.
	Oaths	Oates, Mr.
one	officers	Oysters one barrel.
P	P	P
The Kingdom of	Poland	Porterfield.
Kingdom of	Portugal	Pierpoynt.
,, of	Prussia	Parker.
Duke of	Perth	Palms.
Earl of	Plymouth	Peirson.
	Peterborough	Park.
	Portland	Patter.
	Paulett	Prentice.
	Panmure	Painter.
	Portmore	Paxton.
City of	Paris	Peter.
Sir John	Packington	Pitcher.
Sir Hugh	Paterson	Pellam.
English / Scots	Presbyterian	Puffen. / Paton.
	Presbytery	Purvess.
A general	peace	Putney.
	Parliament	Patrick.
A	plot	Pendarvice.

A	prison	Paull.
Lords, Commons	Presbyterian	Powell. Porter.
English, Scots, Irish	Peers	Pitts. Paulett. Pratt.
The	Pope	Pudle, Mr.
	Popery	Pullen.
	Papists	Pringle.
English, Scots, Irish	Papists	Peacock. Perkin. Pithy, Mr.
	Protestants	Parsons.
religion	Protestant	Palmer.
between Sweden and Denmark	Peace	Paterson.
between France and Savoy	Peace	Preston.
One thousand	pounds	Pilchards 1,000.
Q	Q	Q
mother	Queen	Quails.
Anne	Queen	Quanton.
Duke of	Queensberry	Quaker.
R	R	R
Monsieur	Rhenaudot	Red.
Duke of	Richmond	Redding.
	Roxburgh	Rogers.
Earl of	Rivers	Rowley.
	Rochester	Ramsay.
	Rothes	Rew.
	Revolution	Robert.
	Rebellion	Ratclieff.
	Republick	Russell.
	Republicans	Richard.
	Restoration	Robison.
	Religion	Rollo.
	Rait, Alexander	Raintell.
S	S	S
The Kingdom of	Spain	Sandy.
	Spaniards	Sommerville.
Kingdom of	Sweden	Susan.
	Swedes	Steell.
Kingdom of	Scotland	Stanhope.
	Scotishmen	Scrimger.
	Switzerland	Swift.
	St. Germains	Stapleton.
Duke of	Savoy	South, Mr.
duchy of	Savoy	Samuell.

the	Savoyards	Sanderson.
Duke of	Somerset	Strange.
	St. Albans	Sutton.
Earl of	Salisbury	Strong.
	Sunderland ..	Scougall.
	Scarsdale	Stagg.
	Scarborough ..	Sheepherd.
	Shaftesbury ..	Seagrave.
	Strathmore ..	Seymour.
	Seaforth	Skipper.
	Southesk	Sharp.
	Seafield	St. John's.
	Stair	Swinton.
Viscount of ..	Stormont	Smith.
Master of	Stormont	Sutler.
The Lord of ..	Stawell	Stucbridge.
	Somers	Sanders.
	St. Clair	Symons.
Master of	St. Clair	Sidley.
The Scots	Session	St. Clair.
the president of ..	Session	Sackville.
North, South, West of ..	Scotland	Stephen.
		Stephenson.
		St. Albans.
	Ships	Shoes.
A	Spy	Strickland.
Sir James	Stuart	Slaughter.
Captain H. ..	Straiton	Simson.
Mr. Joseph ..	Stafford	Sherwood.
Doctor	Sacheverell ..	Scott.
Mr. Alexander ..	Seymour	Slater, Mr.
Mr. John	Sage	Sandylands.
Doctor	Scot	Stonehouse, Mr.
Castle of	Stirling	Stout.

T	T	T
The	Turks	Trelawny.
The river	Thames	Trout.
Duchess of ..	Tyrconnell	Tilney.
Marquess of ..	Tweeddale	Turner.
Monsieur	Torcy	Thomas.
Earl of	Torrington	Tracy.
	Traquaire	Trevour.
Viscount of ..	Townshend ..	Titcomb.
	Tiviote	Tanker.
John	Tradenham ..	Trimnell.
In general ..	Tories	Trotter.
English, Scots	Tories	Thomson.
		Tredenham.
	Toleration	Townshend.

W	W	W
Maréchal	Villers	Vere.
Duke of	Vendosme	[Illegible.]
	Venice	Viner.
The	Union	Underhill.
	Wharton	Wyndham.
Earl of	Wigton	Webb.
	Weems	West, Mr.
Viscount of ..	Weymouth ..	Wainwright.
in general ..	Whigs	Wishart.
English, Scots ..	Whigs	Watson. / Wallpooll.
Mynheer	William	Wormes, Mr.
	War	Weemes.

There are also a few ciphers not in the key, some of which are keyed as follows :—

Bates	stands for	Bolingbroke.
Eaton	,,	Bishop of Edinburgh.
Grim	,,	Glengarry.
Hunter	,,	Lord Huntly.
Johnny	,,	*Mar.*
Killegrew, Knight	,,	the King.
Matson	,,	Menzies.
Mobranch	,,	Macleod.
Morrison	,,	Mar.
Ord	,,	Campbell of Ormadale.
Pitt	,,	
Uberton	,,	*the Union.*

In letters to Father Inese in Vols. II and III some additional ciphers occur as follows :—

Adamson	stands for	the army.
Barnes	,,	Duke of Berwick.
Crighton	,,	Clanranald.
Dobbins	,,	the Dutch.
Elsmore, Esther	,,	England.
Foord	,,	the French.
Forbes	,,	Capt. Straiton.
Frank	,,	the King.
Gray	,,	*King George.*
Haly	,,	King George.
Howe	,,	Lord Oxford.
Jenkins	,,	Inese.
Joseph	,,	the King.
Keith, Knowles	,,	the King.
Manning	,,	the King.
Martel	,,	Middleton.
Meffen	,,	Mar.

Moore	stands for	Earl Marischal.
Netencoure	,,	*David Nairne.*
Newton	,,	David Nairne.
Oram	,,	*Cockburn of Ormiston.*
Pastow	,,	
Pillmer	,,	
Scot	,,	H. Straiton.
Seaton	,,	Lord Stormont.
Stapleton	,,	Bolingbroke.
Stirling	,,	The Scots.
Stewart	,,	Scotland.

Key to the figure cipher used with this cipher.

a.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*	*g.*	*h.*	*i.*	*k.*	*l.*	*m.*	*n.*
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
63	62	61	60	59	58	57	56	55	54	53	52	51
o.	*p.*	*q.*	*r.*	*s.*	*t.*	*u.*	*v.*	*w.*	*x.*	*y.*	*z.*	*&.*
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50

The cipher used by the Earl of Oxford, Anne Oglethorpe, and Capt. and Mrs. Ogilvie is as follows :—

Adamson	stands for	Mar.
Alan, Albert	,,	*The King.*
Allin	,,	Lord Arran.
Anderson	,,	King of Spain.
Anegle	,,	Lord Harcourt.
Apothecaries	,,	Tories.
Armore	,,	King of Sweden.
Bailiffs	,,	Court Whigs.
Banks	,,	*W. Gordon.*
Barbados	,,	*Sweden.*
Barnes	,,	Anne Oglethorpe.
Batertoun	,,	*M. de Torcy.*
Beane		
Bing	,,	Lord Bingley.
Black	,,	Lord Middleton.
Brait	,,	Sir G. Byng.
Brandy	,,	arms.
Brantford	,,	the Duke of Buckingham.
Brecy	,,	Lord Bingley.
Brut	,,	England.
Butterwig	,,	Mr. Cæsar.
Calendar	,,	Marquis de Mezières.
Carnation, Clear	,,	Lord Oxford.
Chancellor	,,	Lord Cadogan.

Chester	stands for	Sir Redmond Everard.
China	,,	money.
Coalworth	,,	the Catholic princes.
Colsan	,,	the English Catholics.
Comedy or play	,,	a declaration.
Coningham	,,	King of Sicily.
Crescit	,,	*Mar.*
Crocodiles	,,	Court Whigs.
Cudle	,,	the Clyde.
Danton	,,	Dillon.
Darby	,,	Mar.
Dark	,,	Sir T. Hanmer.
Davison	,,	Ormonde.
Denby	,,	Bishop of Rochester.
Denison	,,	Lord Dupplin.
Dickson	,,	Macmahon.
Dompont	,,	the Princes of Europe.
Dormer	,,	Duke of Berwick.
Doun	,,	Scotland.
Dutton	,,	Lord Dartmouth.
Epsom	,,	*London.*
Errington	,,	the Emperor.
Fair	,,	King of France.
Faithful	,,	*Mrs. Ogilvie.*
Faun	,,	Walpole and his party.
Fiar	,,	Argyle.
Fidelia	,,	Anne Oglethorpe.
Flint	,,	Bishop of Rochester.
Flush	,,	King of Sweden.
Flies	,,	Walpole and his party.
Fowler	,,	Sir R. Everard.
French wine	,,	troops.
Frie	,,	Ireland.
Furbe	,,	Bolingbroke.
Furbin	,,	France.
Gardiner	,,	Görtz (Lord Jersey in key).
Garnbull	,,	religion.
Ganymede	,,	Mrs. Ogilvie.
Goodman	,,	Bishop of Rochester.
Gower	,,	the King.
Greenwich	,,	*London.*
Haberdashers	,,	the Tories.
Haer	,,	Prince of Wales.
Halles	,,	*the Dissenting Whigs.*
Hardie	,,	the King.
Harris	,,	Elector of Hesse.
Health, state of	,,	religion.
Holland	,,	letters.
Hollins	,,	Holland.
Hook	,,	Thomas Harley.

Hoot	stands for	Lord Stanhope.
Hopes	,,	*the King.*
Humphries	,,	*Dillon.*
Indian stuffs or goods	,,	*letters.*
Innes	,,	Inverness.
Interloper	,,	Usurper.
Jameson	,,	Ormonde.
Jenkins	,,	Italy.
Jennings	,,	Duke of Berwick.
Jobson	,,	Inese.
Jolly	,,	Mar.
Johnson	,,	*Kelly.*
Jones	,,	Sir John Jennings.
Knighton	,,	
Knock	,,	Lord Arran.
Lace	,,	*letters.*
Lacy	,,	London.
Lacquer	,,	money.
Lambert	,,	King of Sweden.
Latmor	,,	Duke of Berwick.
Leaches	,,	Court Whigs.
Lee	,,	Lord Lansdown.
Lemond	,,	Macmahon.
Le Blanc	,,	
Le Brun	,,	Capt. Ogilvie.
Lendel	,,	Erasmus Lewis.
Lilly	,,	the Regent.
Little	,,	King of Spain.
Liverpool	,,	Sir R. Everard.
Macqueen	,,	Menzies.
Manly	,,	Queen Mary.
Mark	,,	King of Sicily.
Marseilles	,,	*Pesaro.*
Marwood	,,	James Murray.
Mash	,,	Lord Mansell.
Monro	,,	King of Sweden.
Moore	,,	King of Spain.
Morley	,,	Menzies.
Mortimer	,,	Marquis de Mezières.
Mungo, Munson	,,	Macmahon.
Muslin	,,	*letter.*
Nature	,,	money.
Nebuchadnezzar	,,	Walpole and his party.
Noble	,,	Lord Nottingham.
Orocke	,,	Lord Orford.
Oston	,,	Lord Orrery.
Ould	,,	Lord Middleton.
Painter	,,	Lord Portmore.
Paterson, Piercie	,,	M. de Torcy.

Peters	stands for	King of Poland.
Pilkins	,,	Sir C. Phipps.
Pink	,,	the Regent.
Plenty, Profuse	,,	Lord Carnarvon.
Polton	,,	Paris.
Pomfret	,,	Lord Poulett.
Pratt	,,	the Elector Palatine.
Preston	,,	the Parliament.
Priest	,,	Matthew Prior.
Primrose	,,	Lord Oxford.
Randell	,,	the King.
Rice	,,	ammunition.
Richmond	,,	*London.*
Rose	,,	the Regent.
Rouke	,,	Marlborough.
Rowland	,,	Bishop of Rochester.
Sergeants	,,	Court Whigs.
Shroud	,,	Baron Sparre.
Shure	,,	Macmahon.
Smouth	,,	Duke of Shrewsbury.
South	,,	Lord Arran.
Spiteful	,,	Lord Harcourt.
Starch	,,	Sir T. Hanmer.
Stepney	,,	Lord Stawell.
Stout	,,	King of Sicily.
Suck	,,	Bolingbroke.
Stye or Slye	,,	Lord Townshend.
Mrs. Swift	,,	Mrs. Ogilvie.
Tait	,,	the Tower.
Tavistock	,,	Mr. Cæsar.
Tickler	,,	Charles Leslie.
Toures	,,	Ezekiel Hamilton.
Trustees	,,	Tories.
Trusty	,,	Ormonde.
Twitty	,,	Lady Westmorland.
Ungrateful	,,	Lord Harcourt.
Wall	,,	the King.
West	,,	Lord Arran.
Whitely, Wight	,,	Ormonde.
Wilson	,,	Capt. Ogilvie.
Windom	,,	Mr. Cæsar.
Withely	,,	
Worthie	,,	Anne Oglethorpe.
Woulfe	,,	King George.
Zelford	,,	the Czar.

Key to the letter cipher used with this cipher.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n
p	q	o	t	r	s	w	v	u	&	x	y	z

Key to the figure cipher used with this cipher.

17	18	19	16	15	14	13	10	11	12	31	33	32
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n

39	48	49	46	45	44	43	25	26	23	21	22
o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	&.

The cipher used by Sir Hugh Paterson and Mr. Jerningham is as follows :—

Adams	stands for	Menzies.
Ailmer	,,	Lord Ailesbury.
Aleppo	,,	the Alps.
Anderson	,,	the French minister in Holland.
Anster	,,	the gentry.
Archbold	,,	the inferior clergy.
Ashton	,,	the nobility.
Atkins	,,	Sir H. Paterson.
Bailie	,,	*the Baltic.*
Bairly	,,	the French Court.
Baker	,,	the Spanish ministry.
Bandon	,,	M. de Wilda.
Barckman	,,	Amsterdam.
Barry	,,	M. de Prié.
Beans	,,	a friend at the Emperor's Court.
Befort	,,	Queen of Sicily.
Bell	,,	States of Utrecht.
Bently	,,	Pesaro.
Bernard	,,	*Col. O'Berne.*
Biggs	,,	men.
Bigsby	,,	Baron Schapiroff.
Binson	,,	the Sicilian minister in Holland.
Binton	,,	the clans.
Black	,,	Poniatowski.
Blair	,,	the Turk.
Blake	,,	the French minister to England.
Blundell	,,	Copenhagen.
Blunt	,,	the Czar.
Bonner	,,	T. Bruce.
Boswall	,,	*John Hamilton.*
Bourgate	,,	The Hague.
Brady	,,	the Spanish minister to England.
Brandon	,,	Marlborough.
Brandy, a bottle of	,,	1,000 horse.
Bromley	,,	Mr. Southcot.
Broomer	,,	the Emperor's minister to Paris.
Brughtoun	,,	Switzerland.

Bubb	stands for	Capt. H. Straiton.
Burnet	,,	Prince Kurakin.
Burton	,,	Mrs. Robertson.
Cassidy	,,	a journey.
Chancellor	,,	Lord Balmerino.
Chitwen	,,	Reval.
Church	,,	the Nuncio at Brussels.
Coal	,,	Liége.
Cobler	,,	Cadogan.
Connor	,,	the Pensionary.
Coppinger	,,	Italy.
Corbet	,,	Vienna.
Crafton	,,	the Regent.
Craigton	,,	Edinburgh.
Cransbury	,,	Leyden.
Crington	,,	the Spanish minister to France.
Crosby	,,	the King's enemies in England.
Cross	,,	W. Gordon. (This also stands for Carlscrona.)
Daly	,,	friends in Scotland.
Darling	,,	the bishops.
Davies	,,	the Czar.
Davys	,,	Lord Middleton.
Dempster	,,	Mr. Westcombe.
Denison	,,	Mar.
Digby	,,	Inese.
Dormer	,,	Riga.
Douglas	,,	Lord Peterborough.
Doyle	,,	C. Erskine.
Dudley	,,	Duke of Perth.
Drummer	,,	Mr. Hammond.
Duncan	,,	Brigadier Campbell.
Duterye	,,	Bavaria.
Dutton	,,	Count Velling.
Eagle	,,	Prince Eugene.
Elliott	,,	the Emperor.
Farmer	,,	W. Fraser.
Ferris	,,	the Landgrave of Hesse.
Fielding	,,	the King of Poland.
Finick	,,	the Pope.
Finnel	,,	the Sicilian minister in England.
Floyd	,,	Bolingbroke.
Fly	,,	a man-of-war.
Forrest	,,	D. Floyd.
Fox	,,	the Sicilian minister in France.
Frank	,,	Robert Boyd.
Freeman	,,	the Convocation.

Friend	stands for	Ostend.
Frost	,,	States of Zealand.
Fuller	,,	Col. Falconbridge.
Gage	,,	Lübeck.
Gardener	,,	Görtz.
George	,,	States of Friesland.
Gibbons	,,	peace.
Ginkle	,,	Church of England.
Glasgo	,,	King of Prussia.
Gloster	,,	Elector Palatine.
Gould	,,	the States General.
Greene	,,	Inverlochy.
Grimston	,,	Avignon.
Grove	,,	General Rank.
Hall	,,	Lord Stair.
Haly	,,	King George.
Hammer	,,	House of Lords.
Hardy	,,	Stockholm.
Harrys	,,	H. Maule.
Hastings	,,	Dutch minister in England.
Herford	,,	Lord Nottingham.
Herrings	,,	arms.
,, , a barrel of,	,,	1,000 men.
Higgins	,,	war.
Hindon	,,	Sir H. Stirling.
Holland	,,	the Dutch minister in France.
Holmes	,,	England.
Hooker	,,	G. Jerningham.
Hornby	,,	Holstein minister in Holland.
House	,,	transports.
Howard	,,	Utrecht.
Humphrey	,,	King of Denmark.
Hunter	,,	Capt. Thomas Gordon.
Hurley	,,	Parliament.
Ingoldsby	,,	the Emperor.
Jasper	,,	Lord Grange.
Jeffrey	,,	Dr. Jerningham.
Jennings	,,	Queen Mary.
Johnson	,,	Duke of Berwick.
Kennedy	,,	King of Spain.
Key	,,	Nieuport.
Kidd	,,	Admiral Padon.
King	,,	Bishop of Edinburgh.
Kingston	,,	Ireland.
Kirkton	,,	Elector of Bavaria.
Knight	,,	the Bavarian minister at the Hague.
Kulliford	,,	C. Kinnaird.

Lacy	stands for	Tullibardine.
Lally	,,	Brussels.
Lambert	,,	Dillon.
Landeskin	,,	treaty.
Landson	,,	the Swedish ministry.
Lawson	,,	James Murray. (This also stands for Lund in Sweden.)
Le Clerk	,,	Sir H. Stirling.
Lewis	,,	Aix-la-Chapelle.
Longford	,,	Görtz.
Low	,,	States of Guelderland.
Lucy	,,	G. Jerningham.
Lumley	,,	Ormonde.
Lutterel	,,	ships.
McHenry	,,	ammunition.
Mackenzie	,,	people of Holland.
Maddin	,,	the mob.
Magner	,,	provisions.
Manners	,,	Earl Marischal.
Martel	,,	King of Sicily.
Martin	,,	Sicilian ministry.
Mead	,,	the common people.
Mildmay	,,	prisoners in England.
Misson	,,	Sparre.
Molesworth	,,	Urbino.
Monot	,,	M. Meyres.
Moon	,,	money.
Morrish	,,	Gyllenborg.
Morrison	,,	Baron de Velderen.
Mountain	,,	Norway.
Murphy	,,	Dr. Erskine.
Nagle	,,	the English ministry.
Nedson	,,	Germany.
Nelan	,,	restoration.
Nelson	,,	House of Commons.
Nevill	,,	English minister in Holland.
Newton	,,	the King's friends in England.
Nolan	,,	France.
Oakes	,,	Inverness.
O'Brien	,,	Walkinshaw of Barrowfield.
Ogle	,,	*Finland.*
Parker	,,	Sir P. Lawless.
Pedler	,,	the Spanish minister in Holland.
Pen	,,	Francia.
Pepper	,,	Prince of Wales.
Ploiden	,,	Poniatowski.

Plunket	stands for	a friend at the French Court.
Poordom	,,	Spain.
Post	,,	States of Groningen.
Preston	,,	London.
Purdon	,,	the Low Church party.
Rawly	,,	Paris.
Richards	,,	Walpole.
Richmond	,,	Alloa.
Rigby	,,	a friend at the Sicilian Court. (This also stands for Gyllenborg.)
Robertson	,,	the King.
Rowland	,,	Scotland.
Safty	,,	ports in Sweden.
Sanders	,,	the opposition in Holland.
Saxby	,,	King of Sweden.
Sexton	,,	the Imperial ministry.
Shiel	,,	Denmark.
Shihy	,,	Holland.
Sidly	,,	a descent.
Silver	,,	States of Holland.
Simple	,,	the army.
Simpson	,,	Rome.
Sims	,,	the governing party in Holland.
Simson	,,	Lord Townshend.
Slake	,,	the government in Scotland.
Slingsby	,,	Princess of Wales.
Slow	,,	ready.
Sly	,,	Blunt.
Smith	,,	the Presbyterian party in Scotland.
Soho	,,	M. de Prié.
Spencer	,,	Lord North and Grey.
Steele	,,	Gottenburg.
Step	,,	States of Flanders.
Steward	,,	the Emperor's minister in England.
Stokes	,,	a spy.
Stoner	,,	arms.
Stoning	,,	friends in Flanders.
Swift	,,	Danzig.
Temple	,,	Hamburg.
Tomson	,,	Sir H. Crawford.
Tost	,,	Gravelines.
Trade	,,	Rotterdam.
Trapman	,,	Sweden.
Trembleston	,,	Maréchal de Villars.

Trot	stands for	States of Over Yssel.
Trotter	,,	Jacobites in Holland formerly in the army.
Trueman	,,	the King.
Trusty	,,	Dunkirk.
Tunstall	,,	Hanover.
Warren	,,	Governor of the Austrian Netherlands.
Webb	,,	Elector of Cologne.
Whitaker	,,	Alberoni.
Williams	,,	Lord Stanhope.
Wilson	,,	T. Bruce.
Windsor	,,	Stirling.
Wine	,,	men.
,, a hogshead of	,,	1,000 men.
Woods	,,	Petersburg.

Any Christian name beginning with A means the King.

,,	,,	B	,,	Queen Mary.
,,	,,	C	,,	Ormonde.
,,	,,	D	,,	Mar.
,,	,,	E	,,	Dillon.
,,	,,	F	,,	Inese.
,,	,,	G	,,	Menzies.
,,	,,	H	,,	Berwick.
,,	,,	I	,,	Earl Marischal.
,,	,,	K	,,	H. Straiton.
,,	,,	L	,,	Dr. Erskine.
,,	,,	M	,,	Sir H. Stirling.
,,	,,	N	,,	the Czar.
,,	,,	O	,,	King of Sweden.
,,	,,	P	,,	Görtz.
,,	,,	Q	,,	Sparre.
,,	,,	R	,,	Gyllenborg.
,,	,,	S	,,	Count Velling.
,,	,,	T	,,	General Rank.
,,	,,	U	,,	Poniatowski.
,,	,,	W	,,	Prince Kurakin.
,,	,,	X	,,	Sir H. Paterson.
,,	,,	Y	,,	money.
,,	,,	Z	,,	ships.

Key to the figure cipher used with this cipher.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n
41	40	39	38	37	36	35	34	21	22	23	24	25

o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	x	y	z	&
26	27	28	29	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18

The new words in the cipher used between Mar and Tullibardine, Glendarule and the other Bordeaux Jacobites, the keys of many having been printed in the Introduction to Vol. IV are as follows :—

Abell	stands for	*King of France.*
Albin	,,	*King George.*
Alby	,,	the Regent.
Allin	,,	*King of Portugal.*
Aylmer	,,	Prince of Wales.
Barckly	,,	*Duke of Hamilton.*
Beauchamp	,,	Glendarule.
Berry	,,	Ormonde.
Blunt	,,	*Duke of Atholl.*
Brady	,,	*Ireland.*
Brayan	,,	*Tullibardine.*
Brent	,,	*Perthshire.*
Bruntley	,,	
Carney	,,	
Cresswell	,,	James Murray.
Dalton	,,	Lord Panmure.
Davys	,,	Earl Marischal.
De l'Isle	,,	Brigadier Campbell.
Drapper	,,	
Enster, Sir John	,,	
Erard, Ewald	,,	Lord Stair.
Esline	,,	Lord Lovat. (This is also keyed as Lord Ilay.)
Fingal	,,	Lewis Inese.
Fox	,,	*William Dicconson.*
Frenders	,,	*France.*
Gander	,,	H. Straiton.
Garton	,,	Major McPherson.
Godder	,,	*Gen. Hamilton.*
Hanly	,,	*major.*
Hanlot	,,	captain.
Harcot	,,	lieutenant.
Hastings	,,	general.
Jersey	,,	Campbell [of Auchinbreck].
Kenmore	,,	John Paterson.
Kerson	,,	David Kennedy.
Kilgrave	,,	Robert Leslie.
Kilsby	,,	Charles Leslie.
Knapper	,,	*James Murray.*
Knot	,,	
Knowles	,,	Queen Mary.
Lacy	,,	
Lanton	,,	
Legg	,,	Smith of Methven.
Leopold	,,	Mc Dougal of Lorne.

Lidcot	stands for	Glengarry.
Lifton	,,	Robertson of Struan.
Lombard	,,	
Looms	,,	
Lucan	,,	Lochiel.
Maggie Miller	,,	*Lady Nairn.*
Merry *and* Mifton	,,	the Highlands.
Moore *and* Muntly	,,	the Highlanders.
Nagle	,,	
Nurnley	,,	Flanders.
Olbin	,,	*Parliament.*
Oleron	,,	the Whigs.
Omara	,,	Duke of Berwick.
Omers	,,	
Osselby	,,	*London.*
Orange	,,	Lord Stanhope.
Pellmer	,,	*Prince of Wales.*
Philberts	,,	*Edinburgh.*
Piller	,,	*the Jacobites.*
Porter	,,	
Praly	,,	*Queen Mary.*
Quelson's	,,	Toulouse.
Quelus	,,	Bayonne.
Quemps	,,	Calais.
Quint	,,	*Dunkirk.*
Quirk	,,	St. Germains.
Randle	,,	*a restoration.*
Ratly	,,	Protestant.
Rely	,,	Popish.
Renny	,,	subjects.
Rowland	,,	the King.
Seall	,,	
Sercots	,,	spies.
Shaw	,,	transporting.
Tarver or Travers	,,	war.
Taylor	,,	*regiment.*
Traly, misprinted Graly in *Vol. IV. p.* 306.	,,	troops.
Turner	,,	chief.
Wilkie	,,	Major Simon Frazer.

Letter T
15 ammunition.
16 cannon.
17 fusils.
18 pistols.
20 flints.
23 swords.
24 targes.
26 shoes.

A 1 stands for the King.
A 9 ,, King of Spain.
C 1 ,, Tullibardine.
I 1 ,, Inese.

L 11 stands for Glendarule.
O 1 „ England.
S 2 „ ships.

Key to the figure cipher used with the above cipher.

a	25	k	14	t	74
b		l	17	u	83, 85
c	22	m	16	v	52
d	20	n	11	w	85
e	12, 23	o	18	x	41
f	19	p	21	y	68
g	13	q		z	26
h	15	r	10		
i	12	s	94, 95		

The following is the cipher used by Thomas Bruce and Charles Kinnaird :—

Ailmer	stands for	Lord Ailesbury.
Ainsley	„	the Regent.
Alexander	„	Ormonde.
Anderson	„	Mar.
Andrew	„	King of Spain.
Arles	„	King of Sweden.
Armor	„	the King.
Armstrong	„	Bolingbroke.
Arnot	„	
Ballantine	„	*King of Prussia.*
Bambury	„	Bolingbroke.
Bandon	„	M. de Wilda.
Barefoot	„	Father Græme.
Baskets	„	ships.
Batherstone	„	The Emperor.
Batterton or Betterton	„	Thomas Bruce.
Bayly	„	*Bolingbroke.*
Bell	„	*King George.*
Beton	„	King of Denmark.
Bilboa	„	*London.*
bills	„	memorial.
Bonnor	„	Thomas Bruce.
Broker	„	secretary.
Brown	„	The Czar.
Burnet	„	*Prince of Saxony.*
Butter	„	King George.
Caldcleugh	„	Duke of Marlborough.
Callendar	„	Sir H. Paterson.
Carmigny	„	*Ormonde.*
Carse	„	Charles Kinnaird.
Cheyn	„	Cadogan.
Clerk	„	the King.
Coxe	„	*Cadogan.*
Crescit	„	*Mar.*

Crosbie	stands for	*Sir H. Crawford.*
Cuttler	,,	
Dallon	,,	
Dantrague	,,	General Dillon.
Daws	,,	Lord Lansdown.
Douglas	,,	Lord Stanhope.
Dunstroun	,,	*Lord Oxford.*
Elford	,,	Sir W. Wyndham.
Ellington	,,	William Erskine.
Farquharson	,,	Duke of Perth.
Forbes	,,	Earl Marischal.
Frankfort	,,	Brussels.
Fuller	,,	Col. Falconbridge.
Gardner	,,	*Menzies.*
Genoa	,,	The Empire.
Gideon	,,	
Gray	,,	
Grub, young	,,	*Lord Tullibardine.*
Haly	,,	Harry Maule.
Hardy	,,	Spain.
Havre	,,	Campveer.
Hewit	,,	Scotland.
Hooker	,,	George Jerningham.
Howard	,,	England.
Hughs	,,	France.
Hunter	,,	*the Regent.*
Hurst	,,	
Janson	,,	Italy.
Johns	,,	House of Commons.
Johnston	,,	House of Lords (in letters of 6 and 9 June, 1718, it must mean the King).
Kemp	,,	C. Kinnaird.
Kirton, Knight, Knightly	,,	the King.
La Grange	,,	
La Haye	,,	General Hamilton.
Lauder	,,	*the restoration.*
Langford	,,	
Leghorn	,,	*France.*
Lidcoat	,,	*Leslie.*
Limberg	,,	*England.*
Lindsay	,,	*ships.*
Lisbon	,,	*England.*
Lumley	,,	*the King.*
Lutsen	,,	the Emperor.
Martin	,,	*the treaty.*
Miln	,,	*Mar.*
Morice	,,	Mar.
Nagle	,,	

Nash	stands for	Lord Nithsdale.
Newlands	,,	arms.
Norris	,,	ammunition.
Norton	,,	troops.
O'Brien	,,	Walkinshaw of Barrowfield.
Ogston	,,	Holland.
O'Neil	,,	a ship.
Oran	,,	Sir D. Dalrymple.
Oswald	,,	*Ormonde.*
Pell	,,	M. de Prié.
Penson	,,	the Pretender.
Pitcairn *and* Pittcurr	,,	Amsterdam.
Portuguese	,,	*English.*
Pultney	,,	States of Holland.
Randel	,,	James Murray.
Rankin	,,	Inese.
Ratray	,,	*James Murray.*
Rhind	,,	Menzies.
Robertson	,,	Liége.
Russel's	,,	Brussels
Rutherfoord	,,	the Turks.
Short	,,	*Lord Stair.*
Shoes	,,	ammunition.
Stanley	,,	Sir H. Paterson.
Stockings	,,	arms.
Stubbs	,,	Flint.
Swift	,,	King of Sicily.
Thomson	,,	Mr. Campion.
Trail	,,	Sir D. Dalrymple.
Turnbull	,,	Ezekiel Hamilton.
Watson	,,	Zealand.

Key to the letter cipher used with the above cipher.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n
t	s	r	q	p	o	u	w	v	&	z	y	x

2	A	76	Thomas Bruce
11	agree	81	*Bishop of Rochester*
17	ambassador	84	can
26	army	87	*Cadogan*
27	as	91	cipher
51	be	104	Court
54	by	108	the Czar
55	Aix-la-Chapelle	113	Mr. Campion
57	Berwick	129	commission
59	Bolingbroke	130	D
67	but	134	declare
68	Brussels	139	do

142 duke
150 *Dillon*
156 daughter
166 E
168 *England*
172 the Emperor
177 England
189 father
196 fleet
201 Flanders
202 friendship
203 friends
210 G
213 general
231 W. Gordon
242 had
249 have
250 hazard
251 he
257 Holland
273 Gen. Hamilton
285 I
288 in
294 Ireland
297 it
298 Italy
301 jointure
307 Inese
316 G. Jerningham
320 King
321–323 the King
324 King George
328 *Liége*
329 C. Kinnaird
332 knows
340 lady
343 last
347 letter
354 loss
358 Liége
361 *R. Leslie*
371 life
388 M
391–393 Mar
401 may
410 ministry
411–412 money
415 *marriage*
429 mother
431 month
432 Mecklenburg
436 man
440 N
443 never
445 not
447 no
459 necessary
464–468 of
481 our
506 peace
509 party
514 Lord Peterborough
518 *King of Poland*
523 prince
524 princesses
533 King of Prussia
541 Princess of Modena
542 Princess of Hesse
544 *Sir Hugh Paterson*
552 *the Pope*
560 *Queen Mary*
570 R
574 the Regent
583 *religion*
594 S
597 Scotland
602 save
608 ships
619 Spain
622 Lord Stair
630 Sweden
631 King of Sweden
646 King of Spain
659 T
661 the
663 two
664 *twelvemonth*
673 to
675 treaty
676 troops
684 true
688 things
696 time
704 take
705 try
708 V
717 Venice
724 W
725 war
726 wife
739 will or would
745 which

751–754 Z		h	= 1
		n	= 2
Also		p	= 3
D = *the King*		r	= 6

The following is the cipher used with the King of Sicily :—

A

Angleterre	Altena.
Anglois	Anati.
Allemagne	Aspoli.
Argent	Arazzo.
Armée	Alberto.
Armes	Almona.
Le Roy d'Angleterre	Mr. Alba. / Mr. Astali. / Mr. Aquino.
Le Roy Auguste	Mr. Armand.
Cardinal Albani	Mr. Alexis.
Cardinal Alberoni	Mr. Acosta
Cardinal Aquaviva	Mr. Alpiggi.
La Reine d'Angleterre	Mr. Amauri.

B

L'Abbé du Bois	Mr. Beretti.
Milord Bolingbroke	Mr. Balby.
La Princesse de Bade	M. Bonerelli.

C

Le Czar	Mr. Corsini.
Le Prince Cellamare	M. Cephali.
Milord Cadogan	M. Carnaro.
Catholique	M. Casoni.

D

Mr. Dillon	Mr. Delbené.
Le Roy de Danemark	M. Durazzo.

E

L'Empereur	Entragues *ou* Epinal.
L'Espagne	M. Etampes.
Le Roy d'Espagne	M. Egmont.
L'Escosse	Epinay.
Ennemis	Essars.
Prince Eugene	Edelin.
Entreprise	Elvas.
Exprés	Elzivir.

F

La France	Fontana.
Le Roy de France	M. Frejus.
La Flandre	M. Foresto.
La Flote	M. Feltro.

G

Le Grand Duc	M. Gastaldi.
La guerre	M. Goddar.
Le Cardinal Gualterio	M. Guadagne.
Le Comte de Gallas	M. Grillon.

H

L'Elector d'Hanover	Mr. Herve *ou* M. Hubert.
Maréchal d'Huxelles	M. Herman.
La Hollande	M. Houdan.

J

L'Italie	Icone.
L'Irlande	Istria.
Les Jacobites	Jourdain.

L

Le Duc de Lorraine	Mr. Liberti.
Londre	M. Lima.

M

Le Duc de Modene	Mr. Morati.
Milord Marleborow	M. Maselli.
Les Ministres	M. Mazzoni.
Mariage	M. Monti.
Le Duc de Mar	M. Mirabello.

N

Le Cardinal de Noailles	M. Nivelli.
Le Duc de Noailles	M. Negrone.
Le Nonce	M. Novellara.
Naples	M. Nemone.

O

Le Duc d'Ormond	M. Olina.
Le Comte d'Oxford	M. Ossoni.

P

Le Pape	M. Pico.
Le Cardinal Paulucci	M. Panzachi.
Le Parlement	M. Pinelli.
Les Protestans	M. Petrucci.
La Paix	M. Poussin.

Le Duc de Parme	M. Pignatelli.
Le Comte de Provanne	M. Prudent.
Paris	M. Pompadour.
Pension	M. Palma.
Le Roy de Portugal	M. Persico.

R

Rome	M. Razilly.
Religion	M. Riccardi.
Retablissement	M. Ribera.
M. Le Regent de France	M. Ranucci *ou* M. Ricanati.

S

Le Roy de Sicile	M. Stella. M. Sansome, *ou* M. Salvador.
Le Roy de Suede	M. Stampa.
La Reine de Sicile	MM. Santochi.
La Princesse Sobieski	M. Spada.
La Princesse de Saxe	M. Santini.
Succession	M. Seissac.
Milord Stair	M. Simoni.
Milord Stanhope	M. Saillant.
Sardaigne	M. Sanmarino.
La Suisse	M. Saltarel.

T

Les Tories	Mr. Tarenti.
Cardinal de la Trémoille	M. Tanara.
Mr. de Torcy	M. Tepoli.
Turin	M. Tento.
Les Turques	M. Terracini.
Des Troupes	M. Tiberti.

V

Urbino	Ursini.
Venise	Velino.
Vienne	Veletri.
Maréchal de Villeroy	Mr. Visa.
Maréchal de Villars	M. Valemanni.
Les Whigs	M. Warin.
Voiage	M. Voltera.
Vaisseaux	M. Vaini.

Alphabet à double chiffres.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
48	47	46	45	44	43	42	41	40	39	38	37
49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60

n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z
36	35	34	33	32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72

The following is the cipher used with Cardinal Gualterio :—

A

La Princesse Anne	Mr. Anthoine.
Les Anglois	Mr. Adamson.
Les Amis du Roy du Angleterre	Mr. Alexandre.
Cardinal Albani	Mr. Abel.
Argent	Mr. Arboulin.
Armée	Mr. Alliot.
Armée Navalle	Mr. Ashyon.
Armes	Mr. Alby.
Adresse	Mr. Arnaudin.
Allemans	Mr. Allardin.
Angleterre	Mr. Arthur.
Mr. D. Alexandre Albani	Mr. d'Allegre.
L'Archeveque d'Avignon	Mr. Artamont.
Agent d'Angleterre	Mr. Anat.
Agent d'Escosse	Mr. Exent.
Agent d'Irlande	Mr. Irois.
Alberoni	Mr. D'Almon.
Cardinal Acquaviva	Mr. Aquin.
Mr. Aldrovandi	Mr. Aldermond.

B

Le Duc de Berry	Mr. de Bron.
Le Duc de Berwick	Mr. de Beaujeu.
Milord Bullingbrook	Mr. Beaulieu.
Bar Le Duc	Beaumont.
Abbé Borio	Mr. Boyn.
Mr. Le Marquis Bufalini	Mr. Buvier.
Le frere de Mr. Bufalini demeurant à Rome	Mr. Bulau.
Bologna	Mr. Basle.
Monsieur Battelli	Mr. Barieu.

C

Les Catholiques	Mr. Chaumont.
Le Clerge d'Angleterre	Mr. Caraman.
Le College de Douay	Mr. Constant.
La Chambre des Seigneurs	Mr. Courtin.
La Chambre des Communes	Mr. Cramail.
Le Connetable Colonna	Mr. Cornelio.
Duca Cesarini	Mr. Corbery.
P. Charle de Neubourgh	Mr. Colomban.
L'Eveque de Cavaillon.	Mr. Carmon.
Cardinal	Mr. Caral.
Congregation	Mr. Contoire.
Consistoire	Mr. Constant.
Cour	Mr. Covon.

Courrier	Mr. Covin.
Comte Castelblanco	Mr. Crosse.
Comte Carminati	Mr. Carman.
Czar	Mr. Caron.
Mr. Camocke	Mr. Colman.

D

Mr. Le Daufin	Mr. Dodar.
Douaire de la Reine	Mr. Dormer.
Mr. le Maréchal d'Huxelles	Mr. Husdon.
Daubanton	Mr. Duras.
Douglas	Dougeÿ.
Mr. Dillon	Mr. del Bene.

E

L'Empereur	Mr. d'Epinois.
Les Etats Generaux	Mr. Ellmor.
Les Eveques	Mr. d'Estain.
L'Ecosse	Mr. d'Enermont.
Les Ecossois	Mr. Edelin.
Ennemis	Mr. d'Epinal.
Les Elections	Mr. Egmont.
Eloignement	Mr. Evington.
L'Eveque d'Ellis	Mr. Erart.
Ecclesiastique	Mr. Econis.
Electeur	Mr. Elens.

F

La France	Frioul.
Les Francois	Mr. Forestier.
La Flandre	Falsbourg.
Flotte	Mr. Flemin.
Cardinal Fabroni	Mr. Fabert.

G

Mr. Le Cardinal Gualterio	Mr. Grammont *ou* Gendron.
L'Abbè Gaultier	Mr. Grillon.
La Guerre	Mr. Gordon.
Le Gran Duc	Mr. Gassion.
Principessa Guastalla	Mr. Grace.

H

Le Duc d'Hannover	Mr. Herman.
Mr. d'Hamilton	Mr. Hennel.
La Hollanda	Houdan.
Mr. L'Abbé Houvart	Mr. Henri.

I

Cardinal Imperiali	Mr. Jesmin.
L'Italie	Juliers.

L'Irlande	Imola.
Les Irlandois	Mr. Jenkins.
Les Jacobites	Mr. Janson.
Les Jesuites	Mr. Jolly.

L

La Lorraine	Liége.
Le Duc de Lorraine	Mr. Lambert.
Le Duc de Lauzun	Mr. Launois.
Londres	Limbourg.
Chevalier Lily	Mr. Lister.

M

Madame de Maintenon	Mr. Menar.
Les Ministres de France	Mr. Mornay.
Mr. des Maretz	Mr. du Moulin.
Milord Middleton	Mr. Mircour.
Milord Marleborough	Mr. Martin.
La mission	Mr. Mauroy.
La mort	Mr. Monton.
Monsieur Marcolini	Mr. Marenville.
Duc de Mar	Mr. Matre.
Maréchal D'Huxelles	Mr. Husdon.
Mariage	Mr. Maronis.
Duc de Modene	Mr. Maurois.

N

Le Cardinal de Noailles	Mr. de Neuville *ou* Nettancour.
Le Nonce en France	Mr. Nemon.
La Nomination	Mr. Nanteville.
Negotiation	Mr. Nollan.
Mr. Nairne	Mr. Neutton.
Le Nord	Mr. Panetier.

O

Le Duc d'Orleans	Mr. Orroy.
Le Duc d'Ormond	Mr. Osson.
Le Comte d'Oxford	Mr. Olive.
Les officers de sa Sainteté en Avignon	Mr. Offin.

P

Le Pape	Mr. Parton *ou* Pritchard.
Le Cardinal de Polignac	Mr. Pinal.
Le Protectorat	Mr. Pimentel.
Le Cardinal Paulucci	Mr. Pommar.
Mr. de Pontchartrain	Mr. Poussin.
Le Parlement	Mr. Palme.

Les Protestants	Mr. Pelisson.
Parti de la Cour	Mr. Parmantier.
La Paix	Mr. Panetier.
Mr. Prieur	Mr. Picard.
Pension	Mr. Plessis.
Passeports	Mr. Pecourt.
Passe en Angleterre	Mr. Preston.
Pontificat	Mr. Pontois.
Promotion	Mr. Pron.
Propaganda	Mr. Provin.
Duc de Parme	Mr. Perelli *ou* Porter.
Milord Peterborou	Pontai.
Paris	Poltoa.

R

Le Roy Tres Chrestien	Mr. Richard.
Le Roy d'Angleterre	Mr. Robert *ou* Renaud.
La Reine d'Angleterre	Mr. Raisin.
Le Roy Catholique	Mr. Remmon.
Le Cardinal de Rohan	Mr. Razilly.
Rome	Riebour.
Religion	Mr. Rolland.
Retablessement	Mr. Rigaut.
Roy Auguste	Mr. Rugan.

S

Le Duc de Savoye	Mr. Sanson.
Le Roy de Suede	Mr. Saurois.
La Suisse	Salsbourg.
Milord Shrewsbury	Mr. Sebaste.
Seureté	Mr. Salmon.
Succession	Mr. Saucour.
St. Germain	Paussois.
La Princesse Sobieski	Mr. Sobinay.
Secretaire	Mr. Serluis.
Spagna	Mr. Spanhaim.
Princesse de Saxe	Mr. Stuart.
Père Salerne	Mr. Silly.

T

Mr. de Torcy	Mr. Talmon.
Les Tories	Mr. Talbot.
Le Cardinal de la Trémoille	Mr. Tantonville.

V

L'union d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse	Mr. Urbin.
Les Whigs	Mr. Waldycke.
Versailles	Valogne.

Mr. Voisin	Mr. Valcour.
Mr. le Vicelegat	Mr. Visan.
Venise	Mr. Vaucour.
Urbino	Venetia.

Key to the figure cipher used with the above cipher.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	L	M
74	72	70	68	66	65	62	61	59	57	55
24	22	71	23	20	18	19	17	14	16	15
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z
53	50	49	47	45	42	39	33	30	28	25
10	12	11	13	26	27	29	31	32	38	37

The following is the cipher used with the Cardinal de Noailles :—

A

Anglois	Albert.
Angleterre	Asti.
Albani, Cardinal	Acace.
Allemans	Adrien.
Armée	Alexis.
Argent	Altin.
Alberoni, Cardinal	Amauri.
Aquaviva, Cardinal	Antelmi.

B

Berwick, Duc	Beauchamp.
Bolingbroke, Milord	Boissac.
Du Bois, Abbé	Bonarelli.

C

Catholiques	Canaple.
Constitution	Chopin.
Czar	Ciron.

D

Douaire de la Reine	Dacier.
Davia, Cardinal	Denis.
Dillon, Mr.	Durand.

E

L'Empereur	Eustase.
L'Espagne	Egmond.
L'Ecosse	Eryce.
Eveques	Etampes.

F

La France	Favas.
La Flotte	Favre.

Fabroni, Cardinal
La Flandre
Fayette.
Ferrand.

G

Gualterio, Cardinal
Le Grand Duc
La Guerre
Gerard.
Gerbais.
Goddard.

H

Hanover, Elector
Hollande
Hatton.
Hervé.

I

Italie
Imperiali, Cardinal
Irlande
Jacobites
Jesuites
Inese, Mr.
Ingleton, Mr.
Jordan.
Jolly.
Iliers.
Janson.
Justiniani.
Joseph.
Julien.

L

Lorraine, Duc
Londres
Lancelot.
Lascaris.

M

Ministres
Modene, Duc
Mar, Duc
Marleborow, Duc
Mariage
Maillard.
Madera.
Mascaron.
Marin.
Medard.

N

Noailles, Cardinal
Noailles, Duc
Nonce en France
Nomination
Negotiation
Nettancourt.
Neufville.
Noris.
Nelson.
Nolan.

O

Ormond, Duc
Oxford, Comte
Olivier.
Odon.

P

Le Pape
Paulucci, Cardinal
Polignac, Cardinal
Parme, Duc
Palmeran.
Pepoli.
Pallu.
Parpaille.

Peterborow, Comte	Perrault.
Promotion	Pontan.
Paris	Presles.
Parlement	Picard.
Pologne, Roy	Pimentel.
Protestans	Pirot.
Paix	Poussin.
Pension	Pointis.

R

Le Roy de France	Roque.
Le Roy d'Angleterre	Ranuzzi.
La Reine d'Angleterre	Rose.
Le Roy Catholique	Richard.
Rohan, Cardinal	Rigault.
Rome	Regio.
Reilgion	Rassan.
Retablissement	Raimond.
Le Regent	Rochefort.

S

Sicile, Roy de	Salmon.
Suede, Roy de	Scala.
St. Germain	Silene.

T

de Torcy, Mr.	Thomassin.
Les Tories	Tilman.
de la Trémoille, Cardinal	Tonnelier.

V

Urbino	Vieuville.
Venise	Velay.
Whigs	Vaillant.
Villeroy, Ml.	Valery.
Villars, Ml.	Vargas.
d'Uxelles, Ml.	Valette.
Vienne	Veletri.

The following is the key to the cipher used between Mar and Charles Wogan :—

A

The King	Mr. Anderson. Mr. Adams. Mr. Ashfield.
The Queen	Mr. Alison. Mr. Allen.
Duke of Ormonde	Mr. Andrews.

Duke of Mar	Mr. Aisbie. / Mr. Aitkins.
Mr. Dillon	Mr. Ashton. / Mr. Ardinson.
Mr. Innes	Mr. Alexander.
Mr. Wogan	Mr. Ainsley. / Mr. Germain.
St. Germains	Mr. Abberton.
Urbino	Mr. Abberfield.

B

The Emperor	Mr. Barns. / Mr. Bertram.
Emperor's Court	Mr. Burnet.
Emperor's ministry	Mr. Black.
Emperor's sisters	Mr. Busbie.
Emperor's nieces	Mr. Baron.
Prince Eugene	Mr. Brodie.
Comte Gallas	Mr. Brent.
Germany	Mr. Barry.
Vienna	Mr. Brown.
Rector of the Jesuits at Vienna	Mr. Blair.

C

Catholick Religion	Mr. Cousins.
Protest Religion	Mr. Couper.
Parliament of England	Mr. Canny.
Church of England	Mr. Christie.

D

Prince Lewis of Baden	Mr. Diccons.
His daughter the Princess	Mr. Darbie. / Mr. Dallas.
Baden	Mr. Darnton.
Court of Baden	Mr. Darnley.

E

Princess of Saxony	Mr. Essex. / Mr. Elford.
Princesses of Saxony	Mr. Elmore.
King of Poland	Mr. Edinsfield.
Electoral Prince of Saxony	Mr. Ebington.
Princess Dowager of Saxony	Mr. Edgworth.
Landgrave of Hesse	Mr. Ellingford.
Elector of Bavaria	Mr. Edingsley.
Elector Palatine	Mr. Ersfield.
Prince James Sobieski	Mr. Ellies.
His daughters	Mr. Errington.

F

The Pope	Mr. Francis.
Rome	Mr. Fennel.
Court of Rome	Mr. Freeman.
Cardinal Albani	Mr. Franch.
Cardinal Gualterio	Mr. Forrest.
Father Salern	Mr. Fenton.

G

Marriage	Mr. Gordon. Mr. Gold. Mr. Geddes.
Marriage settlement or dowry	Mr. Gardner.
Provision	Mr. Grahams.
Succession	Mr. George.
Restoration	Mr. Gasper.
Children	Mr. Gresham.
Heir of succession	Mr. Gray.
Heirs male	Mr. Gideon.
Heirs female	Mr. Gibbs.
Handsome	Mr. Ginkle.
Homely or Coarse	Mr. Gentley.
Young	Mr. Gayden.
Old	Mr. Gelliflower.
Tall of stature	Mr. Grant.
Low of stature	Mr. Gasfield.
Fair complexion	Mr. Gaston.
Black	Mr. Garton.
Brown	Mr. Gumley.
Swarthy	Mr. Germins.
Lean	Mr. Gay.
Lusty or plump	Mr. Gart.
Morose temper	Mr. Gedford.
Cheerful	Mr. Goldfield.

K

Regent of France	Mr. Hilcox.
France	Mr. Hasty.
Paris	Mr. Hardie.
England	Mr. Harris.
London	Mr. Howison.
Holland	Mr. Hue's.
Flanders	Mr. Homes.
Elector of Hanover	Mr. Hurry.
Prince Electoral of Hanover	Mr. Hall.
Princess Electress of Hanover	Mr. Hayes.
Present Government of England	Mr. Henry.

King's friends in England	Mr. Hill.
Heritage	Mr. Horsfield.
Land inheritance	Mr. Hunter.
Money	Mr. Hart.
One thousand pounds sterling	One last of herrings and one, two, three, &c.
One year old	One parcel of calicoes, a so one, two, three, &c.
Health	Mr. Hornby.
Alliance or Relation	Mr. Hull.
Interest	Mr. Harcourt.
A Journey	A Visit.
Power	Acquaintance.

Key to the letter and figure ciphers used with the above cipher.

a,	b,	c,	d,	e,	f,	g,	h,	i,	k,	l,	m,	n,
u,	w,	v,	x,	y,	z,	&,	t,	s,	r,	q,	p,	o.
a,	b,	c,	d,	e,	f,	g,	h,	i,	k,	l,	m,	n,
6,	7,	8,	9,	10,	11,	12,	13,	5,	4,	3,	2,	1.
u,	w,	v,	x,	y,	z,	&,	t,	s,	r,	q,	p,	o,
19,	20,	21,	22,	23,	24,	25,	26,	18,	17,	16,	15.	14.

There are also several cipher words not in the key but mostly keyed in the letters themselves as follows :—

Anderton	stands for	James Murray.
Apsley	,,	John Hay.
Blythe	,,	the Nuncio at Vienna.
Davis	,,	Bologna.
Dempster	,,	an escape.
Devenish	,,	Augsburg.
Doyly	,,	Brixen.
East	,,	the Czar.
Effingham	,,	King of Sweden.
Emmet	,,	King of Prussia.
Ferryman	,,	Venice.
Foley	,,	the Council of Innsbruck.
Forbes	,,	Innsbruck.
Freebairn	,,	territory of Venice.
Fryar	,,	Trent.
Godfrey	,,	Princess Clementina Sobieska.
Golding	,,	her mother.
Grimston	,,	her attendants.
Gibson	,,	method of escape.
Grindal	,,	means of escape.
Greenshields	,,	*family*.
Gordoned	,,	married.

Grooby	stands for	confinement.
Lally	,,	Prince James' Court.
Lawless	,,	Prince Constantine Sobieski.
Legh	,,	Breslau.
Lemington	,,	Ohlau.
10 Louis d'ors	,,	10,000 men.
Molesworth	,,	King of Spain.
O'Brien	,,	Walkinshaw of Barrowfield.

F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL.

CORRIGENDUM.

p. 385, line 18, *for* "Mr. Newington's" *read* "Lord Dupplin's."

THE STUART PAPERS

AT

WINDSOR CASTLE.

BELONGING TO

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

VOL. VI.

I

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of some remarkable matters concerning King James the Second's succession, Sunderland's contrivances and corruptions, Tyrconnell's getting the Government of Ireland, his proceedings there contrary to his Majesty's positive injunctions, and his particular malice against Sheridan, together with some passages relating to the public, the King's case and the management of affairs in Saint Germains, by the King's Ministers Lord Melfort, Lord Middleton and Mr., now Lord, Carryll.

(*Written in the year* 1702.)

King Charles the Second did all along from the very beginning look on Oates's plot to be a fanatic contrivance, to alter and subvert the monarchy, prevent the Duke of York's succession, and make the remainder of his own reign precarious, and therefore underhand discountenanced it all he could, and in common discourse at Whitehall daily ran it down, and, tho' the uneasy circumstances of his affairs made him dissemble his thoughts in public and temporize with his factious Parliament, which by Danby's contrivance had, without his consent, got into their hands the management of it, yet he was heartily incensed against him, and all its promoters, and resolved never to give way to the main end of it, his Royal Brother's exclusion. Wherein, notwithstanding all attempts, he proved steady and immovable, as being a thing to himself of the last consequence; being fully persuaded, if he allowed 'em a power of putting the successor by, he could not but implicitly grant 'em that also of laying aside the present possessor. To which and an open rebellion, their insolent proceedings, seditious and irreverent speeches, and extravagant votes seemed wholly to tend.

He had therefore good reason to be solicitous, and, after he found his endeavours with the Commons ineffectual, to use his utmost to persuade the Lords not to consent to the often insisted on Bill of Exclusion, wherein he proved so successful, that upon the first reading it was thrown out by a plurality of thirty-five voices. Not long after Lord Sunderland, having been found a zealous promoter of that bill, was turned out of his secretaryship, and banished the Court. But he had there so many friends of credit and power, that they prevailed at last for his pardon and return to the same station and honour; which yet his Majesty would not grant, without his Royal Highness's consent and approbation, unhappily obtained, upon great assurances of repentance and promises of amendment in his future conduct and services.

But this nobleman's after proceedings proved, tho' his language was altered, his heart was not changed, for the sense of his crimes making him conclude 'em too great to be really pardoned, and that the Duke's reconciliation was not free and unfeigned, but forced and dissembled, for which hereafter he might come to be punished, he resolved to be beforehand, and under a cloak of extraordinary obsequiousness to his Highness hide his inward purpose of still carrying on his former malicious design against him, which he knew could not be compassed without lessening and weakening his power and interest in Court, and removing as many of his friends as had proved themselves firm in the great business of succession, and bringing into their places men of his own temper and principles, which by all means possible he intended to do. The first he began with was Lord Rochester, whom under pretence of advancement, he got to be displaced from the Treasury and Ministry, and named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a politic contrivance to raise his friend Godolphin, an Exclusioner too, to that post, and make a breach between Ormond and Rochester, and render both less powerful in any future exigence to serve his Royal Highness. But, before Lord Rochester could begin his journey, a foul practice was discovered, relating to a bargain he had made with the hearth money farmers, for the surplus they were obliged to pay over and above their annual stated rent, whereby the King was found defrauded and his lordship's integrity became suspected; the scanning and examination of which matter took up so much time, that it was not ended before the sudden and unexpected death of the King surprised the whole Court, which with the Duke of York's immediate succeeding to the crown produced a new and wonderful turn of affairs, broke all Sunderland's measures, and put him and his friends into a mighty consternation. He apprehended that the King's dying a Roman Catholic had made him discover to his brother all his contrivances against him, who in a little time was to have been sent back into Scotland, and a Parliament to be called, under pretext of securing the King's reign

against new plots and conspiracies and quieting the people's minds, by settling the legal religion on such a foundation as should not leave it in the power of a Popish successor, if such a thing should happen, to alter it. But, tho' these were the plausible motives, this cunning Minister had another prospect, the D[uke] of M[onmouth]'s advancement, who he believed, notwithstanding his late behaviour and banishment, was still deeply rooted in his Master's heart and affections, and therefore continued with him a close and secret correspondence and friendship.

The sense of all this and his dread of Rochester's enmity, presently chosen by the new King Lord Treasurer and first Minister, did not a little startle and perplex him, and put him upon making his Court to all the Roman Catholics and entering into a particular and strict league of friendship with Mr. Jermin and Colonel Talbot, persons who had been long reputed favourites to the Duke of York and enemies to Chancellor Hyde and his family. These he assured of his great zeal for the present King's service, and his resolution to declare himself soon of the same religion, to which he pretended to have been long inclined, which last they were easily induced to believe, because he had always been known to have little or no religion at all and to be very indifferent for any.

These two persons, more vain and ambitious than wise and prudent, were as forward to agree, as he to propose. They promised each other their mutual assistance and endeavours to influence and govern in all affairs, to promote their several by-ends, and counterbalance and undermine the Treasurer's growing greatness and power; who, on the other side, forgot not to strengthen his own party, by getting Lord Halifax made President of the Council, and his brother Clarendon Privy Seal in his stead.

Sunderland in pursuance of the agreement soon got his new friends promoted, one was made Viscount Dover in England, the other Earl of Tyrconnell in Ireland, and having given them this earnest of his friendship, drew into his party, by their assistance, all the Catholic lords of consideration, and prevailed with the King to erect them together with himself into a particular Cabinet Council, to meet once a week or oftener, into which he got Father Peters also admitted; a necessary instrument to carry on his designs, as having wrought himself into an extraordinary good opinion with the King, by the care he had taken of the affairs and education of his natural children.

The ordinary time of their meeting was Friday in the evening, on which day at dinner they were all treated by Lord Sunderland without the intermixture of any other company. Which ended, they conferred notes, and agreed what was to be proposed and debated before his Majesty; among which one of the first things resolved, was the discarding

Mrs. Sydly, the King's mistress, the keeping her being a public scandal and dishonour to the religion his Majesty had openly professed himself of. But, besides those specious pretences, Lord Sunderland the first contriver had another end in the matter, which was killing two birds with one stone, the weakening Lord Rochester, in whose interests she was firmly engaged, and gaining the Queen to his own side. Her removal therefore was laboured with great earnestness by the Catholic party, and as stiffly opposed by the lady, Lord Rochester and her Protestant friends ; but at last effected, by the co-operation of Lady Powis and Dr. Gifford, to the no small joy and satisfaction of her Majesty, to whom on this account Lord Sunderland and Tyrconnell failed not to make their court, the first affirming he had the honour to be author of it, and that out of particular respect and zeal for her person and service, and the other assuring her, he might in a manner arrogate to himself the glory of bringing it to perfection ; having not without great difficulty prevailed with the above named Catholics to join in so ungrateful and ticklish an undertaking, and it is likely they were both believed, for on all occasions they were afterwards much favoured and countenanced by the Queen. Upon the Duke of M[onmouth]'s invasion Tyrconnell was dispatched into Ireland with a commission of Lieutenant General of the army, the government of the kingdom continuing still, as it was put at the King's accession to the throne and Ormond's coming for England, in the hands of Lords Justices, from which Sunderland promised it should soon be transferred and placed in Tyrconnell's.

These proceedings of Sunderland and his new cabinet very much surprised the Lord Treasurer, who still however, carried it outwardly fair to him, without shewing his inward discontent and resentment, but yet to countermine and remove him from court he advised the King to give him the Government of Ireland. This his Majesty offered and told him it was my Lord Treasurer's proposition, which he with acknowledgements for the favour humbly refused, and at the same time, persuaded the motion proceeded from malice not kindness, cunningly told his master he had much rather continue in the station he was near his person, than be removed from it, with that greater advantage and honour, and therefore, to express his gratitude to my Lord Treasurer, advised the sending his brother Clarendon thither, for mending his fortune, of which he stood in need ; the proposal was approved by the King, and readily embraced by both the brothers, to the disobligement of Lord Ormond, who, finding Lord Rochester in the Treasury, expected to have been sent back in his former post, nor was Lord Tyrconnell less displeased at this new designation, having been himself lately assured by Sunderland of that promotion. But Monmouth's rebellion in England, and Argyle's in Scotland being soon quashed,

Tyrconnell returns to Court very much dissatisfied with Sunderland, who quickly appeased him by fresh promises, and telling him that the sending Clarendon at that time into Ireland was necessary, and the only way to gain their end, by the ruin of both the brothers; which could not easily be effected without separating them, and that once done, he might assure himself of the government of that kingdom. Tyrconnell informs the King his Irish army was full of Cromwellians and disaffected officers, and that he could not be secure against another rebellion, without removing them and putting Catholics into their places. This advice the King was persuaded to follow, and he ordered a second time into Ireland, to reform and model the army; but, before he began his journey, he told Sheridan Lord Sunderland and he had an extraordinary opinion of him, and desired his friendship and assistance to lessen Lord Rochester's credit with the King, for that he was a professed enemy to Sheridan in particular, as well as to all Catholics in general. Sheridan answered that he was sensible of that lord's unkindness, and would be very glad of his and Lord Sunderland's favour; but knew not how he could any way contribute to what they proposed, having neither post nor character, and found by dear bought experience, in the former reign, how dangerous it was to fall under the displeasure of a minister, or be of any party or faction in Court. He replied the case was altered, and he need not be so cautious in the matter, for that Lord Sunderland and Godolphin, and all the Catholics were bent against Rochester, and fully resolved to out him, to which he might contribute by penny post letters to the King; who received many advices that way relating to the state, as the late King had from the same hand, very pleasing to his Majesty, and of which Sunderland, who saw them, concluded him the author. Sheridan said, whoever thought so was much mistaken, and that he had not need of such a method, the King having at his first accession to the crown, spoken very graciously to him, and commanded him to address to himself immediately, and speak to him freely anything he judged for his service; Tyrconnell said, though he would not own he had writ those letters, yet he was sure, whether he had or not, that he was as able as the author, and since the King was pleased with that way he ought to lay hold on't, which he pressed him to do, telling him Sunderland would give him proper hints for them, and also reward him for his pains; but Sheridan positively refused it, and said, if he did, he believed his fate would be that of the cat in the apologue, drawn in by Esop's monkey to burn his fingers. Next day he carried him to Sunderland, and was then desired, since he would not engage in the way proposed, that he would at certain times named visit Lord Sunderland, and hold a correspondence with Tyrconnell, and, as he found the accounts and advices he should receive from either for the good of his King and

country, discourse them to his Majesty, without discovering whence he had them ; to this Sheridan agreed, and accordingly the correspondence was managed. Tyrconnell goes for Ireland, and carries with him a large list of officers to be removed, and commissions for others to be in their places, most his particular friends and relations, *much to Lord Clarendon's and the army's dissatisfaction, and also to the King's loss ; for afterwards he was forced to give several of them pensions in England, being found always loyal, though then displaced, on pretence of having been Cromwellians and disaffected.*

Within few days after Tyrconnell's departure, his nephew, Lord Limerick, and Lord Carlingford, desired Sheridan to join with them in a proposal for the public good, and help them to word it better than they themselves had done. It was to induce his Majesty to mix in his English army a body of 3 or 4,000 Irish Catholics, descended from the English that first invaded their country, with an exclusion to all the old natives, distinguished from the others by the O's and Macs prefixed to their surnames. Sheridan refused to join in the thing, if they resolved to make any such distinction, telling them that it had been, and ever would be of pernicious consequence, breed ill blood and disoblige the O's and Macs who above ten to one exceeded the others in numbers. Lord Limerick said he was sure the King would not otherwise consent. Well then, if he does not, says Sheridan, I will have nothing to do with it ; advising them at the same time to keep their design secret, of which he assured them, he himself for their sakes would not speak. But they having before shewn their paper to one Mr. Darby Long, whom they mistook, as they did Sheridan, for one of the new Irish, their project was by him discovered to a club of Irish of different tempers, for which the Lords were much reproached and threatened, and therefore were forced to let their address fall, which was judged to have been set on foot by Tyrconnell's advice.

Some months after, Sheridan, by Sunderland's order, writ to Tyrconnell, that matters were well advanced on this side, and that his return was desired to perfect things, upon which intimation he comes to England in August, 1686, and brings with him the Catholic Primate, Bishop Tyrrell, and Mr. Nagle, a lawyer, with observations and accounts of the state and management of the kingdom, not advantageous to Clarendon, all which those 3 were to second and make good. The court was at Windsor, whither Tyrconnell repairing, asked Sheridan how Sunderland stood affected as to Clarendon's removal and his succession into the Government. Sheridan told him by what he perceived this last was not yet thought seasonable. What did he then (says he) send for me? and, swearing a great oath, if he makes me not Chief Governor, I will not make one step to gratify him by turning out Rochester, and I will go

and tell him so plainly. Next morning, being much out of humour, he sent for Sheridan, and bad him tell Sunderland, if he did not make him Chief Governor of Ireland he would not join against Rochester, but on the contrary, discover to the King all his designs, and his league with Lord Dover and himself, and upon what promises it was founded, the turning out of Lord Rochester, and Sunderland's being made Treasurer, that himself was to be Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Dover to be a captain of the guards in England, and a Lieutenant General; and to the Queen that the true motive of removing Mrs. Sydely was to weaken Rochester, and gain herself to their party, and not the honour of religion; for that Sunderland had assured them there was no leading the King, their main intent, but by a woman, a priest, or both; that her Majesty was pitched on for the one, and Father Peters for the other, who was promised to be made Cardinal. Sheridan startled at the strangeness of the discourse, begged him to consider again of the matter, that it was in effect to break with him, and spoil all his future expectations, and that it could not but less anger Sunderland to hear that expostulation from himself or Lord Dover, than from him, to whom Sunderland could not but be very much offended to have a secret of that nature revealed. Go, says he, I have fully considered it, and you must tell him this, for, if Sunderland refuses to gratify me in my demands, you shall own to the King I sent him by you such a message.

Sheridan not being able to get himself freed from so ungrateful an office, went and, as near as he could, repeated Tyrconnell's own words, during which he observed in Sunderland a great emotion and change of colour, who, when he had ended, asked if Tyrconnell was not mad, without saying one word against the truth of it. Sheridan answered, he was in great passion and more than ordinarily disturbed, and that it was much against his own will he was employed in the matter. Nay, says Sunderland, since he would send the message, I am glad he has employed you in it, and desired him to tell him, if he would dine with him he doubted not to give him satisfaction. What, says Tyrconnell to Sheridan, is that all his answer? And did he take no notice of what I bad you tell him concerning our agreement? No, replied Sheridan, this was all he said. Then, says he, go you back and tell him I will never dine with him, without having better satisfaction, which if he does not give me by you, I will go straight to the King, and pursue my fixed resolution. Sheridan goes back and tells Sunderland what he said, whereupon Sunderland told Sheridan he would state the case to him, and make an offer to Tyrconnell, which in his opinion was reasonable, and, if he found it so, prayed him to use his endeavour to bring him to a compliance. I will, says he, undertake to get him made a Lieutenant General in England, as already he is in Ireland, and over and above the pay of those two

commands, a pension of 5,000*l.* a year, and that he shall as absolutely govern all the affairs of that kingdom, as Lauderdale, in England, had done all those of Scotland, and I do farther promise, after the penal laws are abrogated in England, he shall be Lord Lieutenant, if he shall think that more advantageous than what I now propose, which gives him the whole power and as much profit, since he is not obliged to the great expense of this post, nor would he be by that way loaded with envy, nor obstruct the King's affairs, as he could not but do, were he now advanced to it, for he is a known enemy to the Act of Settlement in which the Protestants of the 3 kingdoms hold themselves concerned, and reputed so devoted a servant to the French King that to place him there now would make the people cry out there was a design to dismember it from England, and put it into the power of France, and besides all this, says he, the King has lately declared he will never put the Government of Ireland into the hands of a native. But, if what I offer will satisfy and make him join in the common business, the removal of Rochester and Clarendon, to whom for the present Lord Powis is designed to succeed, I will undertake that after a good issue here, the repeal of the penal laws, Lord Powis shall be removed and he come into his room.

Sheridan told all this to Tyrconnell, who declared nothing would content him, but what he asked, and said, if they were afraid if he were Lord Lieutenant he would give up the kingdom to France, he could do it as well without that title, and they could not be secure if they distrusted his loyalty, but by banishing him the kingdom, which he desired they would do, provided they would give him 10,000*l.* over and above the 4,000*l.* his two journeys into Ireland had cost him, but yet, said he, before you tell this to Sunderland, propose the Duke of Berwick's being Lord Lieutenant and me his deputy, to whom I will give my daughter for wife, and all my fortune. Sheridan repeated the whole to Sunderland, who said that was but to give the Duke of Berwick the name, and to Tyrconnell all the power, which he was confident the King would never consent to; however he charged Sheridan never to make the motion known to the King, and for the other of banishment it was all madness, but, says he, I perceive you cannot bring him to reason, and therefore I will try what Lord Dover and others of his friends can do.

Whilst Tyrconnell remained at Windsor, he still continued out of humour, and one day, carrying Sheridan to take the air, he fell into exclamations against Sunderland's falsehood and breach of promises, and afterwards into a discourse of the King's declining age, and the improbability of the Queen's having any more children, at least any that should live, and then swore the Irish would be fools or madmen, if after his death they should submit to be governed by the Prince of Orange or Hyde's daughter, or be longer slaves to

England, but rather set up a King of their own, and put themselves under the protection of France, which he was sure would be readily granted, and said this was his own opinion, and believed all the men of sense and quality were of the same mind, as he supposed he also was. Sheridan answered, he did not know other men's thoughts, and that the thing was new to him, having never before heard it discoursed, and judged his lordship had not spoken it seriously, but only in jest, to divert his melancholy, and hear what he could say against it. Upon which he swore he had spoke it in good earnest, and had often heard it debated both by clergy and laymen as a thing most advantageous to Ireland and ruinous to England, for that their trade, by which they were supported, would become wholly precarious, if France and Ireland came to be united. Sheridan replied, he was of a contrary opinion, as he believed others would be, whenever they should calmly consider the matter, for reasons too many and too tedious to be then insisted on; well, says he, in some heat, let me hear if you can give one good one against it: whereupon he answered, that he looked upon it as an empty project, unlawful in itself, and impossible to be effected, considering the weakness of Ireland, its distance from France and nearness to England and Scotland, for by a new rebellion the Irish could not but lose entirely the small remainder they had yet left of their country, for that they were worsted in all their former rebellions, when much richer and more powerful and assisted by Spain, when England alone contended and wanted the power of Scotland, with which it was now united both by interest and affections in that particular. His Lordship replied the Irish were then divided and some of them joined with their enemies, and that the assistance they had from Spain was not to be compared with what they might be assured of from France, a much nearer neighbour and more powerful monarch, that it was no rebellion to endeavour the recovery of what was unjustly and by force taken from them, and that no wise man could think otherwise. Sheridan said, as there was a certain time of prescription to quiet men in their private possessions; so there was for princes in their dominions, and that there could hardly be found any state or kingdom in the world, whose first and original title was not founded on force, fraud, or open injustice, and therefore it was as lawful for all other subjects, as for the Irish, to rebel against the race of their present English Kings; to whom by often repeated oaths they had sworn allegiance, from which no power on earth could absolve them, and, if they should happen to prove successful, which in their present circumstances was not possible, considering that the Protestants within that kingdom have the greatest part of the wealth and lands and as one man would all join against them, yet they would fare but like the gardener's ass in Esop, change their masters for the worse; since the Government of France

is known to be more heavy and tyrannical than that much more moderate one of England; well, says Tyrconnell, in a great huft, I will no longer dispute this matter with you, who I thought was my countryman, but now perceive you are an Englishman. Sheridan protested he had spoken his conscience as a subject and a Christian, without more regard to the good of England, than that of Ireland, and was fully persuaded his countrymen would be happier, in remaining as they were, than they could be, by pretending at the hazards they must run, to mend their condition.

Some days after Tyrconnell desired Sheridan to draw up reasons to shew it would not be in the Chief Governor's power, though a native, to give up the kingdom to France, which he found the King's main objection against him. Next day Sheridan gave him his thoughts on that subject, one of which was, that the Governor must be one of the new, or one of the old Irish, between whom as to that point, there could never be any union or agreement, the old being friends to Spain, whence they were descended, and enemies to France, and exceeding the new above ten to one in number, and, though the new had greater estate and more wealth, yet the others had more hands and more strength, and would never yield to set up a king from among the new, no more than the new would have one of the old, and that this opposition and balance between the two parties, would secure the crown of England against any change, whichsoever of the two the King should make deputy. He read the paper, and told Sheridan he did not like it, there being nothing in it to induce the King to trust a native, but rather on the contrary, not to trust any, whether new or old, since he had said nothing that might persuade neither of them would attempt it. He answered he had done his best, and thought it would never be endeavoured, since it could not but be believed it was impossible to prove successful, and that he judged the King would never make any man Chief Governor, of whose loyalty and fidelity he was not fully satisfied, in both which points he supposed his Lordship fair in his Majesty's opinion; but this did not discourage him from pursuing his design, in order to which he got one to propose to the King immediately what he had before by him to Sunderland, the matching his daughter to the Duke of Berwick, with which the King acquainted Sunderland, who, fancying it was by Sheridan, chid him for doing it contrary to his promise, but he convinced him he had no hand in it. Well, said Sunderland, it will signify nothing, for the King will not be drawn by that bait to ruin his affairs and gratify Tyrconnell's unreasonable ambition; it was afterwards found Lord Peterborough conveyed the proposition. Which not succeeding, Tyrconnell found other means to obtain his end, for some time after, with a more cheerful countenance than ordinary, he told Sheridan his heart was now at rest as to his

promotion, but busied how to get the Irish Act of Settlement broken, whereto he had already gained Lord Sunderland and Father Peters, who were now become his zealous friends, and after some more discourse on the subject, bad Sheridan tell Father Peters, that Sunderland and he had the night afore spoke to the King for the bishopric he desired, and would again, and doubted not to get it granted. Father Peters seemed surprised, and said he knew not what he meant, asking Sheridan if he had named the bishopric. He told him no. Oh then, says he, recollecting himself, I remember I spake to him about a bishop to be made in Ireland, which when Sheridan told Tyrconnell, well, says he, smiling, he knew very well I meant the Archbishopric of York, which he desires to support the Cardinalship he was before promised, which he would not you should know. Sometime after Mr. Ellis preached at Saint James's a sermon, wherein he urged several reasons to the King for breaking the Irish Act of Settlement. After the sermon was over, Mr. Carryll and Mr. Brent told Sheridan they believed the preacher was hired by some of his countrymen ; next day Tyrconnell asked Sheridan what he thought of that sermon, who said he did not think it so proper a discourse for a pulpit, as for the King's closet ; and told him what Mr. Carryll and Mr. Brent had said on that subject. Indeed, says he, they were not much out, I put him upon it, and promised for reward the Bishopric of Waterford. He then told him Lord Sunderland desired he would not put in for Mr. Guy's place, Secretary of the Treasury, wherein he resolved he should be continued, but would do him as good a turn some other way, if he would decline that, which my Lord Sunderland himself next day confirmed to Sheridan, to which he yielded. Not long after Tyrconnell told Sheridan, Lord Sunderland and he had the night before much discourse about him, and that he found he had a great deal of kindness for him, asking him at the same time, if he did not think the Irish would be glad to give 50,000*l.* to have the Act of Settlement broke. No doubt on't, answered he, since those concerned to get it passed, gave Lord Ormond three times that sum. Well then, continues he, go you to Sunderland and tell him I will undertake to give him 50,000*l.* in money, or 5,000*l.* a year in land to him and his for this service, and bring me word how he relishes the motion, which was no sooner made, than his Lordship said, he would take the money, not the land, not as a new thing, but what seemed to Sheridan to have been before concerted between them, telling him he was very well pleased to receive that offer by him, having a very good opinion of his understanding and secrecy, which the thing required, and desired no other but he should be privy to it, through whose hands he would have the money to pass, making him great professions of friendship, of which he assured him he should soon find the effect. Sheridan told Tyrconnell what he had said, and that he was sure the proposal of 50,000*l.*

was not new to him. What, says he, have you then offered him 50,000*l.*? He said he had having been so ordered. It is true, says he, but, since you went, I thought 40,000*l.* would have been enough, but, since it is done, there is no remedy, it will be no bad bargain. Three or four days after Mr. Fitton gets Sheridan to introduce him to Tyrconnell, between whom and Sunderland he would divide 10,000*l.* on condition to get his estate possessed by Earl Macclesfield, fled on account of the Rye House conspiracy, and Lord Brandon his son in the Tower, as partisan in Monmouth's rebellion. Sheridan goes with him and meeting Tyrconnell in the gallery, whispered his business. Tyrconnell goes back to his lodgings and, without giving Mr. Fitton, whom he had never before seen, leave to speak, asked if he had that morning heard nothing of a matter relating to himself, who answered he had not. Why then I tell you the King was last night pleased to name me Deputy of Ireland, and you, at my instance, Lord Chancellor, for, though I know you not myself, I heard so good a character of you, that I proposed you rather than several others that were named to me, and of this Father Peters, who is your friend, promised to give you notice, but neither of you must say anything of it, because not yet declared in Council, but will be this evening, when between 8 and 9, says he to Sheridan, I would have you be here, having something to say to you also. Mr Fitton surprised told him he was confounded with the greatness of the favour, and wondered he should lay such an obligation on one, that was wholly a stranger to him. Tyrconnell answered, he owed it to his merits and the report he had of them, and that this was but the beginning of the kindness, which on all occasions he should receive from him. After returning the compliment, Mr. Fitton told him his business, wherein he promised his assistance, which came to nothing. That day Father Peters assured Mr. Fitton Tyrconnell had no hand in it, that he had first gained Sunderland and after they both the King.

At the hour appointed this lord tells Sheridan, though his nephew Sir Wm. T[albot] was very desirous to be his secretary, yet he named him for that office, as judging him of the two the better qualified, yet he could not but give him two advices, one to leave off drinking, the other to avoid corruption, and not imitate Sir Ellis Leighton or Mr. Ellis, the first having ruined Lord Berkeley, and the other, the blackest and most corrupt of villains, my Lord Arran. Sheridan not only surprised, but also offended at the discourse said he wondered he should prefer to his nephew one he knew so little as to think he stood in need of such cautions, that he was never given to drinking, but known for one of the most abstemious men living, and that he had as great an abhorrence of corruption, and defied the world to tax him with any thing of it, though he had gone through many employments, wherein he could not want temptations, had he had

any inclination to that vice, and therefore told his Lordship he might give that honour to his nephew, for he was resolved not to accept it. He told him the King had approved of his choice, and therefore he must take it. Sheridan answered he was sure the King would not oblige him to any thing he himself did not desire. Just then Tyrconnell was called to supper, when Sheridan would have taken his leave, which he would by no means suffer, telling him he must stay and eat with him. Sheridan said he could eat nothing. Whether you do or not, says he, you must stay, for I have more to say to you. His Lady, taking notice that Sheridan was out of humour, asked him if he was displeased at the good news wherein he himself had so great a share. He said, he wished her and my Lord all possible joy, but as for himself he knew of no share he had in it, or, if he had, no cause to be pleased. She surprised at this, looked earnestly on her Lord, who calling for a glass of wine, drank to Sheridan, telling him, though he could not eat, he must drink to their good journey. When supper was over, his Lordship carried Sheridan to his closet and took a bundle of papers tied in a napkin, relating, he said, to Ireland, and bad him take them home as a badge of his new office. Sheridan desired to be excused, protesting he would never take it, unless the King forced him. His Lordship answered the thing was already resolved, and he knew the King would not alter it, and swore a bloody oath, if he would not let his footman carry them, he would send them by one of his own. Upon which he took them very unwillingly and was bid by my Lord to come to him next morning. All that night he continued out of humour, refusing to tell his wife, that desired it, the reason. Next morning she pressed him again, whereupon he told her the King had made Tyrconnell Lord Deputy, and advised her to go and wish his Lady joy. But this, says she, could not make you so extraordinary melancholy and thoughtful and therefore pray tell me the matter. Whereupon he told her this Lord's discourse, with which she was as little pleased as her husband. Sheridan, going to the King's levée, was told he was gone a hunting, then he went to Tyrconnell's lodgings, where there was a crowd to wish him joy. He took him into his closet, and bid him write a letter for him to sign to my Lord Lieutenant's Secretary for the yacht, to meet him by a certain day at Holyhead. When he had read it, he told him, before all the company, he could not spell. Sheridan prayed him to name the word misspelt, he instanced *move* which he said should be with a double, not a single o. Sheridan appealed to F[?ather] Marsh, who stood next him, and judged it was spelt right. Well then, says he, I do not like your style. Sheridan answered he was sorry it did not please him, but, if he would tell him what to say, he would write his own words, but instead of that he subscribed what was written.

Next morning Sheridan waited on him again, as he bad him, who took him into his closet and asked him why he complained to his wife (Lady Tyrconnell) of the advices he had in kindness given him. He said, he did not, and that she must have it from his wife, from whom he could not conceal the trouble those unnecessary cautions gave him. Well, says he, I charge you never to speak to mine of any business relating to the Government. As for that, answered he, I shall be sure to avoid it, in case I go with you, of which I am yet far from being resolved. It seems then you have not seen the King. Sheridan told him he had not, but was to have that honour in the evening.

The day after Tyrconnell was declared, Sir Maurice Eustace asked him, if Sheridan was not appointed Secretary. He told him that was talked of, but he did not yet know whether it would be so or no, but, if he goes, says he, he wont be of the Council. Sir Maurice said he knew Sheridan too well to think he would take it, without that customary mark of honour. When Sheridan waited on the King and told him that Lord Tyrconnell said he had pitched on him for Secretary, and that his Majesty had approved of his choice, that he was now come to beseech his leave to refuse it, for he was sure they two could never agree, the King was pleased to say, it was not Tyrconnell but I have named you, and you go not his, but my Secretary. Sheridan humbly thanked his Majesty for the favour, but begged he would not oblige him to what was so much against his inclination. The King told him he must not deny him a thing so much for his service, and that he would make it worth his while, that he knew Tyrconnell too well, to trust him with the Government, without obliging him to consult with Mr. Fitton and him in everything relating to it, and that he was to have an account by Sunderland, if they happened to differ, and determine himself which of the opinions he would have followed. Sheridan assured his Majesty he had rather go to the Indies than to Ireland with Tyrconnell, whose temper he not only knew, but also that he had some selfish designs wherein he could never comply, and that he believed his Majestie might find a fitter person for that post than he, who was desirous to stay in England, till some thing else fell, since he was disappointed of what his Majesty had promised at his accession to the crown, and where he was sure he should be able to do him better service than he could in Ireland. The King told him his going with Tyrconnell was absolutely necessary to help to bring about with prudence the rough part he was to act, which was reforming the army, calling in the old charters, and setting the corporations so, as he might be sure of having a good Parliament, which he was persuaded no English peer could effect, and that he would dispatch this work in 12 or 18 months, which should be the longest of his stay, after which he would provide for him to his own satisfaction, and, if what

he aimed at fell sooner, he should have it upon being reminded by either of his friends Lord Sunderland and Godolphin. Hereupon Sheridan, though very unwillingly, submitted.

Next day Tyrconnell asked Sheridan if he had spoken to the King, and being answered he had, well then, says he, you are, I suppose, satisfied he has approved my choice and that you are to go with me. Sheridan answered he thought he might, but yet not unless he was to be of the Council, which he heard his Lordship said he was not. It is true, says he, I did so, for I asked the King and he refused it. Sheridan replied he might then assure himself he would not go with less honour than all others in that post had. For that, says he, you may do as you please, I will not be denied a second time for you, and no doubt nothing could better please him than that Sheridan would not go. But, notwithstanding his all visible coldness to Sheridan from the time he was named Secretary, next morning meeting him at the foot of the back stairs and taking him into the Privy Garden, he tells him, but with a discontented look, I have just now done you a kindness, though a prejudice to myself; several were putting in for Lord Longford's place, Mr. Mathews, Lord Ormond's brother, and others, yet I prevailed with the King, but with much ado to give it you; Sheridan said he was much obliged by so unexpected a favour, and wondered how he should come to ask for him unsought so profitable a place, when the day before he had told him he would not desire, though he should request it, an honour without any profit, that of the Council, to which making no answer, Sheridan after a little pause went on and prayed him to tell him, how this could be a prejudice to him. Because, said he, you can never attend both, and therefore I shall lose the assistance I expected from you as Secretary. If that be so, says Sheridan, it is strange you should move the King without my seeking, for what would hinder you of it, and yet would not speak for my being of the Council, without which I told you I would not go, but, since the King has done me the honour, I will endeavour to discharge both, as I ought, but, if I find myself unable, I will quit one of them. Well, says he, we shall see, but forget not to tell Lord Sunderland I sent you to give him thanks, for without his assistance I could not have done it. Sheridan going on that errand met Mr. Monstevens, who told him his Lord had sent for him; Sheridan no sooner came, then his Lordship told him the King had a quarter of an hour before made him First Commissioner of his Revenue, with more extraordinary and obliging terms than ever he had known him do any one a favour, and that he had sent for him to tell him he ought immediately to give his Majesty thanks. Sheridan answered he held himself much obliged to the King and also to his Lordship, who, he believed, persuaded the King to it, to quit himself of the promise he had lately made him. No indeed, says my Lord, it was the King's own act, I am yet your debtor,

for, to tell you the truth, my Lord Tyrconnell disappointed by the King's naming you, of Sir William T[albot's] being Secretary, engaged me to join with him to out Lord Longford, and put his nephew into his place; the King had no sooner heard our reasons for his removal, than he said, Well, since it is so, my Lord is out, Mr. Sheridan shall have his employment, I owe him a kindness, and I am glad of this opportunity to pay him. And having done this thing so handsomely, says my Lord, he will expect your acknowledgements, and pray let him know I told you the obligation is wholly owing to his own bounty and goodness. Whereupon Sheridan acquainted his Lordship with what Lord Tyrconnell had just before said to him on this subject. Well, says he, I have told you the truth, and neither he nor I had any thoughts of you, but I see he is more a courtier than I am, and, whatever face he puts upon it, he is heartily vexed at the double disappointment he has met for his nephew, of whom his Majesty has but an indifferent opinion.

When Sheridan made his acknowledgements to the King, he was pleased to tell him what he had done proceeded from the sense he had of his former services, when abandoned by many others he had obliged, *that he would have him still in his thoughts and make his fortune*, and expected he would now go cheerfully into Ireland, and study and promote his interest there, where he was to take notice, *no man was to be put out or into any employment, civil or military, on account of religion, and that one of his chief injunctions to Tyrconnel was not to disoblige his Protestant subjects.* Sheridan assured him he would do his utmost to obey his commands, but was convinced he could not long agree with Tyrconnell, who, he found, was displeased at his going with him, and who he feared had some particular views and designs of his own contrary to his Majesty's interest and service; whatever he may have of that sort, says the King, his time will not be long, and it is yours and the Chancellor's business to watch and hinder them. I send you two as a restraint upon the violence of his temper and inclinations, and I depend upon your fidelities and prudence. Tyrconnell next day commanded Sheridan not to tell the Primate anything of public affairs, for, says he, I know him curious and inquisitive and too open to be trusted with a secret. Sheridan assured him he would not fail to obey him, but yet he was much surprised considering their former familiarity and the great use he had made of him for his advancement. The Primate quickly perceived Tyrconnell's change and coldness, of which complaining to Sheridan he asked him if he could tell him the reason, who answered he could not, but wondered at it as much as he himself did. Whereupon his Grace told him that Tyrconnell had lately said, when soliciting him for some Ulster men to be made officers in the army in presence of Bishop Tyrrell, that the King did not love those of that

Province nor indeed any O or Mac ; which he, disbelieving though not contradicting, went straight to the King carrying the bishop with him, and told his Majesty what that Lord had said to them two, not half an hour before. The King answered it was false, he never made any difference between the old and new Irish Catholics, but I know Tyrconnell hates the O's and Macs, and in particular the Ulster men ; you ought no longer to seek for a reason of the alteration, says Sheridan, for you may be assured the bishop gave him an account of this your proceeding. I do not doubt it, answered the Primate, and I am heartily vexed a man of his malicious temper and great falsehood should be entrusted with the Government of our kingdom.

The alterations made before in the army only were inconsiderable in comparison of those to be now made, both in that, and in civil affairs, in the courts of law and the council table, for which letters and commissions were expedited and put into Sheridan's hands by Mr. Bridgeman, who told him there were two for himself for which his Lord would take no fees. Sheridan answered, he believed he was indebted to his Lord not only for the fees, but also for the honour of being of the Council, for he was told the King had denied it. That cannot be, says he, for I am confident it was never asked, being a thing to which you are doubly entitled both as Secretary and First Commissioner. Tyrconnell having dispatched his affairs begins his journey, for which Sheridan could not so soon get himself ready. When some days after he took his leave of Lord Sunderland and Godolphin, he told them he had undertaken an ungrateful office, much against his own will, in pure obedience to the King's commands, and that by what he saw already, he was sure Lord Tyrconnell and he could not long agree, but he hoped they would, when occasion offered, put the King in mind, as he himself had desired, of the gracious promise he had made of providing for him in England, when the place aimed at fell, or his business in Ireland was over, which both of them promised and advised him to go cheerfully and mind his business and believe they would always be his friends.

Sheridan overtook Tyrconnell at Chester, who told him what he did not credit, that he was glad to see him, and that he intended to consult in all public affairs only with him, the Chancellor and Mr. Nagle, whom he got named Attorney-General (a promise he soon forgot) not saying any thing of the King's commands as to the two first. The contrary winds obliged him to a longer stay at Holyhead than he expected, where he often talked to the Chancellor and Sheridan, but severally, of his designs of taking Christ Church in Dublin from the Protestants to his own use, as being the church in a manner appropriated to the Chief Governor, of whom it might rather be called the State Chapel than a cathedral, and of bringing Catholics by little and little as

fast as possible into all employments, especially in the Revenue, of disarming all Protestants and raising, arming, and training a Catholic militia. To all which he received no satisfactory answer, both of them knowing those things were contrary to his Majesty's intentions and interest.

On Sunday, the 6th of February, he arrives in Dublin and presently sends Sheridan to Lord Clarendon with the King's letter, requiring him to cause a patent to be passed making Tyrconnell Deputy and afterwards to return for England, which his Lordship promised to obey. That night one of his gentlemen said in company it was the dog Talbot that had caused this alteration, which it is certain put all the Protestants of the kingdom into a mighty consternation, which every day increased by finding the Government become wholly popish by removal of Protestants. Tyrconnell, being told what Lord Clarendon's servant had called him, sent Sheridan contrary to the advice of Lord Limerick, Sir William Talbot and all his friends, who would have had him pass it over, to Lord Clarendon to complain and require the person to be immediately sent to himself, to be punished as he should judge the affront did merit. Sheridan went and told Lord Clarendon (not thinking proper to repeat Tyrconnell's words, he being yet but a private person, to the King's Lieutenant,) that one of his servants had spoken reflectingly of Tyrconnell, for which he expected by his punishment a reparation. His Lordship answered he had heard nothing of it, but would enquire into it, and, if found guilty, would punish him accordingly. Sheridan returned and told Tyrconnell what Lord Clarendon had said. What, said he aloud, I perceive by this answer you have not delivered my message in the words I commanded, but pretend to be wiser than I, so that I see you and I shall not long agree but must part. Sheridan replied, my Lord, if we must, the sooner the better, I shall go back more willingly than I came. Nor did he afterwards miss any occasion he could lay hold of to disgust and tire out Sheridan and force him to return, as he had done in England to hinder him from coming. He had got the King to write a letter forbidding the appointing of sheriffs until his arrival, pursuant to which he called his first cabinet, which consisted of the Chancellor, Mr. Nugent, Mr. Rice and Mr. Nagle, all three newly advanced, Nugent to be a justice, Rice to be a baron, and Nagle to be Attorney-General, and of Sheridan. His Lordship bad them consider whether it was not fit the sheriffs should be Catholics, which all were for, except the Chancellor and Sheridan, who believed the direct contrary, unless in counties where a loyal Protestant could not be found, for that no parliament was that year to be expected, and that to do it without that prospect was but to alarm and exasperate the Protestants to no purpose, who were already affrighted and surprised at the great changes made, and in their opinion would be more agreeable to the

King's intentions; Tyrconnell was much enraged, and particularly stormed against Sheridan for daring to cross his will, and thenceforward added two others, Mr. Daly, whom he got made judge in the Common Pleas, and Mr. Barnwall, whom he advanced to be King's Serjeant. So that his cabinet, instead of three, came to consist of seven, five of them all his own creatures, to whom he soon bragged of his mighty power with the King and his ministers, whom he said he had all in a string, and could lead by the nose just as he pleased, that they should see the Act of Settlement broken, for which he had by Sheridan promised Sunderland 50,000*l.* and that he himself had besides promised the Queen a pearl-necklace Prince Rupert had left his mistress Peg Hughs, which would cost 10,000*l.* more. Sheridan was surprised to hear this secret made public, which his Lordship afterwards in this cabinet frequently mentioned, to magnify his own power and strike an awe into his hearers, and intimidate them to a compliance in all things with his will. The Chancellor complained to Sheridan that he had kept him a stranger to it. Sheridan answered he was obliged to secrecy, and that he had never before heard anything of the 10,000*l.* for the Queen, which he would not believe, and indeed after this none was more forward to agree to his pleasure than the Chancellor, who, however honest he might be, never after opposed him in anything, for he was a most poor and timorous man, having nothing to maintain him but his office, to which dignity he was surprisingly raised from a tedious imprisonment of many years in the King's Bench in England for debt and pretended forgery in the business of the estate in dispute between him and Lord Macclesfield. On the 12th of February $168\frac{6}{7}$ Tyrconnell received the sword, and that evening told Sheridan he had made Mr. Ellis Secretary, and desired he would live well with him; he answered he could not but be surprised at his choice, considering the black character he had so lately given him, and to whom for that reason he resolved still to keep himself, as he was, a stranger. It is true, said he, I know him to be a great knave and villain, but yet he is a useful knave and being a Protestant can do me good, but no hurt.

Soon after Ellis told Sheridan he had a matter of moment to acquaint him with and prayed they might eat together at a tavern; Sheridan told him, he did not go to such places, and that, if he had any thing to say, he might speak it then; he answered it would require more time, and earnestly pressed him not to refuse him. This being the first discourse they had together, Sheridan consented, but on condition to pay his club, and, that he might have a witness of what passed, he desired Mr. Ellis's brother, Secretary to the Commissioners of the Revenue, to be his guest, which accordingly he was, but his presence hindered his declaring the business. Next day Ellis, meeting Sheridan in the Castle Court, asked why he carried his brother with him, before whom he would not speak what

he had to say, and desired they two alone might that day dine together, which Sheridan absolutely refused, telling him it looked odd he should have any thing to say to him he would conceal from his brother, but whatever it was, he might then speak or let it alone, for it was to him indifferent. Whereupon Ellis proposed how each of them might get 1,500*l.* sterling a year over and above their employments, which was by engrossing the agency of the army and joining his interest to get the reversions of the Custom House employments, he had in the last reign obtained, confirmed in this, in which as also in the agency he should go halves with him. Sheridan answered he liked neither of his proposals, that the reversions were odious and inconsistent, and the agency injurious to the particular persons that now enjoyed them, upon which, he offering to make the contrary clear, Sheridan told him he might spare the labour, for he would not be any way concerned and so left him.

The first Council Tyrconnell called after the letters for the new members were read, the clerk told Sheridan his place was to sit on a stool at a small distance from the Chief Governor's seat, to be ready to answer any question he should put, or to give him any paper he might call for; whither accordingly Sheridan went, of which Tyrconnell taking notice, asked him aloud what he did there. He answered the Clerk said it was his proper place, to which his Lordship replied I have no need of a monitor, and will have no instructer, go and take your place at the board; yet after that day he constantly brought in Mr. Ellis to stand behind his chair, at which, he being not a Councillor nor sworn to keep their debates secret, the old members were offended, and spoke to Sheridan to tell his Excellency it was a thing not fit to be done, which he absolutely refused, telling them, it was much more proper for them, who knew the custom, than for him, who was but a novice, and might be thought to have ends of his own in it.

Tyrconnell whilst in England had prevailed with the King, besides the great changes in the army, to make the Chancellor, Secretary, one judge in every of the Law Courts, Attorney-General and several Privy Councillors Roman Catholics. But, to show the absoluteness of his power and drive on his own designs, he was not many days in Ireland, before he got more and greater alterations to be made, without consulting the Chancellor or Sheridan; not only in the army, but also in the Privy Council and judges, among whom instead of one Catholic judge he got two and but one Protestant to be left, the King's law counsel was also all Catholics except Sir John Temple, the Solicitor, so that the Privy Council and the bench were in a manner wholly become popish, as well as the army, the persons advanced were his creatures, dependants and relations, all of his own nomination, and not only poor and indigent persons, but also for the most part

scandalously ignorant in the laws; he falsely giving out it was the King's pleasure to have it so, *contrary to his Majesty's express commands and injunctions to himself at parting, and afterwards confirmed in a letter written with his own hand the 15th of February 168$\frac{6}{7}$ and frequently repeated in his name by Sunderland*, who hitherto complied in every thing he desired, in hopes of the 50 thousand pound bribe, or else with malicious purpose to ruin his master's affairs. In the army no Protestants were left, except a very few of the best quality and interest, and to remove them also he bad Ellis to advise them to sell, for fear of being moved out, as the others were, for nothing. *Several of the officers acquainted Sheridan with this intimation, who assured them it was not the King's intention to remove any one that was and would continue loyal.* But yet they were so intimidated, that most of them begged leave, which they had on condition to sell to particular men named by the Deputy, by which restriction they held themselves doubly disobliged, as being not only forced to sell, but also to sell at what rates the buyers pleased, which were far short of what their respective employments were used to be sold at formerly. And to instance but in one for the rest, the Earl of Donegall, whose family had been always loyal, could get but 600*l.* for a troop of horse, which cost himself not two years before 1,800 *guineas*. For the army he recommended few or none but Leinster men or such as had served in France, despising all that served in Flanders or Holland, and the first Sunday after he was sworn, he ordered Mr. Wholochan to preach before him and the State, in the Jesuits' church, a French sermon, to which language the whole auditory, except his own domestics which were mostly French, were in a manner strangers, which the Protestants judged an argument of his inclinations for the interest of France, and the Catholics condemned as a vain and ridiculous affectation. *Many of the disbanded officers went for England where some got pensions from the King and others as good commands as those they lost, but the greatest part went into Holland and instigated the Prince of Orange to the invasion, which the year afterwards was made.* This Jehu-like proceeding and his over hasty making all Catholic sheriffs and issuing out *quo warrantos* against the Corporation Charters together with the Catholic natives indiscreetly giving out they were soon to be restored, not only to their ancient possessions, but were also to engross all the civil as well as military employments, put the Protestants into a mighty consternation and made vast numbers of all sorts, gentlemen, artificers, tradesmen and merchants as well as the disbanded officers of the army quit the kingdom, apprehending a bloody persecution and the breaking the Act of Settlement, *of which Lord Clarendon, at his coming into the Government, had assured them the King had no intention.* This they thought might now be

done under form of law, without an Act of Repeal, or by force, in case that failed, by popish judges, sheriffs, juries and army. And they were confirmed in this opinion by the copies spread about of a letter written by Mr. Nagle in October 1686 from Coventry to Tyrconnell giving reasons to induce the King to break that Act. The report coming to Nagle's ears, he complained to Tyrconnell, who thereupon calling for Sheridan asked him, if he had seen any copy of such a pretended letter, who answered, he had neither seen nor heard anything of it before. Go then, says he, and fetch me this minute the bundle of papers I gave you the night I was declared Deputy, which he immediately brought him from the office, assuring him what was true, that he had never opened, seen, or read one paper in it. He presently untied the napkin and found the original, which he neither shewed nor said more of to Sheridan, but about a fortnight after he was told on't by his sister Gwylims, who desired to know whether the King had any such design, which from that letter and the old proprietors boasting was generally concluded. That which makes me so inquisitive, says she, is that if the Act be to be broken, we had better keep in our pockets the 500*l.* we have ready to lay out in a new addition to our old house, than lose it together with our estate. He assured her he knew of no such intention of the King, but advised her to depend on his justice and public declaration by Clarendon, and not to be frightened with foolish reports, but go on with their designed building. She followed this advice, for which she has since often reproached him, her new and old house being after the invasion first plundered and made a garrison by the Irish, and afterwards abandoned and burnt to the ground.

This sudden change of the whole face of affairs in Ireland, proved a great stop and discouragement to the trade and improvement of the kingdom, both in cities, towns and country, which to this time was in a very fair and flourishing condition. Sheridan, apprehending the ill effects these noises and rumours might have on the Revenue, declared to his brethren commissioners, the first day he sat among them, *that it was the King's positive command that no man should be put in or out of employment on account of religion*, and therefore prayed them to join with him in a circular letter to all the officers, not to be disturbed with any reports they might possibly hear, but go on cheerfully in their respective offices, from which no man was to be outed, but on positive proof and conviction of fraud, or negligence in their respective duties, which he no sooner proposed than it was joyfully agreed to, and this he judged necessary for the King's service and interest, to quiet the officers' minds, allay their fears and incite them to a strict and greater care in their business, having been, even before his patent was passed, often advised by Tyrconnell to turn out all the fanatics and Protestants and put in Catholic natives, among whom he recommended

several of his own friends and relations, who with many more in crowds daily solicited and importuned him. But this letter dated the 5th of March was not more welcome to the Protestants than displeasing to his Excellency and the Catholics, whereupon they gave out he was not a real convert but a Protestant in masquerade, and several of them told himself they found no advantage by having the King and Government of their religion, since the Protestants were still to be continued in their employments and the Catholics excluded. *He answered they mistook the matter, the King did not intend any man should be put out, or in, purely on account of religion, and that theirs would not for the future be a bar, as formerly it had been, to preferment, but whenever vacancies happened, the best qualified for the place, whether Protestant or Papist, should indifferently be advanced.* But this did not satisfy unreasonable men, nor stop their clamours against Sheridan, who being still daily tormented with vast numbers of expectants and solicitors for employments, he got the Commissioners to join with him in fixing a public paper over the door of their usual meeting place dated the 12th of May, 1687, directing all such to repair to their several dwellings, and forbear any further applications; for that the Commissioners had resolved to choose, when any vacancy happened, such as they should find upon examination best qualified and that therefore it was in vain for them to attend longer or use any solicitation. The circular letter had before very much incensed Tyrconnell and the Catholic natives, but this declaration quite distracted them and put them out of all patience. Whereupon Sheridan was everywhere traduced for a hypocrite, a trimmer and a spy by Tyrconnell and his creatures, to the raising of which calumny, besides this proceeding of his about employments, several other accidents had before concurred.

Tyrconnell knew he was put upon him, against his will, by way of check; and therefore, all along, from his being first named, had used him very ill, both in England and Ireland, and found in him an opposition and counter-inclination in all the propositions he made for the discouragement of the Protestants. *But Sheridan did all this in pursuance of the King's positive injunctions and service and not out of any spirit of contradiction to that Lord's contrary judgment or pleasure.* Being therefore desirous to have a more complying Secretary, he often proposed that Ellis might have the entire execution of that office, and at last gave him a most unreasonable and extravagant proposal in Ellis's hand, to that purpose, insomuch that Ellis next day threatened Sheridan he should soon repent his non-compliance, and indeed thenceforward Tyrconnell put most of Sheridan's business into Ellis's hands, who took to himself all the profits, of which Sheridan often complained, but without redress. But besides this particular injustice,

Tyrconnell, sensible what the Chancellor and Sheridan were placed about him for, had from his landing all the letters to both brought to himself every post, and, after he had them in his own hands, sent for them two, on pretence he might consult them, in case there were in his own or their letters anything relating to the Government, all which letters it's most probable he opened beforehand, which Sheridan had several reasons to suspect ; besides this, that one night giving Sheridan several letters, he asked him, if one of them, pointing to it, was not from Lord Godolphin, to whose character he was before that time a perfect stranger, and if there was any secret between them he might not know. Sheridan having read the letter told him it was about his own private concerns, and contained no secret ; well then, says he, let me see it. Sheridan gave him the letter, which was dated the 7th March and which he read without saying anything then of it. Next morning he sent for him, and asked him, if he was not mad to shew him that letter ; Sheridan answered he knew no hurt in it, but believed he would have been more displeased, if he had refused it. Why, says he, is it not plain by it you are not satisfied here, and expect to go back in a little time ? I see now why your wife is not come, but, whatever you or others think of the shortness of my Government, *I will, says he, swearing a great oath, cut out work shall keep me here seven years at least, if not all my life.* Sheridan replied his Excellency might continue as long as he thought fit, but that he well knew he had not chosen his employments, nor accepted them, but on promise to be soon recalled and promoted in England, but it was not from that expectation but her own indisposition that his wife's stay in England proceeded. From that time forward he never more sent for Sheridan at the coming in of the English letters, which were all first constantly carried to him and opened with the help of his emissary Brown of the Post Office, who afterwards carried such as he thought fit to Sheridan, as he also constantly did to the Deputy those which Sheridan wrote into England. Nor was he content with this base and unworthy practice, but also employed several spies to observe and relate to him Sheridan's company, actions and conversation, and among others one who passed by the name of Johnson, a Jesuit, whom presently for that end he made chaplain, though he had upon his arrival denied that favour to Lord Limerick and two other friends he employed to beg it, as knowing him a lewd and profligate wretch, who was to have been banished the society in Oates's plot, which for fear was not done, he having got himself protected by the Duke of Ormond. This man, a proper tool for any wickedness, and wholly before a stranger to Sheridan, insinuated himself into his acquaintance on pretence of being some way related to him. He failed not to come to his house three or four times a day on pretence of kindness and visiting his niece, whom for his crooked ends

he had persuaded his wife to take into her family as a good servant and skilful market woman. He told him among other things, he might enrich himself and him too, for the use of the society, which he said was poor, by putting men for money into employments in the Revenue, and that he would be his instrument, being acquainted with many that had already offered him considerable sums on that account. Sheridan answered, he wondered he could propose so unlawful a thing, and that he resolved never to employ any man that would offer money, though otherwise never so well qualified. Johnson told him he was too scrupulous, and that it was now and at all times the common practice and very just for money to prefer one concurrent before another, supposing all equally skilful and able to discharge their offices. Sheridan replied he supposed what was not to be supposed, for that it was impossible for able judges to find two, much less several, equally fit for any employment, where honesty, skill and diligence were required, and desired him never more to mention any such thing to him, for that he had a natural aversion to corruption and bribery, and had already from some intimate friends and near relations, rejected such kind of offers with indignation. Johnson said, he hoped he would think better of the matter, and do himself and others good. Afterwards, finding himself more coldly received and treated by Sheridan, he complained of this his resolution, which he called folly, to several of his servants, and some of his relations, and said he could not persuade him to do himself or others good; as was sworn at the examination of witnesses in the after dispute between Tyrconnell and Sheridan. After this Johnson tells Sheridan he had by twenty years drudgery in teaching school got 300*l.*, which was at interest and lately paid in to him, which he would lend him without interest, till he could find a mortgage to lay it out upon. Sheridan told him he had no need of his money, and advised him to put it into some goldsmith's or merchant's hand at interest, till he could meet the occasion he expected. Johnson answered he was not sure of having it back at that time from such men, and judged it safer in his hands, who should have twenty or thirty days notice to provide it, and that he would oblige him by taking it, being unwilling longer to keep it in his lodgings. Sheridan told him he might better lodge it with the Jesuits; upon which he said they were not to know he had so much money, for their society did not live in Ireland, as in other places, in common, but every one shifted for himself, as well as he could, and had a right of propriety in their acquisitions, at least during life. Sheridan, persuaded by these arguments, unluckily took his money, by which seeming act of kindness Johnson fancied he should get a greater interest in him, and therefore came frequently to his house.

Some time after he pressed Sheridan to employ such as he should name who would give him money for the use of the

society, which was he said very poor, and judged not (as he did) the practice unlawful. Sheridan told him the Jesuits might enrich themselves a fairer way, that he could not serve them in that, that there were no places vacant nor any to be removed but on conviction of fraud or neglect of duty. What, says he, are you then resolved to continue all the fanatics? Sheridan answered, he would make no distinction on account of men's opinions in religion, and that it was vain to urge that matter farther. Johnson telling this to Tyrconnell, he was enraged and finding by his answer to Ellis's paper, he would not quit his Secretaryship, he wrote to Sunderland to remove him, and give him a Government in some part of the West Indies, being no less willing he should return to England, for fear he should discover his indirect and unjustifiable proceedings, than that he should still continue in Ireland. Sheridan had an account of this his motion, and was also informed by a letter from an incognito in Dublin dated the 3rd of April, 1687, to be on his guard, for that Tyrconnell hated him, and had set several spies to pry into his actions, and resolved by hook or by crook to get him out. Among other of his unkindnesses a new establishment being to be made, he wrote unknown to Sheridan, that, he having two good employments, the 550*l.* he had by patent from King Charles II might very well be struck off and saved, of which by a letter 22nd of April, 1687, Lord Godolphin gave him notice. *But upon the reasons given by Sheridan in answer, his pension was still continued by King James to Tyrconnell's great vexation.*

About this time, the business of the Charters being vigorously pushed on, the Recorder of Dublin was sent to London to state their particular case; upon whose representation Tyrconnell was ordered, to his great disturbance, to have a clause inserted in all the new charters, that every future new Governor should have power to make what alterations he should think fit, and change or turn out any of the members in every corporation; several letters passed between him and Sunderland on this subject, whose non-compliance with his desire in this and in that against Sheridan made him suspect and storm against him, and conclude Sheridan had found means to inform the King and him of his violent proceedings, and farther intentions against the Protestants and the independence he designed of that kingdom upon England. Upon this he wrote privately by F[athe]r la Mar, *alias* Forbes, a Scotch Jesuit, then by accident in Ireland, to the King and Queen, and begged him to make use of all his interest to make the Charters, as he had projected them, unalterable; but all to no purpose. He was also crossed in his design of making Dublin College presently popish, in order to which, as soon as he was sure of the Government of that kingdom, he sent for Mr. Moor from Paris to be Provost, a person suspected for Jansenism, and twice forced to abjure that heresy; and for a beginning he recommended one Jordan, a convert, to be

made a fellow by *mandamus*, against which Sheridan advised him, assuring him nothing could more startle the Protestants than that, and was confident the King would not yet at least think it proper. However he wrote and was in this also denied. Soon after he got the Catholic bishops of Dublin, Meath, Clogher and others, to recommend Mr. Moor to the King and pray that the management and conduct of that house might be put into the hands of seculars; which the King refused, either as unreasonable, or else persuaded the Jesuits were fitter for that function.

Not long after one Shapland and Archer, having by some means gained the Deputy, petitioned the Council, that a judgment in a matter of the Revenue given in Lord Clarendon's time might be repealed. The Commissioners appearing for the King against them, and Sheridan speaking at the Board what he judged for his Majesty's service, was commanded by Tyrconnell to rise from his place and stand with his brethren, that, in case it came to a vote, his might not be received, on pretence of being a party. Whereas indeed the parties were the King on one side, and the two merchants on the other; the thing happened before Sheridan was concerned, but being fully possessed of it, he gave such reasons for confirming the judgment, that with much ado the Board was prevailed with to grant a second hearing and to order the Commissioners to give their reasons in writing, but Tyrconnell was so vexed at what he said, that he publicly called him insolent, which double affront Sheridan bore patiently without any reply, which encouraged his Excellency to repeat the same language after the reasons were read signed by himself and brethren for confirming the former judgment, which were so clear and satisfactory that the Council without a vote declared it valid and unrepealable, much to Tyrconnell's dissatisfaction, who afterwards told about, that Sheridan did this to cross him, and shew his wit, and not for zeal to the King's interest.

That summer an account was given to Tyrconnell that above 4,000 Scotch fanatics, many of them besides the preacher come from Scotland, had a meeting for several days in Ulster, and discoursed many things tending to sedition and rebellion; for which the preacher was taken and sent prisoner into Scotland; from whence he escaped into Holland. Hereupon Sheridan advised his Excellency after the rendezvous of the army at the Curragh of Kildare, to send the regiments of Mountjoy and Forbes, the only two Scotch protestant colonels, to winter quarters in Munster, and Irish Catholics into Ulster, which he followed, but soon after, on Mountjoy's solicitation with his lady, altered to the King's damage, and sent them back to Derry, where in the revolution they joined with the townsmen, turned out all the Catholics and declared for the Usurper. When he had found all his endeavours to alter the clause commanded to be inserted in the new charters vain,

he declared to his cabinet he would get the Parliament to expunge it, and repeal Poynings' Act, and grant a liberty to transport their wool into France, and import tobacco and other plantation commodities into Ireland, without unlading first in England, as by a late Act of Parliament there they were obliged, and, *unless the King would consent to all these things, as well as to an alteration of the Irish Act of Settlement, they should pass no money bills.*

Not long after Tyrconnell received a command to meet the King in August in his progress at Chester, whither Sheridan asked his leave to wait on him, but was refused, but the next post he received a letter from Sunderland telling him the King likewise commanded his attendance, at which Tyrconnell shewed much dissatisfaction, who apprehended he would give the King and Sunderland a full account of all his proceedings. He carried with him his two creatures Rice and Nagle and Ellis, and his chaplain Johnson, but arriving before the King he went to meet him at Shrewsbury and obliged Sheridan to lodge there in the same house with himself, the more narrowly to watch his motions, and prevent, if possible, his speaking privately with the King or Sunderland. When Sheridan kissed the King's hand the night of his arrival there, he commanded him to be at his levée next morning, whither he went before Tyrconnell was stirring. The King took Sheridan aside and told him he would stay longer at Chester than he intended at Shrewsbery, where he could discourse him at large of all his affairs, of which he expected from him a full account. Tyrconnell, being told Sheridan was gone out, followed him to the King's lodgings, and not seeing him there went presently to Lord Sunderland, where finding him, he ordered him immediately to return to Chester, and with Rice and Nagle prepare the things that were to be proposed to the King. Sheridan answered, that was already done in Dublin. Not fully enough, says he, and therefore you must needs go back. Well, says Sunderland to Sheridan, we shall there have more time to discourse matters.

The day following the King arrived at Chester, and that night Tyrconnell sent for Sheridan and asked for the minutes of what was to be discoursed with his Majesty ; among which coming to the point of the Act of Settlement, his Lordship said he was of opinion the Act was in part to be broken, and in part to be confirmed by a new Act, that should cut off one half or one third from all the new interested men and divide what should be so cut off among some particular sufferers to be named, reserving a sufficient fund of reprisals for all *bona fide* Catholics purchasers. To this the other two readily assented, as a thing before concerted among them. Sheridan being silent was asked whether he was not of the same opinion, who answered he was not, for that the great grievances and palpable injustices of the old Act could never be that way redressed, and that such a new one would be as unjust as the

former, and that the Protestant purchasers ought in all reason to be reprised as well as the Catholics, that there were above 8,000 innocent claimants cut off by the former, most of whom, by this now intended, would be still and for ever excluded, contrary to all methods of equity, policy and prudence. Upon which Tyrconnell flew into a passion, and cried, God damn you for an impudent saucy fellow, and him that made you a privy councillor; how dare you be of a different opinion from mine or pretend to be a better patriot than I? Sheridan answered it was the King made him a privy councillor, and, whilst he had that honour, he judged him bound in conscience, being sworn to it, to speak his thoughts freely, as he had then done, and ever would on all occasions, that what he said was for the King's honour, and the public good, and that he himself, being a younger brother, was neither to get or lose by the repeal or alteration of the settlement, by which his father, though a Protestant, was a loser, his claim having never been heard. Well, says he, rising up in fury, God damn me for making you Secretary, whom after this I will never more consult, upon which Sheridan answered, I see then, my Lord, I have no more business here, and therefore I'll go home. Go, says he, and the devil go with you. That night, after Sheridan was in bed, his servant goes in and tells him Baron Rice and Nagle pressed earnestly then to speak with him, who in that instant following told him, they were much troubled at Tyrconnell's behaviour, and were persuaded his passion was the effect of wine, for, after he was gone, he told them he had supped with Sunderland, whom he found averse to every thing he proposed, which put him out of humour, that he was very sorry for what he had said to him, and would next day ask his pardon for it. Sheridan answered he was not in drink, and that they were much mistaken, if they thought the ill treatment he had received was the effect of wine, it was but a farther continuance of what he gave him all along from the moment he was named Secretary, a post he had unwillingly accepted, and which he was resolved next morning to give up, being no longer able to bear the great affronts and harsh usage he had hitherto suffered. They laboured much to dissuade him, but he told them his resolution was fixed, begged them to retire and leave him to his rest.

Next morning Sheridan went to the King's Levée with intention as soon as he was dressed, to beg an audience and leave to quit the service, and give him a full account of all matters. But Tyrconnell, being told by Rice and Nagle of Sheridan's resolution, sent for him thither; Sheridan told his messenger he would wait on him after the Levée was over; but this not satisfying he sends again to tell him he must that moment come to him, for he had something to say to him from the King which he forgot to tell him last night, which was necessary for him to know before he spoke to his Majesty. Sheridan thereupon goes to him; whom as soon as he saw,

he took into another room, and told him he was heartily sorry for what he said the night before, and begged his pardon, assuring him, what his two creatures had done before, that Sunderland had put him out of all patience, having found him entirely changed, and swearing by God, if he would but pass that by, and say nothing of it to the King or him, they two, for the future, should live as well and kindly together as two brothers born of the same mother. Sheridan answered, his usage of him had made him weary, not only of his employments, but also of his life, that he could no longer endure it; that he was absolutely determined that very morning to beg the King's leave to quit, and never return in the same stations, wherein from the beginning he found his Excellency was angry at his being placed; upon which this Lord swore bloodily, he was much mistaken, and that he desired nothing more, than that for the public good he should still continue in those posts, and swearing again by God, you must not, says he, deny me, and in token you shall have no cause to repent, I embrace you, taking him about the neck and hugging him, and without more ado, dear Sheridan, says he, you must forget all that's past, stay and dine with me, and in a glass of wine bury all your discontents. Sheridan was so simple as to believe him sincere and told him he would for this time be satisfied with his oaths and promises, and forbear speaking what he intended to the King, but could not dine with him, being pre-engaged by Lord Huntingdon to eat with Lord Powis and some other friends that day. You must, says he, send your excuse, for you must not stir from me, the King having ordered me to wait on him after dinner, and bring you with me. Sheridan begged his leave to go, and assured him he would meet him at the King's dinner. Tyrconnell told him he must not stir from him, till they two appeared before his Majesty, suspecting perhaps, as from his after proceedings may be guessed, that Sheridan was no more sincere than himself, but, if he got away, would go directly to the King and pursue his first resolution.

Sheridan was therefore forced to remain his prisoner, and going with him to Court, after Mass and dinner ended, they were both called into the King's bed-chamber, where his Majesty asked Sheridan of the state of his Irish Revenue, of which he gave him the best account he was able. Tyrconnell, laying hold on that occasion, extremely commended Sheridan's zeal and ability in that affair, to which the King was pleased to answer, you need not tell me anything of him, it was my knowledge of his understanding and honesty in that and other matters, that made me send him with you, and I do not doubt his answering my expectations in all things. Being dismissed and going to dinner Tyrconnell bragged of the kindness he had done him with the King, and that for the future, on all occasions he should find cause to be pleased. When dinner was done, where besides them two were Sir Thomas Newcomen

and Colonel Richard Hamilton, Sheridan slipping away was called back by my Lord, and told he must not leave him till he went to Court, which soon after he did, with Rice and Nagle. His Lordship went into the bed-chamber, came out again, and called those two. Presently after Lord Sunderland comes to the door and seeing Sheridan there, took him in. The King then asked Tyrconnell what he had to offer, who, after several other matters, fell at last upon the Act of Settlement, and proposed the alteration to be made, in the manner he had mentioned the night before to those his creatures and Sheridan. They two told his Majesty they were of the same opinion. Are you also, says the King, to Sheridan? Who answered he was not, for the reasons he had before given, which he then repeated, adding that he judged it necessary for his Majesty's honour and vindication to the world, to break that Act entirely, and frame such a new one as should best answer the ends King Charles II proposed by it, and be most agreeable to justice and conscience and the peace of '48, and rectify the palpable injustices of the old one, by which about 8,000 innocent claimants, without ever being heard or convicted, were condemned and suffered as nocent. The two lawyers begged leave to answer what Sheridan had offered, but the King told them he was not at leisure, nor was it proper there to hear that matter debated, but, since they did not all agree, he ordered two drafts to be made of a new Act, one after their way, and another after Sheridan's, and him to bring both over next Christmas, when his Majesty with his council would severally and fully consider them, and cause such a new one to be made as should be most agreeable to reason and prudence.

But this determination (though wise) Tyrconnell resolved not to follow, because by that method he could not come by the great estate he designed himself, and therefore was infinitely enraged at Sheridan for crossing his will and being the occasion on't. Next day the King went to Holywell, whither Tyrconnell attended him, and Sheridan waited on Sunderland, who told him that, when Tyrconnell brought in his two lawyers, the King asked him, why is not Sheridan here? Did I not bid you order him to come at this hour? Yes sir, says he, and I desired Lord Tyrconnell to bring him, who answered he had given him notice of the hour, and wondered he should forget it. Upon which the King bad me go and call you, and finding you at the door I brought you in. Sheridan assured his lordship Tyrconnell had not told him one word of that meeting, though he would not let him stir from him all that day, and brought him with him to the Court, but I now perceive the reason was, he knew I was in the point of the Act of a different opinion from his and his lawyers, who, he hoped, would in my absence have persuaded the King to approve of their project. But, says Sunderland, the King would not enter upon any of their matters till you came,

though Tyrconnell offered it, and I assure you he thinks what you said the most reasonable, and expects to see you at Christmas with the two schemes for a new Act. Sheridan told him he would do his best to serve his Majesty, but was very uneasy in his stations, Tyrconnell having treated him very harshly on all occasions both in public and private ever since he came into them, that he was quite tired and very desirous to be discharged and return for England. Sunderland preached patience to him, and advised him by all means to continue where he was, undertaking at the same time that Tyrconnell should for the future be very civil and kind to him. Sheridan told him it was impossible for them to agree, for he could not consent to the turning out any Protestant only for being so, out of the Revenue, contrary to the King's positive command and injunction, which Lord Tyrconnell desired should be done, as he had already removed almost all out of the army, intending the Catholics should fill all places both civil and military. Sunderland told Sheridan he must still be obliging and kind to the Protestants, that this was the King's intention, and for his interest and service to have them well treated. Sheridan answered it was his own opinion, but his befriending them was his great crime, and made Tyrconnell and his creatures give out he was a Protestant in masquerade, and a spy upon him, which last Tyrconnell perhaps did not only suspect, but also believe, from his being named Secretary and Commissioner contrary to his intentions. Sunderland advised him not to be troubled at that, but go on cheerfully in his business, for the little time he was to stay, that his doing so was necessary for the King's service, as well as for his own in particular, meaning the 50,000 pound that was to pass through his hands, and that Sheridan should in the end be a gainer by it, who, because of his promise the day before to Tyrconnell, said nothing of their late falling out, but assured Lord Sunderland he would, to please him, continue a while longer, though much against his own inclination, and depend on his protection. But it was impossible to hope for any kindness from Tyrconnell, especially since the King seemed more inclined to his opinion about the settlement than to Tyrconnell's, who had set his heart upon it.

Sunderland told him he was convinced Tyrconnell was in the wrong in that, and in his violent proceedings against the Protestants and his pressing the alteration of the clause in the new charters, which tended to the lessening of the King's honour and power. Sheridan said his lordship's not gratifying him in that, and in the mandate he had designed for a Catholic Fellow in the College, together with some other things, had put him much out of humour, and made him complain he was much changed, and that he apprehended his removal from the government was designed, and feared Sheridan had already given, or would give such account of his actions, as might really cause it, if he went to Chester,

whither he resolved he should not come, if his lordship had not written the King required it, which was so displeasing to him that he endeavoured since his arrival, to hinder him from any private access to his Majesty both here and at Shrewsbury, from whence he purposely sent him back on a groundless and frivolous pretence. Sunderland told him he had for some time found Tyrconnell was not his friend, but that he knew the King was fully satisfied with him, and that he himself would charge Tyrconnell to use him better for the time to come, and was sure he would not refuse him, and therefore earnestly pressed Sheridan again to be content till all matters for which he was sent were finished, which would in a little time be done, when he should come back and be fully recompensed in England.

The King returned that evening to Chester and next morning left it, to pursue the remainder of his progress. Tyrconnell bad Sheridan be ready to go away with him at one a clock, who coming to his lodgings found my lord went away before twelve. Sheridan followed, but, falling into another road than that he had taken, saw him not till he got to Holyhead, where his lordship took very little notice of him, but, however cold he was there, after landing in Dublin he perceived him wholly estranged, notwithstanding his late promises of kindness at Chester, confirmed with so many oaths and imprecations. From this time forward Sheridan was never called to any of his cabinet consultations, nor spoken to, but in the ordinary business of his office as Secretary, and in that as little as he could, employing Ellis in most things belonging to Sheridan's province, of which he often complained but without redress. Some time after upon a letter from Mr. Bridgeman, telling him Lord Sunderland said he was to come to Whitehall about Christmas, Sheridan took occasion to ask my Lord Tyrconnell when he intended to proceed about the new Act of Settlement. He answered he could not tell, nor was he yet sure that he was to go then thither. Sheridan was not a little surprised at this, but more in a few days when he heard Tyrconnell and he were quite out, and that he had sworn before next May Sheridan should be out of his Secretaryship, or himself out of the Government and reported he had betrayed all his secrets to the fanatics for money, and given them copies of Nagle's letter from Coventry about breaking the Act of Settlement, and was very corrupt and had taken several bribes by the hands of Father Johnson and others. Yet Sheridan knowing his own innocence, took little notice of these things. But Tyrconnell, sensible his project about the new Act, by which in hopes he had grasped a vast estate, would fall to the ground, if Sherdian should on that subject go for England, left nothing unattempted to make or find him guilty of corruption, for which end, and to be a spy, he had from the beginning employed Johnson, and in October '87 sent Colonel Sheldon to England

to suggest to his Catholic friends all that malice could invent against him, and prevailed with Johnson to write to Father Peters to the same purpose, of which he gave Sunderland notice.

In November Sheridan, having intimation from Court in general terms, that there were foul practices on foot against him, and many whispers to his disadvantage, wrote back that he defied the world to prove him guilty of the least crime and desired nothing more than to know what was, and by whom, objected against him, to which he could receive no other answer, but that Sheldon and his sisters had spoken very reflectingly of him, and said that he sold all places for money, and that this also was given out by one Netterville, a shattered-brained fellow, and Tyrconnell's relation and correspondent. The noise increasing both in London and Dublin, Sheridan wrote for leave to go for England, where he had a law suit of six thousand pounds depending. Tyrconnell, who had a long time made a trade by his instrument Brown, of opening Sheridan's letters for England, got a view of this, and by the same post wrote to Sunderland that his request might not be granted. But this lord and Lord Godolphin, to whom Sheridan had written, conferring notes, judged Tyrconnell's desire unreasonable and therefore moved the King in Sheridan's behalf, but at the same time told him Tyrconnell writ against it. Notwithstanding that, says the King, I give him leave to come when he pleases.

But, before Sheridan got this answer, the Chancellor told him Tyrconnell was informed of his many corruptions in the Revenue, yet he was willing he should still be continued in his place of Commissioner, provided he would resign the Secretaryship, in which, for some reasons he was obliged not to tell him, it was not fit he should remain, but that in lieu of it he should have 500*l.* a year added to his former pension during life, and be restored to his Excellency's favour and friendship; from which by several things, particularly his being never called to any cabinet consultations, since his having been at Chester, it appeared he was fallen. Sheridan answered, he was much surprised at the proposition for, if Tyrconnell had without his seeking made him Secretary, as he pretended, he might again unmake him without his resignation, but, if the King, contrary to his will, had named him Secretary, as it's certain he did, it was strange he should be desired to quit that office, wherein it was not pretended he had done amiss, and yet be continued in the Revenue, wherein he was said to be corrupt, which if he were, he was unfit to remain in either, but he defied mankind to prove he had been corrupt or unfaithful in the one or the other and was determined never to resign. The Chancellor replied, he would repent, if he did not, for Tyrconnell was too powerful with the King to be contended with by him, and was fully ,resolved not to suffer him to be Secretary, which

he desired he would of himself quit, rather than be turned out with disgrace. Sheridan told him, he pretended not to rival his Excellency in power or interest, but was confident of his own innocence, and doubted not the King's justice, who, he was sure, would not condemn him unheard, upon any private suggestion, that was or should be made. The Chancellor answered, that a dispute between them two in the present conjuncture would be of ill consequence to his Majesty's affairs, and he was sure Tyrconnell would be supported by the chief minister right or wrong, that he was prepared that very day to receive him into his favour, on the condition he proposed, which would be more advantageous to him, than to keep the Secretaryship with his disfavour, since in this case the profits would be lessened, and the continuance in it uncertain. Sheridan replied, he was positive in his resolution, and not to be moved by any arguments, for, since the King had trusted him in that post, he would not part with it without his command. Well, says the Chancellor, I would have you think better of it as we go along, for I'll carry you to the Castle, where I know you and your brethren commissioners are as I am, by invitation to dine, and I will tell my lord, if you please, after dinner, that you'll comply, and he will then call you in and before me confirm all I have told you. But Sheridan assured him, it was in vain to urge him farther, for he was unalterable.

At dinner his Excellency and Lady were more than ordinary obliging in drinking and carving to Sheridan, but a little after dinner he dismissed the other commissioners and bad Sheridan stay, and took the Chancellor into his closet, who, telling him Sheridan's discourse and resolution, put his lordship into a violent fit of the spleen. Sheridan waited above an hour, at last the Chancellor came out and told him his Excellency was highly displeased at his non-compliance and would not speak with him that day. Sheridan, much alarmed at this proceeding and having no answer about the leave he had desired, wrote again privately for it, by Mr. Culliford, one of the commissioners then sent for to England, and gave an account of this proposal of Tyrconnell's by the Chancellor. Some days after Brown called on Sheridan for his letters to England, and told him the mail was ready, and stayed only for his, whereupon Sheridan making haste gave him his packet, but, presently reflecting he had forgot a material business, he sent for it back. At the office his servant was told Brown was gone out and they could not give it him in his absence. Sheridan sent again and required to have it delivered immediately, but was answered it was searched for and could not be found, but that it should be returned as soon as Brown came in. Upon this Sheridan, not suspecting the true reason, went himself to the office, and asked the postmaster Warburton for his letters, who told him they had not yet been brought to the office; how, says he, not yet brought, though

Brown told me above 2 hours ago the Deputy's letters were come, and mine only stayed for? Warburton said he knew nothing of the matter, but could assure him Brown had not yet brought the letters to the office, which as soon as he did, he should have [his] back again. But before this, Warburton, knowing where Brown was, gave him notice Sheridan had sent for his packet and no doubt would discover its being opened. About an hour after Tyrconnell sent for Sheridan and asked him before the Chancellor, Nugent, Rice, Daly, and Nagle, how he came to write without his leave those letters, shewing him his packet open. He answered there was no need to desire it for writing about his own private business, but wondered why his Excellency should open his letters without his own consent, especially letters written to the King's ministers, the Lord Sunderland, Privy Seal and Godolphin. What, says he, may I not open my Secretaries' letters? Sheridan replied it was hard that a Privy Councillor's letters should be opened, that there was not one of them written as by his Secretary, nor had relation to the State, but all about his own private affairs. Well, says he, what I have done, I have done, and there they are again for you, but I perceive by them you are running away for England, being unwilling to defend yourself against the crimes you are accused of. No, my lord, says Sheridan, I am not running away, nor afraid to justify my innocence, which I will do before I stir, if I may but know my pretended crimes and my accusers. Well, says he, go your way for this time, I'll send for you again, and tell you more. The packet from England was some hours before come in, and with it a letter to Sheridan from Sunderland telling him he had the King's licence to come over, but for form's sake, he was to ask the Deputy's leave, which if he denied, he might come without it. This letter was sent him next morning by Tyrconnell, who at the same time ordered him to attend him that evening, where he found the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Keating, together with those present the night before. As soon as he came in, he told him he had an account from England of his corruptions as Commissioner and for that reason had opened his letters thither, that he had upon that intimation made inquiries here and found they would be proved, that he knew not till the night before he would have the impudence to stand upon his justification, that he had now sent for him to know how he would have the matter tried, whether in public or in private, and, since he had got leave to go for England, he would let him enjoy both his offices till he were either convicted or acquitted, and desired to know how soon he would come back to his trial. Sheridan answered, he also had an account from England of his corruptions, and that the account was first sent from hence thither, and by somebody's directions there published, that his Excellency knew three weeks before from the Chancellor

then present, that he would stand upon his justification, who had then in his Excellency's name made him a proposition of resigning his Secretaryship for a pension of 500*l.* a year during life, and keeping still his place of Commissioner, notwithstanding his pretended corruptions in it, which he rejected with indignation, and told him he was innocent and defied the world as he now also did, to prove the contrary. Here Sheridan paused, and the Chancellor owned he had then said so much to him. Sheridan went on and said, though he had leave, and that his business was pressing, which he believed would take up six weeks time, yet, if he might have a copy of what was objected against him he would immediately answer it, and not stir till the controversy was determined, which he desired might be heard in public, not in private. His Excellency said the articles were not yet drawn, nor could be in some weeks, for it is to be observed, though he had evidence ready, he wanted the matter; he therefore told Sheridan, since his stay would be so short, things should remain as they were till his return, and, since he desired it, that the trial should be public and asked him when he intended to part. Sheridan said in two or three days, if his Excellency would permit him, who declared he would.

Next morning Mr. Fergus Farrell, an intimate friend of Judge Daly's, came to Sheridan and told him he was sent by him, at Tyrconnell's instance, to renew the Chancellor's proposition, with this alteration, that instead of the 500*l.* then offered, he should have a 1,000*l.* pension and continue Commissioner, but, if he refused, there was a bundle of sticks provided, and he was the dog to be beaten. Sheridan answered him as he had done the Chancellor, but with this difference, that since the business was made public, he would not for 10,000*l.* a year resign his Secretaryship. That evening Sir Neal O'Neille, an intimate friend of Sheridan, though Tyrconnell's nephew, came to him in his uncle's name, and proposed the same things to him, but he answered he was fixed in his resolution, then he told him he had orders to assure him, Tyrconnell would be friends with him, if he would but quite put off his journey, at last if he would but defer it for two months. Sheridan told him, there was no believing Tyrconnell after his many oaths and imprecations at Chester, that the matter was made so public, it could not with honour be huddled up privately, that his journey was necessary and that he resolved to go off next day in the packet-boat. Tyrconnell upon this stormed mightily and commanded the packet-boat to be stopped till farther orders; of which Sheridan having notice next day hired for himself a dogger boat. Tyrconnell hearing this sent Ellis for all papers relating to the public, which he had as Secretary, and which Sheridan, though surprised at so unexpected a message, delivered, save that letter before mentioned, written with the King's own

hand the 15th of February, 168$\frac{8}{7}$, which he himself carried to Tyrconnell, because there was something in it not proper to be seen by a Protestant.

That evening Sheridan put to sea and landed next day at Holyhead and posted to London, where as soon as arrived, he was told by his sister-in-law Mrs. White, that Lord Sunderland directed he should come to him before he went to the King or any body else. Next morning he waited on this lord, who told him he was very sorry there was so great a misunderstanding between him and Tyrconnell, who had accused him of several corruptions in the Revenue, and had written he might not have leave to come over, but neither the King nor he could believe him guilty, and thought it unreasonable to refuse him, that, now he was come, it was the King's positive command he should not speak a word against Tyrconnell's management of affairs, *either to Catholics or Protestants*, that he would go with him to the King, who would himself tell him the same thing. Sheridan answered that Tyrconnell's guilt and proceedings contrary to his Majesty's injunctions, made him fear his admission to Court, but, since he had got the start by accusing him first, he would not recriminate him till he had justified himself, which he was confident of doing, in spite of all his malice; he assured him Tyrconnell was the only person that accused him of bribery or injustice, that he had sworn some months before, that he would not continue Governor, if Sheridan was not turned out of the Secretaryship before May, and then told him of the offer made him by the Chancellor and two others to resign it, of their dispute at Chester and his after treatment, and his practice of opening his letters, of his telling his numerous cabinet of the 50,000*l.* his lordship was to have and the 10,000*l.* necklace to the Queen, and that he was grown jealous of his lordship's friendship, for refusing to gratify him about the clause in the new charters and some other matters, and to convince him all this was true, he told him Tyrconnell could keep no secret; for he had shewn the letter his lordship had lately written advising him not to be afraid of Sheridan's coming, for, if he offered to say one word against him, he would ruin him. Your knowing this, says my lord, makes me believe you in all the rest, for, unless he were mad, you could not have this from himself, as he must be for discovering the other great secret. No, my lord, says Sheridan, he bragged on't to one he took to be his friend, who told him he was afraid for him of the ill consequences on his falling out with me, and I could hardly believe, continues Sheridan, your lordship could have written such a letter. I did it, says Sunderland, for your sake, concluding, without that assurance, he would not have suffered you to come away. After this his lordship went with Sheridan to the King who received him very graciously, and told him, though he had heard he was accused of corruption, he could not believe it, knowing that he had

too much honesty and sense to be guilty of any such thing, but was sorry to find so great a misunderstanding between Tyrconnell and him ; however, says he, I charge you to say nothing of his management *either to Catholic or Protestant, the very words which Sunderland had spoken before,* and no doubt persuaded his Majesty to make use of ; Sheridan thanked his Majesty for his good opinion, and told him the true cause of Tyrconnell's difference with him was his acting in obedience to his Majesty's commands in reference to Protestants now in employments, who for being such only, Tyrconnell would have turned out, which he judged not for his service, and his differing in opinion about the Act of Settlement. That as to the crimes pretended against him, he asked no favour, but impartial justice, that he was never accused or complained of but by Tyrconnell himself, and that only in general terms ; that he desired to know what was objected, and, before he came away, would put in his answer and stand the trial, but his lordship said they were not yet ready, nor could be drawn up under some time, and, since Tyrconnell had been beforehand in his accusation, he would not recriminate him, till after his own vindication, and, since 'twas his Majesty's pleasure he should not speak against him, he would not fail to obey him, but he hoped he would order him a fair trial, which he could not expect, if Tyrconnell his accuser should be both judge and party ; fear not that, said the King, I myself will be the judge, and see all with my own eyes.

Some days after Lord Dungan, Tyrconnell's nephew, arrived, with articles against Sheridan drawn up by his cabinet, who were afterwards commissioned to hear the cause, and a letter desiring Sheridan might not be admitted to kiss the King's hand, which was to have been at Court before Sheridan, for which end the packet-boat was stopped in which 'twas hoped he would have made his passage. Sheridan was thereupon sent for by Sunderland and desired Tyrconnell and he might be friends, which he said he would undertake. Sheridan having an account, that Tyrconnell, contrary to his promise at parting, had named the Bishop of Clogher Secretary, answered, if the King would have it so, he was content, provided he were restored to the Secretaryship, without which to consent was to own himself guilty ; his quitting that office being what Tyrconnell desired, and for it offered him first 500*l.* and afterwards a 1,000*l.* a year. Sunderland said since he had put a bishop in his place, 'twould be an affront to remove him, but he should have some other way a full reparation. Sheridan answered he would rather stand his trial, and after his justification, which he doubted not, expect to be restored to both or recalled to England, and there be gratified with something else, which was what he most desired. Well, says Sunderland, I'll write to Tyrconnell and advise him to lay aside his new Secretary, and let things continue as they are, and he promised, till your return and trial ; but how do

you expect, continues he, that this shall be managed, since I perceive the whole dispute is only between Tyrconnell and you? Sheridan told him he thought the best way was to commission six of the Privy Council to hear the examinations and report the whole to his Majesty, the three he named were the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, the Earl of Granard and Keating, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to whom three others of Tyrconnell's naming might be joined, that thus the King would be enabled to pass his judgment, to which he would willingly submit, and which he had assured him he would do, and see all with his own eyes. Sunderland thought this reasonable, and so did Lord Godolphin, as did also the King himself, to whom, lest Sunderland should not, Sheridan proposed it, who concluded it would be so ordered, and in the mean time got Mr. Polexfin and other counsels' opinion on his case, stated under feigned names, as if the matter lay in the West Indies, who declared Tyrconnell's proceedings tyrannical, unjust and punishable by law. But Tyrconnell prevailed with Sunderland, that the cause should be heard by the Chancellor, Nugent, Keating, Rice and Daly, instead of the six Privy Councillors proposed by Sheridan, who having an account of this complained to the King and his ministers, as not expecting any justice to be that way done him, three of them being Tyrconnell's creatures, and the Chancellor too timorous not to comply with him in any thing right or wrong. But both the King and they assured him he need not fear, their business being only to report at length the evidence on both sides, and that the King himself, as he had promised, would be the judge. Sheridan, though advised to the contrary, confident in his own innocence and the King's impartial justice, submitted to this determination, and having ended his business at London posted to Dublin, and arrived there sooner by a week than he promised. During his absence the Commission of the Revenue was renewed on Mr. Plowden's coming into the place of Mr. Culliford, and Sheridan named, as in the former, first Commissioner. As soon as he landed he went to the Bishop of Clogher, and prayed him to acquaint the Deputy he desired his charge, that he might presently put in his answer. Next day he took his place at the Board, at which Tyrconnell was enraged, and commanded him, by his new Secretary, to forbear going any more till his cause were heard, nor did he stop there, but also ordered the clerk of the Council to tell him he had suspended him from sitting there, so that, contrary to justice, and his own promise at parting before the judges, that he should be continued in his employments till convicted or acquitted, he deprived him of the Secretaryship as soon as his back was turned, and on his landing suspended him from acting as Commissioner or Privy Councillor before he gave him any particular charge of his pretended corruptions; though during his absence his commission was renewed under

the Great Seal by his Majesty's particular directions; publishing that all this was done by the King's express command, who knew nothing of it, whereas he did it of his own head, to encourage his hired witnesses against him, and intimidate Sheridan from appearing, for a man already condemned and ruined.

Some days after, on the 2nd of March, Sheridan received the articles of his charge drawn by the Attorney-General Nagle, to which he immediately drew up an answer, but, no lawyer daring to sign it or appear for him without an order, he could not put it in till the 19th, when he desired the matter might be brought to a speedy issue: but he was answered they were not ready for that, as it appeared they were not, for one Mr. Osborn, an attorney, was employed by Ellis in the Lent circuits, as was Judge Daly himself and others by the Deputy, to fish out matters of accusation, crimes and witnesses against Sheridan, so that from the 2nd of March, when the articles were exhibited, the hearing and examination of evidence was delayed till the 8th of May following, and made private at the Chancellor's house, contrary to Sheridan's desire and Tyrconnell's promise, and the committee's own resolution and order signed and delivered the 9th of March, by which it was appointed to be at the King's Inns in Dublin. Sheridan complained in three several letters to Sunderland of his suspension from all employments and other great hardships, but could have no answer, except from his Secretary Bridgeman, the 22nd of March, $8\frac{7}{8}$, in these words. My Lord President commands me to tell you, he has yours of the 11th and that, the King having thought fit to put your business into that method of examination it now is, he can only say you must submit to and acquiesce in it. I am yours, &c., William Bridgeman. Sheridan had reason to believe Sunderland said that of his own head, and never acquainted the King with the matter, though he made use of his name, and therefore on the 31st answered the foregoing letter in these following words. This morning I received yours of the 22nd instant giving my Lord President's answer in these words, that the King having thought fit to put your business into that method of examination it now is, he can only say you must submit to and acquiesce in it. In that letter, another before and a third since, I complained that the proceedings here were very different from what I understood by the King, Lord President and Lord Godolphin, setting down in them fully what I apprehended, and what I have found, and, though your letter takes no notice whether I was mistaken, or whether the King had since altered his measures, yet upon the whole I am, I perceive, to submit to what laws and rules my only prosecutor and judge thinks fit to impose, and, since this is the King's or Lord President's will, I will give his lordship no more trouble in this matter; yet allow me to tell you, though it be now too late, that I wish I had never consented, as I did

against my own inclinations, to come into this kingdom, with one that would fain have had another in my place, and whose passion and power I find so great, that he is allowed to do what he pleases, in my case at least, contrary to justice, reason and religion. But I forgot, I must not even to you murmur against my destiny, but endeavour, like a good Christian, to bear with patience my cross, my long hatched and contrived ruin, contenting myself in the satisfaction of my own innocence, and my not having any way contributed to this great misfortune. Give, I pray, my duty to Lord President and assure him of my entire resignation to his commands. Yours, T. S.

Whilst people were solicited all over Ireland to accuse Sheridan, Nugent and Rice were dispatched into England, to move the King to call a Parliament for the alteration of the old and making a new Act of Settlement, who were ordered to offer Sunderland 40,000*l.* instead of the 50,000*l.* before promised, who was now fully convinced, Tyrconnell had divulged, as Sheridan assured him in January before, that secret. He rejected their proposal with indignation, and they returned without success, to Tyrconnell's great mortification, who imputed this to Sheridan's practices and gave out that the new interested men had bribed Sunderland with 120,000*l.* and Sheridan with 20,000*l.* and that he had betrayed all his secrets to the fanatics for this money. Whereas indeed this was the effect of his own indiscretion in publishing the 50,000*l.* secret, and not sending Sheridan over by Christmas, as was resolved at Chester, with the two draughts of the act of repeal, which even these men did not carry. Sheridan, being never after consulted upon that matter, had not made one, nor perhaps was that proposed by Tyrconnell drawn at all, nor was it ever intended by the King any new one should be enacted during his Government, which was to last but till the army was settled and the business of the charters finished. Sheridan was also clamoured against for making use of Protestant lawyers, though no one Catholic for fear of Tyrconnell durst take his fee, they seeing him both judge and party, accuser and prosecutor, and so cruel he was in the matter as to command several of Sheridan's witnesses not to appear, of whom many went out of town to please him, and finding by comparing the articles (wherein a liberty was desired to add more if need were) with Sheridan's answer, that this was full and satisfactory, he sent to the Primate to take up the business and prevent a hearing; which he refused to do, knowing things were gone too far, and that Sheridan would not consent to it, he having no other way, but that, left to vindicate his reputation, so much blown upon, and run down.

Several were privately sworn and examined by the Deputy himself and Justice Nugent, and courted and invited by hopes of reward and promises of preferment to accuse and witness against Sheridan and those that refused, threatened and

injuriously treated long before the articles against him were drawn; Sheridan, understanding the witnesses against him were commanded by Ellis in the Deputy's name to appear, desired from the Commissioners that he might have the same kind of summons. But this, though promised when the articles were exhibited, was refused, as not in their power, the summons they gave him was not compulsory, being without any penalty, nor would they grant him even that, till he had first given in the names of all, among whom there being several not before tampered with, the Deputy sent for some of them, and told them they were not obliged to appear and commanded they should not, and assured them, if they did, he would resent their needless officiousness, so that not a few others, as well as Tyrconnell's own nephew, W. T[albot], and the rest, though summoned by him, refused to appear and give their testimony. But, farther to complete this mystery of iniquity, the hearing, though promised by the Deputy and the Commissioners to be public, was ordered to be private at the Chancellor's house, as is before said. Sheridan urged the contrary, but to no purpose, all he could obtain was a liberty to bring any three he pleased of his friends to be present, and for one they named his brother the Bishop of Kilmore, but he pitched upon the Catholic Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and Mr. John Ussher, and knowing the Commissioners' business was only to examine the witnesses and send at length the depositions to the King, who promised to see all with his own eyes, and be himself the judge, he brought two shorthand writers to take all fully, but these they would by no means admit; Nugent declaring that he would thereby be enabled to send the whole depositions into England before they could agree and make their report. Sheridan answered, if he should do so, there could be no harm in it, since it would be but the matter of fact, and since they were not judges but bare examinators, the King, who reserved to himself the judgment, could not otherwise be rightly informed, since, if they would write nothing but the heads or part of what was sworn, they might probably differ in their notes, one thinking a particular material which another might not, and so their notes prove different, lame or partial, to which they said in that case they would depend on his lawyers' notes, whom they esteemed men of integrity, who indeed had so much of that virtue, as that they advised him not to proceed on those terms, but appeal to his Majesty, who, they did not doubt, would grant his request of the shorthand writers at least; but he, assured of his own innocence and the King's justice, at last declined it, and went on in their own unreasonable way.

But, besides this injustice of theirs, they added another that was shameful and injurious. His 3 friends, whom they suffered to be present for 4 days during the examinations against him, they turned out when those for him came to be heard,

they, and perhaps his counsel and solicitor being supposed to have been authors of the report, that was spread about the city, that Sheridan was fully justified and cleared even by the testimony of the witnesses against him. All swore they gave Johnson money at his solicitation, which he told them was for Sheridan, but none of them said they gave Sheridan any, on the contrary, several of them owned, they had by others offered him greater sums, which were rejected with anger, that finding nothing done for them, they called on Johnson for their money and had it back from him long before any noise of this matter. Johnson and Stafford, both the Deputy's chaplains and both of infamous reputation, were found in their evidence not only to contradict one another, but also to be plainly perjured. And Stafford owned he resolved to tempt Sheridan by Johnson, and try whether he would take money, that Johnson took his money, said it was for Sheridan and that the employ should be obtained, though he had before offered Sheridan much greater sums by himself and another person for this and another employment, which were rejected with indignation. Johnson said he had received money from several others on the same account, and told some of them it was for Sheridan, but on cross interrogatories he was forced to confess he was a stranger to Sheridan till March, 1686, when made one of the Deputy's chaplains, and yet pretended in the very next following months of April, May and June to have such an intimacy and interest with him, as to get any man he pleased put into office, and this so publicly, as that it was common alehouse talk, and that he solicited many to give him money for that end. This part was afterwards fully proved by several of Sheridan's witnesses. He likewise confessed that he did all this unknown to Sheridan and without his direction or consent, and that he often endeavoured, but in vain to persuade him, that it was lawful to take money for employments, with much more to Sheridan's advantage. The same thing was also proved afterwards by some of Sheridan's witnesses, and that Johnson told them he could not prevail with him to do himself or any others good, and that in the month of May and June, when he was most busy in carrying on his trade of soliciting men to give him money for employments. Johnson was so stunned and confounded by Sheridan's cross interrogatories, that at last he turned pale, fainted and sunk down, like Oates in his false evidence at the Council Board, to the vexation of most of the Commissioners, Nagle and Ellis, and the joy of Sheridan and his friends, nor could he go on in the rest of his villainous contrivance, till his drooping spirits were revived by a cordial brought him, and the repose he was for half an hour allowed to take in a chair. Stafford did not faint, but was so staggered and puzzled at Sheridan's questions, that he could not proceed in his ill-concerted story, without pulling out a paper, containing the rest of his

testimony, which he was allowed to read. He confessed that he had offered Sheridan greater sums for employments and was rejected, but, understanding by Johnson he took money, he was resolved by him to tempt him, and yet at that very time of giving money, and for 2 months before, and as many after, it was proved by Sheridan's witnesses, that he and Johnson were at great enmity and variance.

The first day was spent in the examination of these two. The next day the Commissioners, who the night before had given the Deputy an account of those two profligate wretches' behaviour, refused Sheridan the liberty of cross interrogating any more Johnson, or any of the other witnesses, of which he and his lawyers complaining as contrary to all justice, were answered, it was his Excellency's will, and they could not help it. But they resolved to carry their partiality and injustice yet farther, for several of Sheridan's witnesses, among whom Stafford though summoned would not appear, were stopped and affronted, brow-beaten and not suffered to go on in their evidence, and having resolved on so infamous and shameful an act, it is not to be wondered, that they excluded Sheridan's friends from being present at the examination of his witnesses, lest they should hear him fully justified, and observe their own scandalous partiality. But yet they could not hinder Sheridan's innocence from being clearly proved by persons of honour and quality, Privy Councillors and others of his nearest friends and relations, among whom his own sister was one, and that he had from them refused much greater sums than those pretended to be taken by Johnson, and from several of those he agreed with, and that he always declared himself with passion averse from preferring any man for money, and that he could not think well of any that made the offer. His brethren, the Commissioners of the Revenue, made oath that not one of those pretended to have given money was ever proposed by Sheridan, and but two of them employed, the one recommended by the Lord Treasurer of England and promised before Sheridan came into the Commission, and the other recommended by the Deputy himself, that he was very just and equal in all his proceedings and that his heart was set upon doing the King's business. Here Rice interposed and said the reason Sheridan mentioned none of them was, they had not employed nor intended any Catholics; but he was much out of countenance, when Sheridan thereupon produced a list of above three score put into office since his coming into Commission. He also proved the offer made him by Fergus Farell, Esq., from the Deputy of a thousand pounds a year, if he would but quit the Secretaryship, at which Judge Daly was not a little offended because he could not by threats deter him from giving that evidence. Sheridan then prayed the Chancellor and Daly to give an account of the proposals the Deputy ordered them to make him upon the same account last Christmas and the

following January. Daly asked who could give them an oath. Sheridan answered he would be satisfied without it, with their declaration of what passed on that subject; this they both absolutely refused to do, the Chancellor adding that he well remembered all, but did not think fit to publish it, and that he always believed him an honest upright gentleman, and that he still had the same opinion of him, notwithstanding all that had been sworn against him. Johnson was proved to have been all along a spy upon Sheridan and to have run into his closet and peeped into his papers when he was absent or elsewhere busied, and to have said that Sheridan was a fool for not taking money for places in his dispose, as well as Lady Tyrconnell and Ellis for all others and that he could never persuade him to follow their example, and that money was but a pretence, that his crime was befriending the Protestants, discovering Nagle's letter from Coventry, and designing with the Primate and others to have Tyrconnell turned out and an Englishman to succeed, which, though commonly bruited abroad, was never charged in any of the Attorney's articles against him: two of the witnesses, Mr. Dowling, a gentleman of estate and reputation, and Alderman Pippard, Mayor of Drogheda, swore that Johnson assured them money was but a pretence, that Mr. Sheridan's real crime was his contriving with the Catholic Primate and others to get Lord Tyrconnell out and an Englishman into the Government, and for this reason he determined to be beforehand and ruin them. And it is most certain that to compass this design, he wrote to Sunderland and others, to remove the Primate from Armagh to the Highlands of Scotland, and Sheridan from his stations in Ireland to some Government in the West Indies, but being in both disappointed he endeavoured to destroy their reputations and defame them and therefore told Lord Mountjoy and Sir Thomas Newcomen and several Protestants that Sheridan was a fiery zealous convert and resolved in conjunction with this grave Prelate, whom he thought fit to style a hot-headed fellow, to bring in Popery by violent methods; but blowing hot and cold he represented Sheridan to the Catholics quite contrary, a Protestant in masquerade, a betrayer of his secrets and the King's counsels as is beforesaid. Those things he gave out to each party as reasons for his new-become open enmity to both, and to recommend and reconcile himself to the Protestants' good opinion as a much more moderate person than either. But to give his true character in few words, he was a tall, proper, handsome man, but publicly known to be most insolent in prosperity, and most abject in adversity, a cunning dissembling courtier, of mean judgment and small understanding, uncertain and unsteady in his resolutions, turning with every wind to bring about his ambitious ends and purposes; on which he was so intent that to compass them he would stick at nothing, and so false that a most

impudent notorious lie, was called at Whitehall and Saint James's one of Dick Talbot's ordinary truths. Several depositions taken by Masters of Chancery in England relating to Sheridan's business, were not suffered to be read, though Stafford, who was present, being distracted by Sheridan's cross interrogatories, was allowed to read his testimony, nor would the Commissioners be persuaded to examine the witnesses Sheridan produced to prove Johnson a lewd and wicked fellow and altogether unworthy of any credit, though he was the single evidence that accused or swore against Sheridan nor would they suffer Sheridan or his lawyers to make any reflections on his testimony, or shew the contradictions and incoherencies of his and Stafford's evidence with one another, alleging for their refusal that they were not judges, but only appointed to hear and report what was said on both sides. Sheridan asked how that could be done exactly, since neither the Chancellor nor Keating took any notes, the other 3 were Tyrconnell's creatures entirely devoted to his will and pleasure, and was answered they would confer with one another and agree on that subject, which he answered was impossible to be done exactly and impartially, considering the frailty of memory and the length of the examinations, so that in effect it had been as well for him there had been but three as five Commissioners. But no reason could work on men beforehand resolved to gratify the Deputy's malice and injustice, and to find or make, what he desired, Sheridan guilty, who could have made it fully appear, had he been suffered farther to cross interrogate Johnson, that he was set on by the Deputy to tempt and corrupt Sheridan if possible, to which purpose, to be after made use of, he lent Sheridan the 300*l*. He also could have proved by two witnesses, whom the Commissioners would not examine, because it touched Johnson's fame and was no matter of fact within their articles against Sheridan, that Johnson owned he had reason for what he did against Sheridan, and was forced to it by a power he could not resist, and that he intended the money, which he found Sheridan would not take, for the use of his society, but, though the Commissioners would not suffer Johnson's reputation to be run down by Sheridan, yet they did not hinder its being entirely destroyed by Tyrconnell himself, who, as soon as the business was over, enraged that he had given Sheridan a receipt for the money he lent him, and had not more cunningly managed his malicious and diabolical intrigues, turned him off from being chaplain, and banished him into the Highlands of Scotland, telling the fathers in Dublin it was his respect to the society that hindered him from doing it with beat of drum and all the marks of infamy so great a villain as he was, deserved. So natural it is for bad men in power to make use of wicked instruments to compass an unjust design and punish them when they have done, as if that could clear him in the opinion of honest and

disinterested persons from being himself the contriver and make them fancy Johnson the real author of this work of darkness. Sheridan intended, if the Commissioners would have heard him after the examinations were over, to have shewn how improbable it was after Lord Tyrconnell's own cautions at the beginning in December, 1686, and that advice he had of the 3rd of April following, that there was spies upon him, and designs to remove him, to be corrupted by Johnson, a stranger, when he resisted the offers and importunities of his intimate friends, old acquaintances and relations; or that, if Johnson had not been made an instrument to ruin him, he could have solicited men to give him money for Sheridan, and to make his traffic public and common talk about the town. It is certain that after Johnson lent Sheridan the money he began again to importune him for employments for several of his friends, though Sheridan had before enjoined him not to trouble him on that subject. He therefore bid him give him a list of those he was concerned for, among whom Johnson's own brother was one, with a resolution to provide for none of them, having before good reason to suspect him the spy and engine employed against him, and his brethren, the Commissioners, swore there was not one of them ever named or proposed by Sheridan, nor preferred by the Board. But he proved that Johnson had considerable sums of money at interest several years before, and that 200*l.* of it was paid him in before he lent Sheridan any, and this by him lent was repaid him long before there was any noise of the matter, which Johnson unwillingly received. The very witnesses by him called, owned, that they finding nothing done called for, and had from Johnson their money. The examinators having thus unfairly carried the whole matter, Lady Tyrconnell was posted to Court and commanded to report all things to Sheridan's disadvantage; who could not get leave to go for England on pretence that the Commissioners' representation of the matter was not yet finished, the Chancellor and Keating not being easily drawn to join with the other three in what they had framed to please the Deputy, who with his own hand had made several alterations in their rough draft, yet after 14 days time being hectored and threatened with the loss of their places, they complied and signed the most false and unjust report that ever was invented, for being under no obligation of an oath they chose rather to contribute to Sheridan's ruin than offend Tyrconnell. Sheridan, having notice it was at last finished, desired a copy, but was denied, though hitherto stayed from his journey on pretence of it, but he was now told he might begin it when he pleased. He carried into England Johnson's receipt for the money and several unexamined witnesses and the depositions sworn before the Commissioners on both sides at large, compared every night and attested under his counsel's hands, together with his solicitor, Mr. Darling, who by an oath

confirmed the truth of them, he also carried with him the depositions given in London before Masters of Chancery, refused to be read or taken in evidence, and a certificate that the copy of Nagle's letter from Coventry, was shewn in the Common Pleas in Dublin in November '86, above a month before it was put, among other papers tied up in the napkin, into Sheridan's hands, who never saw it or heard of it, till the February after. But all to little purpose, for instead of the impartial justice he was promised he found himself forbid the King's presence, on pretence he had lampooned Lord Tyrconnell and his lady, as she had affirmed, though the author, Colonel Felix O'Neille, had owned to the Bishop of Clogher it was his own entire composition without the knowledge or privity of Sheridan, wherein he compared his mock justice trial to Oates's plot, and ridiculed Johnson, and some of the Deputy's relations, his, and their proceedings, especially a nephew and another that challenged Sheridan to fight, because he would not alter a part of his answer to the articles, which Sheridan accepted, but was accidentally met and hindered from drawing their swords. Sunderland told him he must have patience, be silent and wholly depend on him, and he should in a little time have right done him. This was about the later end of June '88, when there was a noise of the intended invasion, but, though not fully credited, it was in that conjuncture judged good policy to disoblige Sheridan rather than disgust Tyrconnell.

Sheridan's patience being quite tired with several weeks waiting for his hearing, wrote to Sunderland, and having no satisfaction from him, to Lord Godolphin and Mr. Penn, who owned the severity and injustice of his treatment, and told him that Tyrconnell and his lady had taken as much pains to run him down, as another would have done to gain a kingdom ; that all depended on Sunderland, to whom both, as they promised, spoke in his favour, but without effect, for soon after Lady Tyrconnell prevailed to have another Commissioner named in his stead. Seeing himself thus stripped of his employments and condemned unheard, for he was assured neither the King, nor any of his ministers had read one word of the biassed Commissioners' report, as full of flattery to Tyrconnell, as of falsehood against Sheridan, he petitioned the King 3 several times praying the justice he himself had promised, but all in vain. The invasion was by this time no longer doubted, and Tyrconnell was not to be displeased, to whose rage and malice an innocent person must therefore be sacrificed against all the rules of law and reason. In October Sunderland, before he was turned out, finding himself declining in his master's favour, told Sheridan, lest he also should increase the number of his enemies, that he had not power to serve him as he expected, and therefore bad him now to get all the friends he could to move the King in his behalf, who, he said, would not hear, though he endeavoured it, any one

of his 3 petitions. But Sheridan has reason to believe he never shewed one of them to his Majesty. After this the Catholic Irish Primate spoke to the King of the hardships of his case, and the ill usage Sheridan had to his own knowledge received, as appears by his certificate. He therefore wrote to Lord Castlemaine his resolution to publish his case in French and English, having no other means left to justify himself, but by an appeal to the public. He answered this would be a mortal reflection on the King fit only for the worst of his enemies in a time the Prince of Orange was preparing for an invasion, and begged his patience for a little time longer, till he could prevail to have justice done him.

Soon after Sunderland was turned out, and the King, preparing for his journey to Salisbury, sent privately for Sheridan and told him he believed him innocent and extremely wronged, and laid the whole blame on Sunderland for complying with Tyrconnell's violence, whom however in his present circumstances he was not to disoblige, but desired he would forbear publishing his case till after his return, when he assured him of justice and a full compensation for all his sufferings. Whereupon Sheridan, seeing no hopes of a speedy hearing in the public distractions, dismissed into Ireland the persons he had thence brought with him, and hitherto kept at no small expense in London. About this time Sheridan, being looked upon as discontented, was much courted by several both English and Irish Protestants to join the Prince of Orange, who, they assured him, did not so much depend on the troops he brought, as on those by whom he was invited, the nobility, clergy and army, that he could render him good service in Ireland, particularly by discovering how Tyrconnell came to get the Government of that country, after the King had declared he would never trust it in a native's hand ; Sir Oliver Saint George and his brother Sir George was most solicitous with him, and the first assured him the King would be soon abandoned and ruined, and would undertake, if he would but go with him to the Prince of Orange, his fortune should be made, and that he himself intended to go in the King's train as a volunteer to Salisbury, and thence to steal away. He named abundance of those that resolved to join him, among the rest Prince George, Duke of Ormond, Churchill and his two brothers, the Bishop of London, Lord Sunderland, Cornbury, Clarendon, Rochester, Newport, Kirk, Trelawny, Lanear and Kendal, captains in the Guards, with many more, whose names he has forgot. All this Sheridan recounted to the King but was not believed, except as to Kendal, though his Majesty afterwards found all he said was true; he also discovered to Melfort how the King might seize a packet one Foxon was carrying to the Prince of Orange and thereby discover all the courtiers and others that corresponded with him, by the means of one Bradbury, a little crooked lawyer, afterwards made Baron in the Exchequer, but this was not

done, on the contrary Foxon was told it was Sheridan's nephew that gave the information, who threatened him for it, and went away in safety.

Sheridan, finding the King's affairs grown desperate, and also by Lord Peterborough that he was immediately to follow the Queen and Prince of Wales into France, got his pass to go beyond seas, and was by Col. Dorrington carried on board an East India ship, whereon he intended to transport his battalion, but, this design not taking, Col. Tufton, Governor of Tilbury Fort, told Sheridan the King was gone, and an embargo laid on all ships, and advised him to return to London, where he arrived next day, after much hazard from the rabble, out of whose hands he escaped after seven hours patience, and the expense of some money among their leaders and the mob at Woolwich. While he lay privately in London, Sir Oliver Saint George, who had given the Prince of Orange an advantageous character of his abilities to serve him especially in Ireland, made great inquiries after him, in order to present him to his Highness. Sunderland also took pains to speak to him, being frightened with the report that was raised, that he was to discover the reasons of Tyrconnell getting the Government of Ireland; Monstevens, this Lord's private Secretary, met with Macabe, a servant of Sheridan's, and told him he had earnest business to communicate to him from his Lord; Sheridan, receiving this account, appointed a time and place for meeting, where he assured him of his Lordship's friendship and his endeavours to have served him in his dispute with Tyrconnell, making use of the same words this Lord afterwards printed in his scandalous letter, *that he wanted power to hinder some of his own friends from the last oppression and injustice*, and, since he could not prevent his misfortune, prayed he would not discover any secret, as he was told he intended, that might reflect on him. Sheridan answered the King had lately assured him the contrary and said Sunderland had undone him, and that he was well informed he had sent him into Ireland to get him from Court and for some by-ends of his own. However, if he would procure him a pass for Flanders, he would say nothing to his prejudice, nor discover the secret he was intrusted with, though he had more than ordinary provocations. This Lord never heartily forgave Sheridan for the Letter of a Member of Parliament, found when his papers were searched in the time of Oates's plot, reflecting on him, Godolphin and Churchill, though he well knew the letter was not from him. He also concluded him the author of the penny post letters to both the Kings, as indeed he was, though he would not own it, having often in them reflected on him as a person altogether unfit to be confided in. He knew Charles II intended to have made Sheridan Secretary of State in the room of Sir Lionel Jenkins from which he was diverted by the Duchess of Portsmouth, at his, and Lord Rochester's instance, who was become his

enemy for crossing him, though upon the King's command, in winter, 1681, in the farm of the Revenue of Ireland, by which he was to have got during the term of nine years 6,000*l.* a year, and the Crown to have lost above half a million. And, lest K[ing] J[ames] should bring Sheridan into that post, he advised his being sent into Ireland, to help to moderate Tyrconnell's hot and fiery temper, but finding, after their falling out and Nugent and Rice's offer, that he was to be disappointed of his 50,000*l.* bribe, and unwilling Sheridan should come off with flying colours, he persuaded the King it was not fit to countenance him, though in the right, against the other, his superior officer, though in the wrong. He was thereupon forbid the King's presence and not long after stripped of his employments, pretending all the time to be Sheridan's friend, and promising him, if he would be but silent and patient, apply to none other but entirely depend on him, he would, in few weeks, as soon as Lady Tyrconnell's back was turned, see justice done him, all which Sheridan foolishly did, except to his two friends, Godolphin and Penn. During Sheridan's dependance on him, his uncle, H. Sydney, made by the Usurper Earl of Romney, told Lady Oxford in the hearing of her woman and confident Mrs. Doyly that Sheridan was deceived in trusting Sunderland, and thinking him his friend, who had occasioned his being sent into Ireland, for fear the present King should make him Secretary in England, as the late King intended, and that he was certain he would so order things, that Tyrconnell should get the better, rather than Sheridan. But to return to Monstevens' business. The pass was in a few days obtained by Lord Godolphin, and by him as well as by the Prince of Orange signed not to Flanders, but France. This Lord sent for Sheridan's wife, gave it to her and advised her, though she herself might not so soon be ready, that her husband should immediately go away lest the pass should be recalled, from which words one might infer the Prince himself had not read it. Sheridan took post and next day arrived at Calais, being the 19th of January, $168\frac{8}{9}$, from whence he went to Paris and thence wrote to the King at Saint Germains begging leave to appear before him. This letter with a copy of it he enclosed to Melfort, to which he delaying an answer for several days, at last Mr. Patrick Farelly, who carried it and knew the contents, pressing him for one, he sent him a few lines, wherein he told him as from the King that his Majesty, though fully satisfied of his innocence, would not admit him unto his presence, lest he should displease Tyrconnell. This was after the King had resolved on his voyage for Ireland. Sheridan displeased at this, presently writes another to this Lord, desiring to be heard by the King or himself, having something to impart which nearly concerned his Majesty's crown and dignity. Mr. Farelly believing this too sharp, refused to carry it, but Father Corker was of another opinion and delivered it, and

several times pressing for an answer was put off from time to time until the evening before the King resolved to set out, when by word of mouth he told him, the King would not see him, and he himself was so full of business, he could not be sure of leisure to hear him. This answer Father Corker wrote to him by an express, who arrived not till he was in bed between 11 and 12 at night. Sheridan concluding it no purpose to stir on so uncertain grounds, stayed at Paris, extremely grieved and vext at his not seeing the King nor his Lordship.

Not long after Monsieur Talon, one of the King of France's Cabinet Secretaries, found him out, it being a custom in Paris as well as other towns in France to give to the commissaries of the quarters the names of all lodgers and prayed him in Secretary Croissy's name to English a French letter he had writ, so as that it might seem to have been originally written in that language. Sheridan, succeeding in that and in a second also wherein he was employed, told Monsieur Talon, he thought he might write one in English, that might not be unuseful, if the Secretary pleased, who liked the motion, to which Sheridan consented on condition it should not be published without the approbation of the Court of Saint Germains also, and without his being made known to them for the author. This was accepted, and the letter written as from the Marquess of Halifax, which was so well liked, that it was printed both in France and England, and also translated and printed in French. Upon this Monsieur Talon told Sheridan Monsieur de Croissy was very desirous to see him, and the grounds of the difference between Tyrconnell and him, of which he said he had heard ; Sheridan immediately drew up an extract of his case, which being shewn to his confessor, Father Corker, he enjoined him not to deliver it, since the denial of a hearing and justice, after the King had promised it, could not but much reflect on his Majesty's reputation, and, as things then stood, could be of no advantage to himself. Monsieur Talon often pressed to see his case, but instead of it he shewed him Lord Melfort's before mentioned letter, with whose hand he was acquainted, wherein he might find the King's good opinion of him, and that the Prince of Orange's invasion had hindered the decision of the controversy, which being between them two, as things then were, it was in vain to stir farther in it. Some months after Sheridan had notice from Ireland by Mr. Plowden and Mr. White, that the King had asked them where he was, who assured his Majesty of his being at Paris, and that the King had thereupon said he was glad on't, for that he could not believe what Tyrconnell and his friends had given out, that he was gone over to the Prince of Orange. This account convinced Sheridan Lord Melfort had never given his Majesty the letter he wrote him, whereupon he sent to Lord Powis, to be shewn the King, copies of that, and of his two to Lord Melfort, together with the printed one, supposed to have been Lord Halifax's, without telling

who was the real author, of which last one printed in London was sent before to the King with an assurance it was generally believed, that nobleman had written it, as Sheridan designed it should, having for that end the best he could endeavoured to imitate his style, with which he was well acquainted. Melfort and Tyrconnell not agreeing, Melfort was forced to return into France. At his arrival in Paris, Sheridan shewed him a letter Lord Peterborough writ him, enquiring into the reasons of his disgrace, and at the same time asked him, if he had given the King his letter. He said he had, but had not shewn the second he wrote to himself, for which he told him he was sorry, and begged his pardon. Sheridan answered he ought rather to beg the King's, for, had he been heard, many of the evils that happened might have been prevented. He then went about to justify himself of all the miscarriages laid to his charge, of which he heard he was accused by several letters into France, written by Tyrconnell's nephews and emissaries, and through his sides the King very much reflected on and wounded. Sheridan told him there were many such letters published in the French Court, and that the Queen could shew him one of them. He very much blamed Tyrconnell for suffering the shipping to go out of the kingdom and affirmed there were neither men ready, nor, had there been, any vessels to transport them into Scotland, and for forcing the King to call a Parliament unseasonably to repeal the Act of Settlement. He also said the two brothers Hamiltons deserved to be hanged, Richard for the loss of Londonderry, and Anthony for running away at the action of Crom Castle, and, supposing Sheridan an English man, he told him Tyrconnell and the Irish had behaved themselves so insolently and disrespectfully to the King that it would occasion another war or rebellion to reduce them to the duty and obedience of subjects, unjustly attributing the particular actions of that Lord and his faction to the whole nation, of which the best and greatest part abhorred his proceedings.

Soon after in winter, 1689, before this Lord went to Rome, he told Sheridan the Queen had shewed him the letter he mentioned, that it was all false, and that he would send him an answer to every part of it from Lyons, and that, to make him some amends for not shewing his second letter to the King, he had recommended him to her Majesty as a person very able to do her service. Some days after the Duchess of Powis told Sheridan in Paris, that the Queen bad her ask him what was the service she had heard from Lord Melfort, he could do the King and her Majesty. He answered it was of such a nature as required more audiences and debates perhaps than one with the Queen and her Council, and, if the Queen pleased, he would wait on her at St. Germains, where he would be more particular. The Duchess thence wrote for him, but, when he went, told him, the Queen thought not fit to see him herself, since the King had not done it, but, if he would, by

her Grace, tell her any thing of moment, she would acquaint his Majesty with it. Sheridan thereupon, as briefly as he could, represented to her Grace the severities he had met already mentioned in this paper; that the King had seen him privately at Whitehall, and no doubt would have done it publicly at Saint Germains, and it is probable have taken him into Ireland, had Lord Melfort given him his letter or shewn the second he had written to him, which was certain he had not done, by the King's enquiring of Mr. Plowden and White in what part of the world he was, and, as for his second letter, Lord Melfort had lately owned to himself that he had not shewn it. All which the Duchess represented to the Queen, and also offered her a short extract he had drawn up of his case, but her Majesty, being still Tyrconnell's great friend, would not be persuaded to read the paper, nor see Sheridan, who therefore judged it to no purpose to acquaint her, by a second hand, what he knew of the Lord's sinister designs before, and what he had farther discovered since his coming into France, or anything he believed for the King's service, and therefore after 3 days he returned to Paris, where he remained till July, 1690; when for the recovery of his wife's health he removed to St. Germains, where in few days he heard the unlucky news of the defeat at the Boyne and the King's arrival at Brest.

As soon as his Majesty came to St. Germains, Sheridan begged by Lady Powis the honour of kissing the King's hand, which was readily and immediately granted, the King telling the Duchess what he was afterwards pleased to repeat to himself, that he well knew how violently and unjustly matters were carried against him in Ireland, and that that was Tyrconnell's usual way of proceeding against all he did not like. After this his Majesty was very gracious to Sheridan and often discoursed him in private of his affairs, and with heat and reflection on Tyrconnell's practices and actings there, and among other things he told him he had forced him, contrary to his own judgment, to call a Parliament and break the Act of Settlement very unseasonably, and all for his own particular ends, and that he was prevailed with to grant him a vast estate, much greater than ever he intended, which he was informed amounted to 50,000*l.* a year, and that what he designed him was not to exceed 12,000*l.* of which he was assured half would but compensate for the estate he must lose by the new Act, the other half he gave him as a reward for preserving the kingdom, which he said he found was more owing to his subjects' general duty, than his particular zeal, and that this additional 6,000*l.* should only be, as his new honour, for him and the heirs of his body, not to descend to his heirs general, but to revert to the Crown; but that he perceived too late, they had put a trick upon him and deceived him in his grant, which, if he lived, he would by another Act revoke. Among other things his Majesty asked Sheridan, if he had seen Halifax's letter,

which he said was sent him from France and England, and which he had ordered to be reprinted in Ireland, where he hoped it would do some of the great good it had done him in England, that he resolved to have his manifest now written, which that letter supposed to have been done, as it ought to have been, at the beginning of the revolution, and that he had pitched on him to write it. Sheridan said, he had seen the letter his Majesty mentioned, and with that letter supposed, till this minute, his manifest had been written upon his landing in France, that he believed it would even now prove very useful for his service, if well done, but that he could assure him Lord Halifax was not author of that letter. The King said he heard from several that he was, and the Prince of Orange was very angry with him on account of it, and that he and everybody else believed it his style, and that it could be written by no other. Sheridan then told his Majesty he himself was the true author, and the occasion of it, as Monsieur Talon could satisfy him, and that the Queen, Mr. Carryll and Mr. Innis had seen it in his own handwriting before it was printed, and that for his case he was sorry it was yet to be done, that Mr. Carryll was much fitter than he to write it; the King said he had in his thoughts designed him before, but that now he was fully resolved to have it done by no other hand; then Sheridan begged it might be secret, and that he would be pleased to order his Council to draw up the heads of what was most proper for the work. This the King approved and accordingly spoke to his Council, who being displeased (as it's like) Sheridan should have that honour, delayed the matter from time to time for above eight months. In the meanwhile Mr. Carryll bid his clerk, Mr. Meredith, an ingenious man, to draw up a manifest. Mr. Brown intrusted with the Privy Signet, but not intended to be Secretary, desired Mr. Brent and old fanatic Roberts to do as much; Mr. Meredith, being overrun with the spleen, and complaining sometimes of the heat of the weather, and sometimes of the cold, wholly neglected it, which put Mr. Carryll himself upon writing a paper tending towards it, intituled the League of Augsbourg, translated into Latin by Mr. Wyburn and printed, but it was short of the King's expectations, and there were in it some gross mistakes. Mr. Brown reads the longer paper drawn by Brent and Roberts but it was rejected by the King and his Council, as weak, flat and insipid.

After the first siege of Limerick, Tyrconnell comes into France, and before his arrival at Saint Germains Bishop Maloony proposed a reconciliation between him and Sheridan, and assured him, if he refused it, he would, when too late, repent it; but, if he agreed to it, Tyrconnell in token of a sincere friendship, would, within ten days after his coming to Court, get the King to put him into some good employment. Sheridan answered he would never be reconciled to him, till his cause was heard and his innocence vindicated from his

false calumny and aspersions. The same proposition was made from Bishop Ellis, by one Forestal, a friar and a great intimate of his, to whom Sheridan said the same thing. Two days after Lady Powis told Sheridan the Queen had desired to know, as from herself, whether he made it a frequent practice to speak reflectingly of Lord Tyrconnell and exaggerate his faults in all companies, particularly six or seven days past to several together. Sheridan assured her Grace he had not spoken reflectingly of him since he came into France to any but the King himself, Mr. Carryll, Mr. Brown, Sir Edward Hales, Father Warner and Mr. Innis, and that he had said nothing to them but real truths and referred it to them to give an account of his discourses, and in proof of it he told her Grace that Mr. Nihil had brought him letters from Colonel Cusack, Tyrconnell's nephew, and several of Sheridan's friends, desiring him to join his interest with Nihil, to represent the mismanagements of that Lord, that when he read the letters he told Mr. Nihil that, having an undecided controversy with him, he would not meddle in the matter, that he ought rather to address himself to Rice and Nagle than to him, but Nihil answered they were both his creatures, and would not engage against him, though for the good of their country. Sheridan said they were much more proper to be applied to than he was, who was resolved not so much as to hear the particulars that were to be laid to his charge. The Duchess writ all he said with her own hand, and shewed it to the Queen, who, after she had read it, said she heard other persons named to whom he had spoken very maliciously of him. 4 days after the King sent for Sheridan and told him he was to tax him with some things he was reported to have said of Tyrconnell, of which he believed not a word, but for the Queen's satisfaction, to whom the complaint was made, he could not avoid speaking to him of it. Sheridan answered he thought the Queen would have been satisfied with what he had said to the Duchess of Powis lately on that subject, but, if she was not, he was ready to answer truly to any question his Majesty should put him. The King then asked, if he had not within ten days spoken reflectingly of Tyrconnell in a cabaret in this town before Mr. Barry, Mr. Farely, Doctor Day and some others. Sheridan assured him he had not, but would own himself guilty of that, or what else the informer pleased, if it could be proved he had ever been with those 3 in a cabaret, or with any others in St. Germains these six months, and prayed he might know his accuser, and that both might be confronted, and whoever was found in the wrong punished with uttermost severity, as was most just and reasonable, that it was a great crime to abuse their Majesties' ears with secret calumniations and falsehoods, and that those proved guilty, if exemplarily punished, would deter them and all others from such unjust practices for the future. The King said he was in the right and would endeavour to make the informer appear and justify

his accusation, but he believed he would not do it, that he was fully satisfied he was falsely accused. Sheridan begged at least he might know his name, which the King being unwilling to do, Sheridan told him it could be none but Bishop Ellis ; why, says the King smiling, do you guess him to be the person ? Sheridan replied because a proposition of friendship and reconciliation between Tyrconnell and him was lately made him by this bishop and by Bishop Maloony, and that upon refusal he was threatened with the Bastille or banishment. His Majesty bid him fear neither. But, says Sheridan, if you'll give me leave to be friends with him, you shall find, notwithstanding our former differences that he will soon become a solicitor for my preferment. No, No, says the King, I know you were infinitely wronged in Ireland, where I was told you were gone in to the Prince of Orange, which I then said was false, being convinced you were too honest, and too loyal, to quit my interest and turn rebel, and I do not desire you should be reconciled to Tyrconnell, but only as a Christian to be in charity with him, but to have no farther dealings with him, and so went with him to his closet door, where seeing Mr. Farely he took him in, and asked him what Sheridan lately said in a cabaret to him, Mr. Barry, Doctor Day and others against Tyrconnell. Upon which Farely earnestly begged his accuser and he might be brought together face to face, as the law required, and he would then clear himself of any charge he should make against him. The King told him he would try to do so, but in the mean time required he would answer the question put him. Farely hereupon protested, as he was ready to do on oath, that Sheridan had never been in any cabaret with him and that company, nor did he ever hear him speak in France reflectingly or disrespectfully of Tyrconnell and pressed his Majesty for justice against his informer. The King told him he was before, as well as now, fully satisfied his answer was true, and so dismissed him ; whether the King examined Mr. Barry or Dr. Day, Sheridan knows not.

Next day the King called Sheridan into his closet, and told him the Queen was entirely satisfied, and believed the whole story not only false, but also a malicious contrivance, and the rather that Bishop Ellis would not appear, as she had desired, but said he was told it by another whom he would not name, though often required. Sheridan then begged his Majesty would put some mark of his displeasure on him, for the love of justice and his own ease for the time to come, and that he hoped he would the rather do it, for his indiscreet sermon at Saint James's about the Act of Settlement, for which service Tyrconnell had promised him the Bishopric of Waterford, and in order to it had recommended him to Sunderland, he farther added that he was an ambitious, factious, intriguing person, and had lately given out, that Tyrconnell would get Sheridan sent to the Bastille. Fear not that, says the King,

Tyrconnell, who deserves to be sent thither himself, shall never be able to hurt you more than he has done, and the truth is he deserved to be sent thither for what he had actually done in Ireland, and further designed, of which Sheridan had before given his Majesty a full account.

But, notwithstanding this assurance of the King's, Tyrconnell was not many days in Saint Germains before he shewed both his malice and power against Sheridan, who, going into the King's dinner, met him and Mr. Skelton coming out about the middle of the King's ante-chamber, where he made him a bow, at which Tyrconnell scornfully turned away his head and walked on to the guardchamber door, where they both stopped awhile, and then went back into the bedchamber. After dinner was ended, Sheridan with the rest of the company followed the King thither, where Tyrconnell takes him and the Queen aside, and, as Sheridan was afterwards told, complained he had a little before affronted him by not pulling off his hat to him, and therefore desired he might be banished the Court. The King said he could not believe Sheridan would do so (as he had reason to conclude from his knowledge of his manners, but Tyrconnell was too crafty to name the place, where it was pretended he was so rude, in the great presence where none ever appears covered) and that it was however unjust to condemn or punish him unheard, at the same time commending Sheridan for his honesty, loyalty and usefulness to his service. Tyrconnell insolently asked, whether he doubted the truth of what he affirmed, or intended to confront or compare Sheridan's services with his, and insisted so much on it, that, the Queen seconding him, Sheridan was in the evening commanded by Lord Powis in the King's name to forbear, till further orders, coming to Court, or into the garden, for affronting Tyrconnell in the manner before mentioned. Sheridan, surprised at this unexpected command, wrote to the King and Lord Powis, assuring them of his innocence and praying for justice both in this and the former yet undecided dispute. The King sent him word he should be fully satisfied in both points within a few days. But Sheridan, finding several days expired, and also hearing that Tyrconnell was to return soon for Ireland, wrote again and again to the King and Lord Powis, pressing the matter might first be determined, which his Majesty again promised, but such was Tyrconnell's power with the Queen, that this was not done, but on the contrary his banishment was continued, this lord, as the King himself afterwards told Sheridan, having made it his last request to her Majesty, that he should not be readmitted to Court, till after his own arrival in Ireland. Sheridan, enraged at this new injustice, wrote to the King for a pass for England, whereupon his Majesty sent his confessor, Father Warner, to him to excuse the proceeding, to preach patience, and to assure him he had a better opinion of, and greater value for him, than for Tyrconnell, but he

must either please him in this matter, or run the hazard of losing his kingdom, the King of France having resolved to trust no succours for Ireland in any hands but his, for which reason he hoped Sheridan would be satisfied, and not think of leaving his Majesty, who was resolved in a short time to make him full reparation, and shew the world he was still in his good graces. Sheridan answered, since the case was so, he could not be dissatisfied, but would wait for those marks of the King's favour. It is plain Sheridan was at this time forbid the Court, for reason of state, which, by way of compensation, got him a pension without his own seeking. But it is hard to find for what reason of state Tyrconnell was allowed to turn him out of the stations the King had put him into in Ireland against his own inclination, unless Tyrconnell's malice and sinister ends may pass for such. Upon which occasion it is not impertinent to mention what Mr. Robert Power, a lawyer, told Sheridan he had from Mr. Coleman himself, who having one day invited to dinner the Irish Chancellor and Sir Richard Nagle asked them what was the ground of Mr. Sheridan's removal, who to his knowledge was a very honest person in his dealings between man and man, and in Oates's plot was very loyal and zealous for the truth, for the King and Duke of York. The Chancellor answered he was of the same opinion both before and after the examination of the affair. Nagle advised Coleman to inquire no farther into that matter, Sheridan was not removed for corruptions, but for reasons of state, which were not fit to be divulged. What those were he would not name but the reader may easily guess from this narrative.

Soon after the King told Lady Powis he knew no reason why Sheridan, as well as others, should not have a pension, and desired her to know how much would content him. The Duchess sent for his wife, and told her what the King had said, and advised her to consider with her husband what to ask; she did so, and told my lady that less than 200 *Louis d'ors* would do them no good, her Grace went with this answer to the King, who said, since he desired no more, he should have that sum, and, whilst himself had any thing, neither he nor his should ever want, and at the same time gave her for the first quarter a roulet of 50 *Louis's*.

In some days after Father Warner came and told Sheridan, the King desired he would write his case; Sheridan answered he was ready to do it, whenever he had the heads the King promised him the summer before, when he first spoke to him of it; whereupon the King called to his Council for those heads, which not being done, Mr. Stafford lately come from England and admitted into the number of Council drew up some heads of the manner, not matter, of writing, which when he read, Mr. Brown told the King he believed Sheridan looked on himself as a master-workman, and would not be pleased to be limited by a bare scheme and method of writing as that was, contrary

perhaps to his own fancy and judgment, that he thought it were better Mr. Stafford should write a case in his way, and Mr. Sheridan another after his fashion, and then the King might choose which he liked best, or get another drawn out of both. Mr. Stafford answered he did not doubt, but he and Sheridan would agree in the matter. Well, says the King, let it be done by you or him singly, or together as you please, so it be but speedily done. That very evening Sheridan had notice of this from Mr. Brown 5 or 6 days after Stafford read to Sheridan the preface, as he called it, to the case which he had drawn, together with the heads of the whole. Sheridan told him those were only general things relating to the method, and no matters of fact, which was what he had expected, and had waited for above 8 months, and, since he had begun the case, it was fit he should go on with it, for their two styles were very different, and he thought the whole ought to be of a piece. He answered he would not for a 1,000*l.* sterling write it all, that the King expected that from Sheridan and ordered him to give him the heads, of which Sheridan took a copy, leaving his preface to himself. He shewed them Father Warner, who plainly saw with Sheridan they signified nothing to the purpose intended, as he had observed in a letter to this Father to be shewn the King, together with these heads, which Father Warner took and read to his Majesty, whereby he perceived Sheridan's design in writing, and bad him tell him he should lose no more time, but go on in his own way.

Sheridan on this notice set himself to the work and soon finished it, gave Father Warner a copy for the King and shewed Mr. Stafford another, which he read and wondered Sheridan had done it so soon, and said it was well, but he thought he had not in it made reflections enough; Sheridan answered, he and the rest of the Council might make what additions or alterations they pleased, but desired to be present when that was a doing. This was in June, 1691. Two days after Lord Powis sent word to Sheridan he had the King's leave to come to Court when he pleased, who had the honour of kissing both their Majesties' hands next day, when the King was pleased to excuse the severity of the treatment he was forced to give him for the same reasons Father Warner had before expressed. The Queen likewise told him, she was much pleased with his patience and resignation and would hereafter remember them to his advantage. Soon after the King told Sheridan he had read the case he had drawn, and was much pleased with it, and had lodged it with his Council to hear what they could say to it, but they made no haste to give his Majesty their opinion, whereupon, as he was going to Fontainebleau, he bad Mr. Inniss carry it to Abbé Revedau, and pray him to put it into French.

Sheridan had before Tyrconnell's coming into France told the King as before mentioned he had not been so loyal as he ought to have been, that there were too many grounds for

believing he intended to lop off Ireland from the Crown, and put it at least under the protection of France, that Bishop Maloony was his agent in it, and that Bishop Tyrrel kept a correspondence with him in cipher, and had by Tyrconnell's directions offered the King of France, unknown to his own King, four ports, viz. Kinsale, Waterford, Limerick and either Galway or Coleraine, which he should choose, for his security for the succours he should send him; that Sheridan had read these letters and several other papers of projects relating to the independence of Ireland on England, and breaking the Act of Settlement, and expelling all the English and Scots that were not Catholics, and several letters reflecting on the King's management in Ireland and his indulgence to Protestants, written by Tyrconnell's orders, and put into French, and shewn in that Court by Maloony, who, being ordered by the Queen to go for Ireland, which he would not do, had put those papers into Doctor Smith, Superior of Montague's hands, to be secured in case his own chamber in that college should be searched or himself forced to be gone. Doctor Smith desired the bishop to seal them up in a box directed for himself, which he refused to do, telling him they would be safer behind his books, and were not fit to be seen by the enemies of his country, nor known to belong to him, who was suspected by the court of St. Germains to be too busy for the public good of his mother kingdom. Dr. Smith, knowing the bishop to be a very intriguing man, and concerned in the plot of 1667, was curious to see them, and being struck with horror shewed them to Sheridan. In that year the Duke of Beaufort was to carry men and arms and other necessaries into Ireland, for an army to be raised there, by a certain number agreed on in every parish by the influence of Primate Reilly, Colonel O'Reilly, Colonel Mortagh O'Brien, Colonel Burn and others; all which was discovered by one Taafe, an Irish Friar in Paris, to the Queen Mother, and by her in person to King Charles the Second, for which it was suspected she was poisoned after her return into France. The friars were banished on pretence of defrauding the Post Office, by covering other men's letters; Nangle and others in Ireland were executed, and the Duke of Ormond ordered to march to Kinsale with the regular forces, and to raise a Protestant militia all over the kingdom. The King of France disowned his having any hand in the matter, and said, if there was any such design, it proceeded from the ambition of his cousin Beaufort his admiral, who soon after lost his life at the siege of Candia. The foresaid gentleman, knowing all this and being full of zeal and loyalty, shewed them to Sheridan, who told him he was bound in conscience to discover them to the Queen. He answered that would be a breach of trust, and stigmatize himself with a brand of treachery, and expose him to great danger from the hot-headed rage, and folly of his countrymen; but he thought he had discharged his duty in letting him see

them, who was a Privy Councillor of the kingdom, and left it to him to act as in prudence and conscience he should judge fit. Sheridan, living at this time at Paris, would have given the Queen an account of it, had she not refused to admit him to her presence, as is before said, but afterwards he told all to the King and assured his Majesty the papers would be found in Maloony's closet, who after his Majesty's arrival in France concluded all danger over, and took them out of Dr. Smith's hands.

The King believed the whole matter, but said, whilst he was in France, and in such bad circumstances, it was not fit to enquire farther into it. Sheridan also told his Majesty Maloony had bragged to himself that he had written from London to Tyrconnell and sent this letter by a trusty man between the inner and outward sole of his shoe, not to give up Ireland to the Prince of Orange, that he was just going for France and promised he would get succours sent him from thence. Sheridan also assured the King the most spiteful of all the reflective letters from Ireland was written by Sir D. O'Neille, Tyrconnell's nephew. That Maloony had sent a copy of it to the Queen, which was by her given to Melfort, who had promised Sheridan as is before hinted, to refute it, and which hitherto he had neglected to do, nor did he omit to give a full account of all the seditious discourse Tyrconnell held with him, when soliciting the Government of Ireland, set down before in this paper, and not necessary to be here again repeated. The King said he doubted not but Tyrconnell had those ambitious designs, and believed what he said of the 50,000*l.* to Sunderland, who, he was satisfied, was a false and a covetous villain, the King of France having assured him, he had been all along in his own and brother's reign, his pensioner; and that the money passed through Monsieur Beauvilliers' hands, and that he was lately convinced by Ferguson, that he was privy to Monmouth's contrivance, and also to the Prince of Orange's invasion; that Tyrconnell had belied him in saying he hated an O or a Mac, that he never made any difference between his loyal subjects, whether new or old Irish, but long knew Tyrconnell did, and in particular hated the Ulstermen, and that therefore, to prevent the impression he might make on Monsieur Lauzun, he told him at his arrival in Dublin that he must not be misled by Tyrconnell's partiality, and the character he might give of his Irish troops, for that his Ulster foot and his Leinster horse, were by far the best men of his kingdom (Sheridan has some reason to believe the King might have spoken some thing to his Council of Tyrconnell's ill designs, for that Mr. Inniss, one of them, told him Tyrconnell deserved to be Bastilled and lose his head). Not long after the surrender of Limerick, and the coming over of about twenty thousand Irish troops, Lord Melfort returns from Rome, who forgot to send Sheridan, as he promised, an answer of the reflective letter on the King and himself before

mentioned in this paper, and of which Sheridan had spoken to Mr. Inniss the summer before, who seemed surprised, and about two months after told him, he had a letter from Lord Melfort, wherein he said he had sent him the answer, and thought he had some confused notion of it, however no such thing appeared. This lord was no sooner come, than the former Council was dissolved, and the management of all affairs put into his single hands. His project was that of the Hogue, but matters were so ill concerted, that there was neither men sufficient nor shipping provided to transport the few designed, which at most exceeded not 18,000, though he had told Sheridan they were to be 34,000. The declaration then published in England was his sole contrivance, without the privity of the King's confessor, as Father Warner himself assured Sheridan. His lordship had persuaded the court of France that none of the first or second rate would be ready to sail before the 10th of June, old style, and that Carter's squadron would join the French and declare for the King, which made the King of France order Tourville to fight *fort ou foible*, but the whole fleet was out, and in the engagement, which happened the 19th May, old style, Carter fought as heartily as any of the English, yet after the fight, Lord Melfort affirmed before the Duke of Berwick, Lord Lucan, Sir Randal MacDonnel and Sheridan there was not one of the first and second rate ships at sea, but within 2 hours after the contrary was found true, as one Mr. Clark, sent purposely by Lord Peterborough, had before affirmed, and for his reward was confined at la Hogue as a false intelligencer. After the defeat Lord Melfort was much reflected on by French and English for his wrong information, which cost to France seventeen men-of-war, burnt and destroyed at Cherbourg and la Hogue.

The King's declaration pleased none and was turned into ridicule, burlesque rimes in England, where several other scandalous and defamatory pamphlets were dispersed to the King's dishonour. Whereupon Father Warner moved the King that Sheridan might answer them, but his Majesty told him he had another work for Sheridan more to his purpose. Father Warner asked Sheridan afterwards what that was, who assured him the King had not spoken one word to him of any such matter; some considerable time after Father Warner sent for Sheridan, and shewed him a paper entitled, as the King's case he had written, was, viz., a Letter from a Gentleman in London to his Friend in Vienna; Sheridan was putting it in his pocket to read it at his own lodging, when Father Warner told him they were then both to read and consider it together, for that the King expected it back that very night, with their opinions of it, and after it was read he asked Sheridan what he thought of it, who answered he believed a fool or knave writ it, for no man of sense or honesty could think such a paper could do the King good, but on the

contrary, much harm, since it owned, what his enemies had affirmed, that he had broken the laws, but that he was now very sorry for it, and would, if called home, observe them more exactly for the future. I am of the same opinion, says Father Warner, and will do what I can, that the King consent not to its publication; to which he is mightily pressed by Lord Melfort, who pretends to be the author. I know not that, says Sheridan, but, let who will be the author, it is a very dull piece, and I observe one or two Scotch expressions in it, but I wonder he could think it for the King's service. He judges it so, says the father, but I wonder at nothing he does, knowing how many things he has already done contrary to prudence and his master's interest. But this extraordinary letter never saw the light, and it was afterwards discovered, that not liking what Sheridan had drawn, and which the King would fain have published, he got this done very different in form and substance.

Some time after, the day before the King went to Fontainebleau, Lord Melfort desired Sheridan to come to him that night at 7 a clock, at which hour he bad Mr. Nairne tell him he was busy in reading the English letters with Mr. Brent and one Nosworthy, who went by the name of Powell, and could not speak with him that night. After the King's return from Fontainebleau this lord whispered Sheridan in the King's presence, that he would speak with him next morning; after several mornings' attendance he told him, at last, the King desired to have his case written, and that he had recommended him to his Majesty for that work. Sheridan answered he had a year before done it at the King's command, and could not now make it better, and that he had reason to think his lordship had seen it. He said he had seen it, and that it would be known to have been written by a Papist, and that the King desired it should be written as by a Protestant. Sheridan replied that it could not be more truly written than it was, whether Protestant or Papist undertook it, and that, to do it faithfully, the author could not but renounce the present Protestant principles and practice. He said the King would have it done so as to please that party, and for a model of it gave him Great Britain's Complaint. Sheridan told him he could not justify the King, which he thought necessary, and please his subjects that renounced their allegiance, and called in an usurper, on presence of his having broken the laws; but really and truly because he was a Catholic, and blessed with a son, who was like to be bred in the same religion, for which sole reason they would suffer him no longer to rule over them. After Sheridan had read the book, he told his lordship it was writ by some anti-monarchical person, who favoured neither the King nor Prince of Orange, but extremely blamed the conduct of both; and affirmed each of them had broken the laws, and that for his part he could not write the King's case to do him any service, otherwise than he had done it before, which

not pleasing his lordship, Sheridan told the King all that passed between them, and asked him whether he designed his own vindication, or his rebel subjects' justification, for this last seemed to be aimed at by Lord Melfort's discourse. He therefore prayed his Majesty would be pleased to hear them both together on that subject, that so he might know how to govern himself; the King said he might be sure his design was to have himself, not his subjects, justified; and that he approved what he had written, but thought it too short, and in some instances not full enough; that he might make a show of being a Protestant in the new one, and desired he would bring the book Lord Melfort gave him, which he said he had not read, and that it was written by Sir James Montgomery, who was one of the Scotch Commissioners that presented the Crown to the Prince of Orange, but was now disobliged and become his enemy. Sheridan answered he was sure, if he was his enemy, he was not his Majesty's friend in what he had written; that may be like enough, says the King, adding he would speak to Melfort, and endeavour to hear 'em both discourse the matter before himself. But 2 or 3 days after the King called Sheridan and told him he had spoken to Lord Melfort what he had said to him, but found him unwilling to come to a further debate of the matter; and therefore he left it wholly to his own judgement and desired it might be full enough. Sheridan went about it and finished it in December, 1692, and read it to Mr. Carryll and Mr. Inniss, who approved on't; whereupon he gave it to the King, who, after he had read it and made some additions in his own hand, gave it back to Sheridan to insert them in it; who, having accordingly done it returned it to his Majesty; who being satisfied with it put it into Lord Melfort's hands and bad Sheridan wait on him and know his thoughts of it.

In July following, 1693, the King asked Sheridan what was become of his case; Sheridan answered he thought Lord Melfort had told him his opinion of it. No, says the King, he has not, tell me you what he said; Sheridan replied he had said to him he found no fault in it, but that it was too well written and had too fully vindicated his Majesty and would not please the people of England; by his favour, answered the King, he is not so good a judge. The Scots shall not make me, as they would my brother, stand in the stool of repentance; carry it to Mr. Carryll and bid him from me read and consider it. Some time after the King told Sheridan Mr. Carryll said it was extraordinarily well done; and that there was nothing in it amiss, except being too severe on the Bishops sent to the Tower. Sheridan answered he had not made the change of one word in reference to them; that what related to them was approved by his Majesty as appeared by comparing the new copies with the old his Majesty had altered in some places with his own hand; however, says the King, we must let it rest awhile, and not publish it yet;

Sheridan replied his Majesty was master and might do what he thought fit; but that Mr. Carryll had long before read and approved the whole, even that paragraph relating to the bishops; but the reason of his being now of another opinion was to wait the issue of your late Declaration; which, he had good grounds to conclude, would do him more hurt than good, to which this paper was in the main a perfect contradiction; well, says the King, you have guessed right, and we must yet wait for some time, as we hitherto done, to see its effects; Sheridan answered his Majesty's pleasure should always be a law to him; who designed nothing by it but his service alone, having from the beginning begged he might not be known the author; which if his Majesty had concealed from his Ministers, perhaps it had been better liked.

About a year after in June, 1694, the King sent him by Father Sanders a paper of objections against it, and desired to see his solutions of 'em; Sheridan immediately answered the objections, which were indeed very weak and without knowing then the author, which by accident he afterwards found was Sir R. Nagle, and told Father Sanders he guessed they came from an Irish lawyer. The King, it seems, resolved to know the sense of his 3 nations, and therefore shewed it to his English, Scotch, and Irish Secretaries. The King, having found the objections fully answered, told Sheridan some time after, he resolved to publish his case in English, French, and Latin; and had spoken to Mr. Carryll to see it done into French, and ordered it to be shewn sheet by sheet to Sheridan, that he might see whether Dempster, the translator, had exactly taken and expressed his meaning. Near 3 months after, this clerk tells Sheridan he had in 3 weeks finished the translation and found it still in Mr. Carryll's hands; who, he believed, had not yet shewn it the King nor told him it was done, and therefore prayed him to do it. Sheridan answered he expected to have had it brought him as it was a doing, and since it was not, he would say nothing of it to the King. The matter lay till September, 1695, when the King told Sheridan before the Queen he was sorry his case had not been long since published; that he now found the necessity of doing it and desired him to write a preface, wherein he might give the best reasons he could for its delay. The Queen asked Sheridan, why he had not (as she desired) sent her a copy of that paper, which she had not yet seen either in English, or French? Sheridan answered he thought her Majesty had seen it, for that he had sent it together with a letter by Father Sanders above a year ago, who told him, the King seeing it asked what it was, took it from him and said he himself would deliver it; 'tis very true, says the King, I have it still in my closet and you shall see it in English, wherein 'tis very well written, but the French translation is not good; but, says the King, besides your writing this preface, I have determined to send you to the Elector

Palatine, who offers me his service and interest with the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Catholic allies, you must get yourself ready immediately, and no person must know of it, but the two secretaries and Father Sanders, you must go under another name, and contrive things so that it may be thought you are only at Paris; in two days your instructions shall be prepared. Sheridan was ordered to correspond with Mr. Carryll, and to take his leave of Lord Middleton, the other Secretary, who gave him a pass by the name of Arden. Sheridan waited on Lord Middleton and prayed him to give him some directions for his conduct, his lordship having been formerly employed in Germany; he made him a cold compliment, and said one that the King had so good an opinion of, as of himself to pitch on him, needed no directions, which was all he could get from him.

Sheridan went to Paris, left his wife in a monastery, and on the 20th of October, 1695, began his journey, carried a letter the Queen gave him from Madame d'Almont to her brother-in-law, Davia, the Internuncio at Cologne. He was stopped at Coblentz by the Governor, but got off easily, but at Bonn he met with greater difficulty, though he had the Elector of Treves' pass. The Elector of Cologne's Chancellor asked him what brought him from Paris, and whether he was of the army or domestic servant of King James's; he answered he was neither, but a private gentleman and a Catholic, who upon the late revolution in England had to avoid trouble, retired into France and dwelt with his family in Paris, and, being now weary of his voluntary exile, he got a friend to write to the Internonce at Cologne to get him, by the means of some Catholic Prince, King William's pass, and leave to return home. He replied he could hardly think he would on that errand go so far about. Sheridan answered, he knew not a shorter way, and did it now the rather, that he heard that all, that did not, within a limited time, return home, were for ever to be excluded by outlawries, to prevent which he had undertaken this long and troublesome journey. The Chancellor desired to see the letter to the Internonce, which he shewed him. If I should, says he, open this letter and search you for the other papers, perhaps I should find you have some other business. Sheridan told him, he might do what he pleased in both, the letter was from his sister-in-law, a lady of honour about the Queen at Saint Germains; he then asked him several questions about the King and Queen's age and health, who till then he thought had been the Princess of Orange's own mother, so little skilled was this German in the English Court and their affairs, then he enquired after our two young princes, and, having satisfied his demands, he gave him back the letter, and said he had too great a respect for the Internonce, to open it, and believed by his discourse and behaviour he was no spy, and so let him pass.

After his arrival at Cologne he waited on Monseigneur Davia, who having read the letter treated him with extraordinary civility, and told him he perceived he had business with the Elector Palatine, wherein he wished him good success, gave him his character and that of Count Sevenburg, to whom he was first to address himself ; the Count gave Sheridan notice the Elector was at his country house, and that he must have patience for 10 days till his return to Dusseldorp. After the Elector's arrival the Count came in one of the Elector's coaches, and carried Sheridan from Cologne to Dusseldorp, and next day conducted him privately to his Highness, who received from him the King's letter with great compliments and assured him he would be heartily glad to serve his Majesty, and in order to it, would be content to travel to Madrid and Vienna in person, but, before he opened it, he desired to know whether any Protestant, particularly Lord Middleton or the English Chancellor, were privy to his journey. I know, says he, the King's secrets are disclosed, and I cannot but think it must be by some of the Protestants he trusts. Sheridan answered, he received the letter and his instructions from the King's own hand in the presence of the Queen alone, and was commanded to correspond with Secretary Carryll, a Catholic, and therefore his Highness might conclude no Protestant was acquainted with it. Whereupon being satisfied he read the King's letter, and told Sheridan that which stuck most with the Emperor and other princes, was the King's private league with France contrary to his obligations by the treaty of Nimegue. Sheridan answered, the King had never made any such league, nor acted anything contrary to any obligation he was under by that treaty, or any other with the Dutch, that that peace was made in his brother King Charles the Second's time, and by it he was no way bound, that King himself not being a guarantee, but only a bare mediator of a general peace, not of the particular one made first by the Dutch, whose example was after followed by the several other princes engaged in that war, and that King Charles' plenipotentiaries refused, when called upon by the Hollanders to sign or witness it, as being contrary to their powers and instructions, which were, they said, to mediate a general, not a particular, peace. If those things were so, said the Elector, the King your master would long ere this have justified himself to the world, and his silence in those two points is a sufficient refutation of what you now affirm. Sheridan replied that his master, upon his arrival in France, had sent an Envoy to the Emperor, to vindicate himself from those and all other aspersions, and that his Imperial Majesty had refused to admit him, having been before engaged in the league of Augsburg, by which and his rebellious subjects' invitation, the Prince of Orange was encouraged to his unjust and unnatural invasion. That, if the King his master had been in any such league with France, he would not have rejected,

as he had three times done, that King's repeated offers of succours, and his invitations of entering into a league offensive and defensive against the House of Austria, which if he had accepted, he had still preserved his crown, and kept his rebel subjects in obedience, whose laws he had never violated, which truths were all fully made out in a writing he had seen several years before, and of which his master judged the publication to no purpose in the heat of a war so generally and eagerly carried on to his ruin, for the support of an usurper with whom the Emperor and all the allies had confederated. The Elector answered that such a paper would have been of great advantage to the King, whose dethroning the Emperor never intended, that he had particular reason to except against Mr. Skelton, but would have admitted any other, that he had not entered into any alliance with the Prince of Orange, which was the title he all along gave him, till after he was made King, and that then out of necessity he had joined with him against France, as perhaps he would have done with the devil; France having designed the universal monarchy of Europe, which all the other princes could not prevent, without having the power of England of their side, and that, if King James had considered his own interest and the public good, he would have joined with the House of Austria against France, as often invited and pressed by the Emperor and the King of Spain. Sheridan replied that in the ill circumstances his master was in at home, a Catholic Prince surrounded by Protestant subjects, who waited but an opportunity to dispossess him by rebellion of a throne, from which in his brother's time they endeavoured to exclude him, he judged a neutrality joining with neither party the best and most prudent way to preserve the public peace, and secure himself, and therefore could not reasonably be blamed. Well, said the Elector, I am heartily sorry for his misfortune and would joyfully serve him, if there could be but a good peace made with France, for I look on the Prince of Orange as an unjust usurper and am too zealous for the R. C. religion not to wish the King repossessed of his right, to which I will contribute to the utmost of my power. I will think of the means and speak with you again, and so for that time dismissed Sheridan whom he received, and talked to all the time standing and uncovered, which was above an hour. In three or four days the Elector sent again for Sheridan, who as before, was conducted to him privately by the Count. Sheridan acquainted him that he was commanded by the King and Queen to make their compliments to the Electress, but he answered that could not be, he would himself undertake to do it, for that it must not be known to any other in his Court, that he had received any person from, or held correspondence with the King his master, that he was narrowly watched by emissaries of the Prince of Orange and had the night before received an account that he was sending an extraordinary Envoy to him, upon some extraordinary

business, and was afraid his being sent to him was already discovered, which he much apprehended, and therefore desired he would return by another way than that he came, lest he should be more strictly examined and searched, and gave him a letter to the King, prayed him to hide it as safely as that he had brought from his master, to whom and to the Queen he gave his most humble service, and bad him assure them, he would think of the best way he could to serve the King effectually, and for that purpose resolved in a few days to begin his journey to Vienna, and discourse the Emperor fully on the subject, and afterwards would give the King a farther account, upon which Sheridan took his leave, and told him he would next day begin his journey. Some hours after the Elector sent for Count Sevenburg and asked him whether the gentleman's name was really Arden, as the King's letter imported. He answered he believed so, and saw no reason to doubt it. His Highness said two of the magistrates of Cologne had been with him, and told him to his great surprise, that one Mr. Sheridan was now or had been lately with him from King James, and that King William had notice of it; but, says the Elector, I assured them there was no such thing. and yet I fear the Extraordinary Envoy's coming is on this account, and that he may be stopped by the way and my letter found. The Count prayed him not to apprehend that, for he had seen the letter carefully made up in the cover of a piece of Strada's History, which he carried in his pocket to read by the way, wherein it could never be suspected to be hid, and his Highness might be confident, if he had not been a very trusty person, his master would not have pitched upon him. Well, says the Elector, since you tell me this, I will not call for my letter back, as I intended, but venture it upon the confidence of his discretion. Sheridan was much surprised at this account, but assured the Count his name was Arden, that there was one Sheridan at Saint Germains, but too publicly known to be employed on such an errand, and begged him to let the Elector know he would lose his life rather than discover his letter or betray his trust. Next day the Count went with him to Cologne and helped him to buy horses to make his journey by land, he also went with him to the Internonce, and told him the Elector prayed him to get him safely conducted through the Forest of Arden to Luxembourg. The Internonce said he would serve him the best he could, and bad Sheridan come to him at 7 next night, and he would tell him what he would do. And indeed he was so kind as to get him both a guide and a passport, as for a friend of his own lately come from England, to avoid the persecution Catholics were under, and by this means, not without great trouble and some hazard, he got safe to Luxembourg, and thence to Saint Germains, where arriving by night, he waited privately on their Majesties and next day appeared at the King's levée. He was told in the ante-chamber by Mr. Porter and several others, that they

heard but the day before, he was in England, and were glad to see him thence returned in safety. He assured them that was a pure invention, and that he had not been in England since the King left it. As soon as his Majesty saw him, he told him publicly he was informed from England by a friend of yours and mine (so he was pleased to speak) that he had been in London and was displeased he had not made him a visit. Sheridan affirmed to his Majesty he had not been in England since 1688. I believe you, says the King, but, suppose I had sent you thither, and any one here had by chance found it out, he could not be true to my interest, that should make it known, and I look upon all who invent of their own heads such stories, and give them out, to be malicious knaves, that wish ill to my affairs, but nobody can be absent from Saint Germains or Paris, or elsewhere, but presently it is reported he is gone for England, but, if I find out the authors of such lies, I will severely punish them.

After this Sheridan gave their Majesties an account in writing of what passed between the Elector and him, and of what the Internonce had also said to him. The King bad him tell Lord Middleton all except what related to himself and the Protestants, but not to mention any thing to him of the Internonce's discourse, of which his Majesty commanded him to draw up a memorial, being a scheme how the league might be broken by engaging the Duke of S[avoy] to a separate peace. This being drawn up accordingly was by the King given to Mr. Carryll to be put into French, intending to deliver it himself to the King of France, but Mr. Carryll forgot to have it ready at the time prefixed. The King went and discoursed the substance of it to the King of France who seemed to approve it, and desired to see it in writing, which in two days after was given Lord Middleton to carry, by which his lordship saw Sheridan had concealed that part of his business from him and resented it, as if Sheridan had distrusted him, not knowing he was enjoined by the King not to say anything of it to him. This was in December, 1695, when their Majesties told him they would have the King's case printed, together with the preface Sheridan had written and which they liked by way of apology for its not being sooner published.

In February following the expedition of Calais was concerted, and Sheridan astonished, when told by the King he was not to be of it, who answered, he hoped his Majesty that had commanded his attendance in that of La Hogue, would not now leave him behind in this. The King said he must stay and see his case printed. Sheridan replied that might be done as well by another as by him, but the King said that was not all, he could be in other matters more useful to him in Saint Germains than in that expedition, and that the Queen would let him know the particulars. Sheridan was much disturbed at this usage and concluded it was Lord Middleton's contrivance, who was jealous of the King's too

favourable opinion of him, and displeased at his not acquainting him with what passed between him and the Internonce. He therefore begged Father Sanders to find out the reason, who spoke for his going both to King and Queen, but without success, from neither of whom could he find (though he endeavoured it) the reasons why he was not of the voyage. In two or three days after the King's departure it was found the design was all discovered to the Prince of Orange, whereupon the Queen sent for Sheridan and before Mr. Carryll told him the King of France had desired an apology might be written in English to vindicate both him and his brother of England, from what was most falsely given out, that they both had contrived the murder and assassination of the usurper, and that she had pitched upon him to write it, and had already given the King notice of it, who she was sure, would confirm her opinion, that he was the fittest to do it. Sheridan pressed to be excused and said Mr. Carryll was much fitter, which himself denying, he mentioned Mr. Stafford, but he was not approved, then he named Lord Middleton, Sir Richard Nagle or Mr. Perkins, whom the King had with him at Calais. But the Queen and Mr. Carryll insisted that none was so proper as himself. Sheridan said, if he undertook it, he was certain it would not be liked, nothing he had yet done having been approved by the King's ministers, and therefore earnestly begged to be excused. But notwithstanding, on the Queen's so earnestly pressing him, he went away and immediately writ what he thought proper on the subject. Next day he read it to her Majesty, who seemed to be pleased with it, and surprised he had done it so quickly, adding she did not now wonder the King had so good an opinion of him. A copy of it was sent to his Majesty who likewise approved on't, but in two days after the Queen told Sheridan the King of France said such a thing would not now be fit, since the Holland Gazette had published that there was a paper a writing to exculpate the two Kings from having any hand in the murder of the Prince of Orange and wondered how that should have come to be known, but, if the King would go on with it, he desired his name should not be mentioned. Sheridan answered he could not imagine how it came to be discovered, but her Majesty could not but be convinced it was not done by him, since that was but the 5th day since he had the first notice of it from herself. I am satisfied of that, says the Queen, but am infinitely troubled it has taken wind.

Sheridan was afterwards told, the King had dispatched Father Plowden from Calais to England, without the privity of any but Lord Middleton and Father Sanders; yet this was discovered to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Secretary of State, and a warrant by him given to seize Father Plowden, who made his escape into Scotland. Not long after Father Mansel was privately sent to the Emperor, of which the Prince of Orange

had notice from some of his spies about our King. In summer after a separate peace was made with the Duke of Savoy, and in September 1697, a general one concluded at Ryswic, by which the Prince of Orange was owned King of England to the exclusion of our rightful sovereign, who about that time had published a kind of manifest in French, wherein were some mistakes, and more had been, if Sheridan had not been consulted in it by their Majesties, who chose in some particulars to rely upon his ministers rather than upon him. This print was very scurrilously answered in England, and the Prince of Wales in it affirmed to be suppositious. To which by his Majesty's order Sheridan made a reply, fully vindicating the King's reputation in every particular, and clearing beyond exception the reality of the Prince of Wales his birth. This writing both their Majesties heard read with great satisfaction, but yet the ministers hindered its publication. After the peace by an Act of Parliament in Ireland all the bishops, prelates and regular clergy were banished that kingdom, the chief of whom, meeting at Saint Germains, desired Sheridan to draw in their name a representation of their miserable state and condition to the Pope and the Catholic Princes of Europe. This coming to the King's knowledge Sheridan was sent for and commanded to read it to him, his Majesty approved of it, but told him he would not trust his own judgment, but shew it to the Queen and Mr. Carryll. Next day Mr. Carryll sent for Sheridan and told him what was affirmed in it, that the true reason of the loss of the Crown was his being of the Roman Catholic religion, must be left out. Sheridan said he knew no other cause that could be assigned; yes, answered Mr. Carryll, the breaking of the laws. Sheridan replied the King had broken none, and that his suffering in silence so great and scandalous a falsehood to pass unrefuted was of infinite prejudice to his Majesty, and in some measure a justification of his subjects' rebellion, and a tacit confession of his own guilt. Well, says Mr. Carryll, notwithstanding all you say, this clause I have razed must be left out, it can do no good, but occasion answers to the paper, and new reflections on the King. Sheridan told him he did not see how the King was any way concerned in it, being written by, and in the name of the banished clergy, and if answered they were able to reply and justify the truth of it, and that he was of opinion it might do the King some good but no hurt. Mr. Carryll not pleased with his discourse told him positively the King would have it published no other way than as he had altered it. Sheridan showed the alteration to his Majesty, and gave him an account of what passed between Mr. Carryll and him on the subject. The King was of Sheridan's mind, and gave him money to print it, as it was first written, which accordingly was done in English and Latin.

This faithful relation of matters of fact was finished by Thomas Sheridan in the year 1702 composed and

drawn out of several papers or memoirs he had written at the times when the several things herein mentioned did happen.

II. CORRESPONDENCE, ETC.

William Gordon to John Paterson.

1718, March 1. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters and other business.—When his Grace was in this neighbourhood, I spoke and wrote to him about a demand for 18*l*. 0*s*. 4*d*. for wine furnished him at Perth by James Wright, and his Grace could say nothing about it till he should be informed by you of the fact, whereof please speak to him, and, if due, I am sure I shall have orders to pay it.

The Queen's pension is so far behind that the necessaries of her family can't be paid, so Mr. Dicconson is to be pitied, for, though the pressing necessaries of gentlemen that are subsisted make him and me very uneasy by daily harassing us out of our lives, he has no fund for this month and I am 3,537 *livres* in advance for last month and some that can't want it, which I paid for this month. This is cruel of the French Court, for no solicitation or endeavour is wanting to prevail with them to pay her Majesty, which proves all in vain and nothing but fair promises from day to day, on which no state can be made.

Brigadier Campbell has of late written several letters to Gen. Dillon about some money his Grace ordered him to lay out, but, till it come in, no money can be ordered. Pray lay this letter before his Grace and let me have his answer, for Mr. Dicconson protests, I truly believe with great sincerity, that he can do no more.

Prince George's, as they call him, English son, after setting his father and grandfather by the ears, is dead and happier than any of them, for I hope they may come to die with a halter. I pray God it may be soon and sure. *Nearly 2 pages.*

Col. Harry Bruce to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 1. Sens.—Congratulating him on his safe arrival in Italy, and expressing hopes of a speedy restoration. —The war, as is said, still increases betwixt young Rattlebag and the father, which, I hope, it ever shall do, till our royal son appear in his kingdoms to give the redding stroke to these two abortives and their adherents. I hear nothing from our country, but they still keep good hearts, longing for the happy day. The Justice Clerk begins now to break open the packets, I hope it's to make his passage clear. It's great joy to know the King keeps his health so well.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 2. Vienna.—Monsr. Belloni writes me that he has received my letter with several packets for your Excellency, though up to the present I am without a line from you.

I enclose a copy of the Grand Vizier's last letter to Prince Eugene concerning the congress to be held for peace. General Virmondt, the Emperor's minister, will soon set out for it, but a good result is much doubted. Meanwhile all preparations are going on here for the war against the Turks, but all about sending troops to Italy is still in silence. Some treaty for an agreement between the Emperor, King Philip, France, the Dutch and England is on the *tapis*, but the party of the Spanish ministers, which has great power here, is opposed to such a renunciation, and so the Emperor remains in perplexity and inaction. I have further learned to-day that an agreement between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy is on the *tapis*. *French.* 3 *pages.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 2. Vienna.—Requesting a line to inform him if his letters and packets have arrived, and adding that Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan) has not appeared there, and that he is keeping for him the letter left by Mr. Connell (*i.e.* O'Brien). *French.*

[COL. STEWART] to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, March 2.—A fall, which has dislocated my right arm, obliges me to avail myself of a strange hand, to acknowledge yours of the 4th with the enclosed paper, and to tell you you may write to me with perfect safety. If you put on an envelope "To M. Philibert Vigo at Turin" it will reach me safely. I hope to be quite well in a fortnight. *Endorsed*, "K. Ste." *French.*

QUEEN MARY to *the DUKE OF ORMONDE.*

1718, March 3. St. Germains.—We have at last had news from *Jerningham* that he is safe on this side of the world. He gives an exact account of his negotiation, which I cannot say is such as I could wish, but, as he found matters in the place he went to and the little encouragement he had given him, I think he could not do better than he has. *Dillon* will send you a copy of his letter: he has sent the original to *the King*. You will see the proposal in it of offering a large *sum of money* to *the Czar* to persuade him to make up with *the King of Sweden* at the rate *the King of Sweden* desires, without which it seems there's no hopes of the *King of Sweden's* doing anything for *the King*, as *Jerningham* says. But *Ormonde*, being in or near the place where *the King of Sweden's* and *the Czar's* friends are to meet, to which we are told they are to repair immediately, if not there already,

can best judge whether such an offer will answer the end that *Jerningham* pretends, and, there being no time to wait for *the King's* answer, and *Ormonde* having his procuration to act for him, I am of opinion that, if *Ormonde* find by *Dr. Erskine* and others that the offer will take, that he ought to make it and explain very clearly that *the King* cannot give that *money* till he is at *England*, where it is to be hoped *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* will carry him, when they are once agreed together. I am sorry there is no hopes for the present of *Ormonde's* going to see *the King of Sweden*, but for some time I believe he may do good where he is, not only in the affair I have already mentioned, but also in what relates to *the Czar's daughter*, which is another affair that I take to be of the last consequence and of which I long to hear from you some good tidings. *Dillon* has written to *Jerningham* to lose no time in going to you, for he may be useful to you, and 'tis fit he should give you an account of all he knows. I have writ to *the King* that I have sent him to you to follow your directions and wait there for *the King's* orders, from whom you have had some letters of late. I hope you will soon send us some from *Sir H. Stirling*, after he has seen *the Czar's daughter*. I fear the *girl* is very young. We have been so unlucky as not to have been able to understand *Sir H. Stirling's* letter in that particular, which is the most material for us to know. If that affair succeed, it will be very happy for *the King*, who, you will find, is tired out of his life where he is and with reason. I wish he may go to you rather than you should go to him, for in the first case one might hope to have you go both together to *England*. *Copy*.

The Duke of Ormonde to James III.

1718, March 3.—I received *the King's* of 20 and 28 *Dec.*, *by Mr. O'Brien* who arrived *here* the 3rd *February*. It was a sensible mortification to *me* not to have heard from *the King* since 19th *August*.

"*The Dutch and all the German gazettes alarmed me* with an *account of the King's indisposition* and mentioned such particular circumstances as made *me fear* it was *true, but the arrival of Mr. O'Brien* removed *our fears*.

"I am still in pain about my *letters*, because *the King* does not own the *receiving* of any of them. *He* only takes notice of two *of mine* which *Dillon* sent to *him* the 22nd *November*. I sent *Dillon* the *dates of my letters* to *him* and the 4th *December I* desired *Dillon* to send to *you copies* of those *I writ to him*, fearing *that mine* were *miscarried*.

"I had no way of *writing to the King but by the Guardian at Prague*, he being the person whom *Sheridan* was addressed to.

"The *Guardian*, who knows nothing of me, wrote to *Bagnal*, whose *true name he* does *not know*, that he had received *all*

the letters he sent *him*, and put them *in the post for Bologna*, according to the directions *I* received *at Pesaro*.

"I suppose that some of *mine* arrived safe, because *a letter* from *Butler* to *Wogan* of 21 *September* and sent with one of the same date to *the King* was received.

"The first post after I received *Dr. Erskine's letter I sent a copy to you*, and another to *Dillon*. I had no further knowledge of that affair than from his *letter* and could not *enter* into any *negotiation with him* on that matter until *I had* received *your orders*.

"I wrote at the same time to *Dr. Erskine* that I had acquainted *the King* with *the obliging offer of the Czar*, and would send him an answer as soon as I heard from *the King*. *My letter* was near a month in his hands *before he* answered *it*, and in his answer, which is of 25 *November to mine of the* 25th *October*, he took no further notice of the *proposal of marriage* and *he* promised a long *letter* by the next post. *I* answered his of the 25th *November* on the 4th *December*, the day *I* received it, and I have not yet had the long *letter nor* an answer *to my last*.

. "*I* sent an abstract of *Dr. Erskine's letter* of the 25th *November* to *Dillon* to be forwarded to *the King*.

"*Dr. Erskine* received mine of the 4th *December*, for he ordered *his secretary* to own the receipt of it in a *letter* to his correspondent in *Riga*, who was recommended to *me by Dr. Erskine*, and to excuse his *master's not writing* with his own hand, because he was employed in preparing for *a journey to Moscow*.

"*I* shall not be *wanting* on *my part*, but *Dr. Erskine's laziness will make* any *negotiation* with *him* pretty difficult, though I hope it will be *remedied* in some measure *by Sir H. Stirling's* being with *him*.

"*I* could not *obey the Queen's orders* to send two *persons* to *Petersburg* to be informed *of the age and character of the Princess*, because *I had the Czar's orders* to continue *in* this *town* and to endeavour to *be concealed and after* such *instructions I* could not send any *person to Petersburg* without *his leave*. *The town is little*, there are several *foreign ministers in it*, and one *from Hanover*, several *English seamen last* (*sic*)* *and merchants*, *and* two gentlemen, who must have *appeared at Court* in order *to see the person of the Princess*, could not *have been concealed from* the enquiry *of the foreign ministers* and *of the Czar*.

"A few days before I had . . . *the Queen's letter*, *Sir H. Stirling* arrived *here in* his *way to Petersburg*. *He* being *Dr. Erskine's nephew* appeared *there without suspicion*. *He* made no secret *of visiting his uncle* and *I* thought *him the* fittest person to answer *the intentions of the Queen*. *I instructed*

* 298=last is probably a mistake for 398=officers. There are other mistakes in the figure ciphers in this letter.

him to be very careful and exact in his enquiry, that he might give a true and particular account of what is demanded. *I* expect his answer, and will send you *a duplicate of his letter.*

" I think my[self] obliged to tell you that the *Princess* was *born before the Czar* was *married* to the *present Czarowine* and during the *life of his first wife,* but according to the custom of this *country she and* the other children *born before marriage have been* made *legitimate. Mr. O'Berne,* talking to me *of the Czar's family,* told *me that the Czar's first wife is still alive. The King* may be assured that *O'Berne* is not let into the *secret. Sir H. Stirling* will, I suppose, inform you of this in the accounts he sends *the King.*

" I wish the *offer of marriage may be* taken *in the* literal sense and independent of other proposals, but I much fear it.

" Whatever *the King* determines with respect to *Dr. Erskine's letter,* I should think he should not come *to* this *country without* resolving *to marry,* for a *refusal after seeing the person* would be very disagreeable *to the Czar,* and since the *late friendship between the Emperor and the Duke of Hanover the King's* return from *this country* would *be very difficult and dangerous.*

" I am concerned for the account that *the King* gives me of *the Pope's fears* and the little appearance *of money from him or the King of Spain.* The *Jew,* I fear, is not to be *depended on* and *the King* must be sensible of the difficulty *I* should be under, if *I be invited to Sweden,* not being able to give *the King of Sweden* assurances of any particular sum.

" *The Duke of Ormonde* is glad that the affair *of Lord Peterborough is over* without any ill *consequences.* I can hardly believe that *Lord Bolingbroke's* vanity will let him act so mean a part.

" As to the *notion of a Cardinal, the King* may rely on the opinion *of his servants in England,* what *effect it may have* there. I do not doubt but *the King's letter to Leslie* will be of *service* and the regard you are pleased *to show* for *him* will be very agreeable to *your friends in England.*

" I am very glad that the *air of Urbino* agrees so well with *the King.* I wish the *company* were as agreeable as those *you left at Avignon.* I should be sorry you should *change it for this country,* unless it were on a very good account, for it is not the most agreeable *part of the world.*

" Give me leave to return my most humble thanks for what *you have* mentioned relating to *the Duke of Ormonde's wife.* I am persuaded *she will be* always *ready to obey your commands.*

" I am very sorry *the King* has lost so faithful a *servant as Richard Hamilton* and it is certainly right not *to fill up his place. The Duke of Ormonde* is very glad that *the King* has wherewithal *to pay all the pensions* for this year. *Ormonde* is very sensible of your goodness in *commanding him to draw. He will obey your orders* with all the good husbandry that is necessary.

"*Butler* and *Bagnal* are most grateful for the *honour the King has done them* . . . It is a great mortification to the *Duke of Ormonde* to be so long *absent from the King*, but he is extremely pleased to find his endeavours *to serve the King* are agreeable to him. . . ." 17 *pages*.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 3.—"*Ormonde* received yours by *Rome* of 28 December. It was very comfortable *after* the melancholy *accounts we had in the gazettes*.

"I am very glad that *Mar* arrived safe at *Urbino* and that he was so well diverted *at Venice*. In mine to *the King*, you will see the reason I did not write oftener to you, and I have writ so fully to *the King* that it is not necessary to fill up this with repetitions. . . .

"I would have answered *the King's* sooner, but that I daily expected to hear from *Jerningham by Sheridan*, whom I designed to have sent to you, as *the King* desired, but being disappointed would not defer any longer answering *the King's*. *Dillon*, I knew, sends according to my desire an account *of all that I inform him of*.

"I should be sorry to see *Mar in* this *country* but on a very good account. By what I have seen coming through *it*, and *by* what *I hear*, you would, I believe, *find it much* more disagreeable *than the place you are in*, though I can give but very little account of it myself having *been out of the house* but four or five *times* to *avoid being seen by the people here*, who are extreme *curious*.

"*Ormonde* is very glad that you have settled on a new *conveyance* to *England*, and left it to their choice to do as they please in that affair. *Ormonde* hopes they will agree to carry on the trade without any *jealousies*. What is done concerning the *nomination of a cardinal* is very right, as also what relates to *Leslie*.

"I am impatient to hear from *the King of Sweden*. *Dillon*, to be sure, has sent a copy of that *I* received from *Jerningham*. *Ormonde* sent *Dr. Erskine your letter*. Give me leave to present my most humble service to *Lord Clermont*. He will make you live merrily.

Postscript.—"*Sir H. Paterson* is very obliging in his care *of the Duke of Ormonde's letters*, and in his corresponding punctually. I hope *Sir H. Stirling* will spur up *Dr. Erskine*, who is very lazy. . . . We often remember you in good Scotch claret. I wish you had as good." . . . 5 *pages*.

Brigadier Campbell to [Lord Tullibardine].

1718, March 3. Bayonne.—Sending copies of letters received 25 Feb. from General Dillon and William Gordon and of his answers to them, viz., Dillon to Campbell 9 Feb. Paris. I read both your letters to *W. Gordon* of 25 Dec. and 26 Jan.

I know *Mar*, before he departed hence, wrote to *Tullibardine* to buy 10,000 *swords* and as many *targes*. As to payment, he, I suppose, ordered it should be done by gales and in the longest terms that could be obtained. We daily expect a supply of money; when it comes, *W. Gordon* shall have orders to furnish you with the necessary credit. William Gordon to Campbell. 19 Feb. I enclose his (Dillon's) answer to both yours. You are to lose no time in making your bargain, and to advise precisely of the terms of payment, which you are to make as long as you can, because ready money is very scarce. However, he assures me it will come soon and therefore desires you to make your agreement, the sooner the better. You may apply to M. du Livier. I shall write to Robert Gordon, that he may find out some credit for you; in the meantime conclude nothing for ready money.

Campbell to Dillon. 26 Feb.—Yesterday I had yours of the 9th, the first I have received from you. I am a little troubled that after so many letters to you, to *Mar*, *Tullibardine*, and *Campbell of Glendarule*, there should still be a misapprehension of my meaning; therefore I give you the trouble of repeating the same things as plainly as I can. Please lay down as the foundation of all our proceedings that without private permission from the Intendant here, the Intendant of Placentia, near St. Sebastian, and *the General* of Biscay, nothing is to be done with security in the places where these commodities may be had. *Barry* and I wrote so. On his misfortune, all my papers were committed to the flames, but I have since wrote the same to yourself and the other three gentlemen. I marked particularly that without good recommendations to the Intendants and *the General* nothing could be done effectually, and that *the General* of Biscay is the person that can do most service, and that therefore it would be necessary he had intimation from some minister, if not from the Cardinal himself, to favour *Clanranald* and me. I have heard *the General* speak of you as an acquaintance and friend, but, having no orders to discourse him on that head, made no use of that opportunity. The Intendant here has also been very civil in proffering me all service in his power in another affair, but in this we dare not trust him till *Clanranald* and I are empowered to do it.

Next would you consider that the people who are to be set to work for *swords* and *targes* are very poor and to be paid as they finish them and therefore that a credit of 5,000 *livres* is necessary previous to setting them to work in many different places and to bargaining with those who have already some small quantities made. The prices will differ both according to the quality of the goods and the places where they are to be got. *Clanranald* and I are of opinion that to have them fit for the market each *sword* will cost about 5 *livres* and each *targe* about 3, making 8 *livres* the suit, besides the packing and carriage. The *sword* I had made at Tolosa amounted

to more and with other little things, fell into *the General's* hands on *Barry's* misfortune. I have often mentioned the places where I have already been, and it will be convenient to go the very outermost of Biscay, if not further, if time should press.

There is no place where anything of this can be done, but several people must know something true or pretended. Since *Barry* has failed, some merchant here must be employed to assist us not only in money but in making our bargains and keeping the goods in magazines till the market offers, and merchants here and elsewhere shall be chosen, when the recommendations are obtained to the Intendants and *the General*, in the discreetest way we can.

You see from what I have said no bargain is made, nor can any be made without the above-mentioned recommendations and permissions and without the ready money specified. When these come, we shall proceed with all the good management possible. We forbear informing *W. Gordon* of the goods designed to be bought till we have your allowance, we only advertise him, that, if he be to furnish credit, the person we judge fittest is M. Bertrand Forsan here.

Campbell to W. Gordon. 26 Feb.—Pray send the enclosed to *Dillon* with all expedition. What you desire of me cannot be done till the terms are made, which cannot be made till the necessary recommendations and credit for part of the sum be obtained. I have explained all this fully to *Mr. Dillon*. M. Louis du Livier, though a very honest, rich, and kind man, is certainly unfit for this affair, both for his very great age and other infirmities. M. Bertrand Forsan is the fittest for this business of all in this place.

R. Gordon to Campbell. Feb. 26.—William Gordon writes me to find money at Bayonne, but knew not exactly the sum, but desired me to write to you to see what you would need, and I desire you to discourse with M. du Livier and see if he would send you the money, and I shall send him my bills or he can draw on W. Gordon.

I have answered R. Gordon to-day that you will give him the necessary directions and that he must endeavour a correspondence with Bertrand Forsan or any other preferable to du Livier. I expect shortly to hear from you and *Mar*, particularly as to the recommendations we judge necessary. 4 *pages. Copy in Campbell of Glendarule's hand and enclosed in his letter of the* 12*th.*

T. Bruce to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 3. Brussels.—Yesterday *Mr. de Wilda* called and told me he had received a letter from his friend, saying that he had laid before his master the paper of which I sent you lately a copy, that he was in such a concern on it that he made no answer for some minutes, and at length said that

no circumstance in the whole of his affairs was more perplexing to him than that. *De Wilda* says that his friend lets him know that his master declared that, if it was possible, he would not only avoid the demand touching *azil*, but also would do what lay in his power to serve *the King*. *De Wilda* immediately wrote back to know the final resolution touching the mentioned particular. I do not look on *de Wilda* to be so crafty as to have designed this to discover whether *the King* had any view of credit with *the Regent* or *the King of Spain;* however, I disappointed him by regretting his friend's impediments and difficulties on that head and by applauding his own care, but at the same time told him that, so long as *the Emperor* had his views to *Spain*, in which *the Elector of Hanover* was *necessary*, I did not see how he could give credit to *the King*, otherwise than as to *azil*. I talked with him at the same time of *the Emperor's hazard*, to see if he would confirm the report we have had for some time that *the Emperor* and *the King of Spain* will *agree*. He told me he always was and is still of opinion that *the Emperor* will *ruin* by it, but at the same time he believes he is resolved to *hazard*. He tells me there is at present some misunderstanding betwixt *the Emperor* and *the King of Prussia*.

If matters stand as we are told, this seems to be a proper time for *the Queen* to *assign her jointure* to *the Regent*. We have been told, but only by people here, that the King is to send over 10,000 men from England to this country. I know that Capt. Burrows, who does business here for Lord Cadogan, said these troops would be sent, in case the Regent should assist the King of Spain.

J. Menzies to *L. Inese*.

1718, Thursday, Feb. 20[–March 3].—I have yet no account if my late letters came to you, however, I continue to give you our common occurrences.

It is now late and the House of Lords are just rising. To-day was to be a trial of skill. The Mutiny Bill being read a second time on Tuesday was committed for this day. When the House were going into Committee Lord Trevor moved that it should be an instruction to the Committee to receive a clause, that punishment by death should be taken out of the Bill. The Duke of Buckingham quarrelled with the motion as out of the rules, and so a fierce debate arose amongst themselves, which bred great confusion and took up much time. At last the Court carried it by 14, which was more than was expected, for in the morning it was thought the majority would not be above 8 or 9, but some bishops and others went off, who were reckoned would not. The Archbishop was not present himself. The Prince, though he came, went away about 4, which discouraged and offended his party highly, and, if any thing be brought in hereafter relating to himself, he

will find the effects of this day. But this is a public affair of general concern, this, I mean, of the Army. The next question to-night the Court carried but by 11. The Duke of Bucks was gone home, who had a proxy, otherwise it would have carried but by 9.

In the first question, though he battled the point of form with Lord Trevor, he gave his vote and his proxy against the Court, when it came to the question, yet still he is much suspected and the malcontents have strange stories of the matter of money in other cases as well as his. The bystanders generally censured Lord Trevor's motion as imprudent, but the answer was they did it on purpose, to try their strength before they went into Committee, because the proxies have no votes in Committee. The House adjourned only till to-morrow and are to go upon this again.

There has been in the House of Commons the most troublesome affair that has happened this sessions, which has been contrived with the greatest dexterity. As interest is the great spring in this country and as the loss by the interruption of the Swedish trade and by the want of iron is very great, a spirit was raised amongst the merchants in the City to present a petition to the House of Commons representing those grievances and begging redress, about 10 days ago, signed by three or four hundred of the most substantial merchants in the City. The courtiers in the House opposed it vigorously, and at last, to stave off the reading of it, gave assurances that his Majesty had already that affair under consideration and was in a very few days to issue a proclamation which would make all that very easy &c., so with much ado the petition was delayed, though not rejected. When the proclamation was published, the clamour of the merchants was extraordinary, and they pretended that, instead of opening up the trade with Sweden, it shut it up closer and gave it plainly and wholly to the Dutch, notwithstanding there is an article in the Navigation Act that no merchant shall bring home of the growth or produce of any country, but immediately from that country itself, and no proclamation can take away or alter an Act, far less this one, which is reckoned as another Magna Charta as to those matters. These things being dexterously argued and improved amongst the merchants, they renewed their petition yesterday, and the effects it had you will see in the enclosed printed votes and the orders and resolves, after the courtiers had most warmly opposed it, alleging that such things in public votes must highly reflect on his Majesty abroad with other such reasons, but the merchants obtained the substance of their desires, and it is the most skilful affair that has been carried on this session.

Another has been proposed in that House to-day, which may also be very troublesome. It was moved that an account be laid before the House of the losses already known to be sustained in our trade by the pirates in the West Indies, what

orders and ships have been sent for suppressing them and what force may further be necessary &c. Since the Parliament has given supplies for all the naval occasions of the present year, now it is feared that this must necessarily weaken our squadrons in the Baltic and Mediterranean, besides that seamen are very hardly now to be had for the Baltic expedition and consequently for the rest, since they know not which is which they are to be engaged in.

As to foreign affairs we are still much in the clouds and speculation.

I have some remembrance that *the Regent* was in your old books of debtor and creditor. Now that his brother [-in-law] (the Duke of Lorraine) and family are so near him, *the King* has an excellent opportunity of pushing the point with him at present by that means and of discovering what is to be expected of him. When I was two days ago with *Ormonde's* brother (Lord Arran), this was heartily his opinion and that Providence seems to give the opportunity. *Nearly 3 pages.*

J. Murray to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Feb. 20[–March 3]. London.—The story mentioned in my last is now become very public, for which I will not blame the indiscretion of anybody, but it is certain the picture has made its rounds over all this city and I believe *Sir R. Everard*, myself, *Lord Arran* and *the Bishop of Rochester* are the only persons it has been industriously concealed from, for what reason I cannot imagine. Mrs. Higgens has had a letter on this subject which she has published all over the town. This must be of disservice, considering the distance between the two parties, though the thing was entirely settled, of which I know nothing but the common report.

I wish *George Kelly* was come, because by *him* we might send some goods you would be glad to have, which cannot go by another occasion. I don't find by the best information I can get that *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Regent* have agreed any thing, and now that *the King's* friend *the Duke of Lorraine* is with *the Regent* there will be an opportunity of representing everything to him in a just light. I will only say that, if *the Regent* don't take a new turn, it will surprise people of all sorts here who know him. I must again complain that it has been a great loss that you have not let us know on what footing *the Regent*, *the King of Spain*, and *the King of Spain's* old father-in-law (the King of Sicily) are together, for that would have been great use to *the Parliament*.

The grand affair of the Army was put off from Tuesday till to-day, and it is thought the Lords will be very warm on that subject. The Prince at first prudently determined not to oppose his Majesty personally in that, though I believe he was influenced by fear rather than prudence. But the

Jacobites, finding it to their purpose to bring him to the House, sent to let him know that, if he deserted them in this point, they would leave him to be a sacrifice to the resentments of our friends, which having frightened him more a t'other side, he came to the House on Tuesday, but what he will do to-day I cannot yet tell. Lord Stanhope told the Lords boldly that Europe was likely to be engaged in a new war and the prize to be fought for was the succession to the crowns of France and Spain, and even that to the crown of Great Britain, for we must not imagine we could be out of the case, that we might by mean pitiful methods avoid a war for a few months, but that sooner or later we must have our share in it.

Sir R. Everard being by me and having seen this does not write by this post. I have done and will do my utmost to contradict the story I mentioned, because, if it be true, I'm sure this is not the time to publish it, but people are so much possessed of it, that I am afraid it will be a difficult matter. This is what I judge a matter of prudence till I know farther, though it's probable others may have received different instructions, which I suppose they have complied with.

Sir R. Everard had *George Kelly's* of the 23rd, and had before directed the conveniency to part last Monday. *Nearly* 3 *pages.*

Sir H. Stirling to the Duke of Ormonde.

1718, Feb. 21[–March 4]. Petersburg.—I have had no accounts from Dr. Erskine since what I mentioned in my last two posts ago, but I had one last post from Sir H. Paterson, telling me that one, who had a letter from Count Gyllenborg, told him that Jerningham had left Sweden in order to join the Duke of Ormonde. If this were true, I should think you must have had some advice of it ere now, nor can I easily imagine what should have made him leave that place, if the Duke of Ormonde's going had been thought necessary. I hope, if he is coming, he brings good tidings, for I have been told by one that has accounts from those parts, that the treaty is as good as concluded, but, since I have no accounts of that from Dr. Erskine, I can hardly believe it to be relied on as yet, though it's like it may be in a fair way, for I can hardly think the Czar would have undertaken such bold things at home, if he had not been pretty sure of the state of affairs abroad, and I persuade myself he will be fonder than ever of the proposition he caused to be made by Dr. Erskine some time ago, since that will be a great means to support the scheme he proposes to himself, in case anything happen to him before it comes to perfection. Dr. Erskine's secretary has been gone some days to join him, so, in case he stays longer than was thought, we shall have more frequent accounts from him. There has in all appearance some dangerous conspiracy been carried on against the Czar, since

a great number of considerable people are taken up every day and sent in irons to Moscow, who have been, it is thought, concerned in a plot with the late Prince against the Czar's life, but he has got the better of them. Sir H. Paterson had a letter of 14 Jan. from Lord Mar, when the King was perfectly well, which is a great satisfaction considering what the rascally prints said of him. I have hopes we shall soon have some good news to send him. *Partly in cipher, deciphered. Copy.*

CHRISTIAN, COUNTESS OF BUTE, to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 5. Paris.—Having done an action liable to the censure of all whose opinion I value, my recourse is to your vindication, which you cannot favour me with till you have a short detail of the reasons why a bigoted loyalist sent her only son to travel in company of some suspected and others, as Carpenter, in open rebellion, and suffering him to return when within two days' journey of his sovereign without casting himself at his royal feet.

Having a design to preserve one branch of our family from the poison which of late years has crept into it, I resolved from the time of my being a widow to carry my son abroad out of reach of that infection, but was necessitated to delay putting it in execution till I had saved so much money as might make it practicable, fearing what has happened, that my son-in-law would not treat us at a distance as he ought, yet I hoped, before my son was fit for travelling, we should be blessed with the restoration and consequently with all our other just claims and then I expected to make him travel as his father's son, but, our unhappy circumstances continuing, I quitted all thought of his making a further journey, till we returned to Scotland and endeavoured to raise our money. Wherefore on the Duke of Gordon's going for Florence my son proposed that, if I would allow him but 100*l.* for his own charges and to go in company with his Grace, he should infallibly return with him and save me the expenses of a governor and servant, I was easily prevailed with to satisfy his curiosity a little, till he should be in circumstances to give it a greater scope. Glenbucket promised to go with him to Rome and take care of him back to Florence. He did not mention going further than Rome, yet I had some reason to hope he would, but it seems he did not, and, they both being limited to the Duke's time, you will see it was next to impracticable for my son, not then 17, to attempt that agreeable journey alone, for, if he had missed of a safe convoy back to Paris by Glenbucket's going away, his money must have failed, and that he knows not yet how to provide for. Your Grace may safely assure our king that fatal necessity, not choice, made him fail in what he ought and would have performed.

I reckon it the most fortunate accident of his journey that he met you on the way, seeing neither he nor I could ever

procure that honour here. The time, I believe, with you was short and not so well employed by him as he ought, so I hope you will forgive my troubling you with the account he should have given then. 2 *pages*.

MR. DALMAHOY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 5. Brussels.—Informing him that he desires to serve the Czar, till the King has service for him, and requesting a recommendation from the King and also a commission that will give him some character in that place.

CLANRANALD to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, March 5. *Bayonne*.—Yours I had last night acknowledging the receipt of mine of 17 Dec. was no small pleasure. I came here the week after I wrote, where I found *Brigadier Campbell* quite disconcerted as to the affair that brought him here by *Barry's* misfortune. I shall not enter on the details of that matter, it being already suggested to you by others. My zeal for *the King's* service makes me wish it were done. You know better than any other the advantages of those manufactures and the consequence the want of them may produce when a market offers, so I am hopeful proper means will be found to remove the principal obstacles. The honour *the King* does me is above any return I can make. *Enclosed in Campbell of Glendarule's letter of the 12th.*

The DUKE OF MAR to SIR H. PATERSON.

1718, March 5.—I had yours of 10 Feb. on the 1st. The last I had of yours before was of 20 Dec. Those you mention to have wrote me since have never come. I hope now to hear from you oftener. It is so long since I heard from *Lady Mar* that I have lost all patience, the last being that I told you of in my last, though I have wrote often since I came here. All were under cover to the Squire (Hamilton), and, he being obliged to abscond on account of his creditors, it is not unlikely they may have miscarried. I desired her to send me another address, but, having got none and not caring to write again by the Squire's, I enclose you one for her.

I am glad *Menzies* lets any of our friends hear from him, which is a favour he has allowed me but once since I came here, though I had given him subject enough to write of. He writes sometimes to *Inese* which are sent me, but they are superficial enough, nor has he yet cleared himself as he ought of the affair of *money*, of which I told you, and it has occasioned my writing a good deal to him of late. He has not either told anything to *Inese* or me of what he has to you, of having heard from *Gyllenborg*, and he has been complaining to some of our friends on a free and friendly letter I wrote him from *Paris* concerning *money* affairs, as if he was treated ungratefully and thrown off after so long service only to

please some who are his enemies, without telling them a word of *the money* business, and doing all he could to set those friends against *James Murray*, because I wrote sometimes to him, as if he had been supplanting him. This looks all very odd, as I have lately wrote to him, but I am afraid there is an end of any service from him, though I say all this only to yourself, that you may know better how to deal with him and you must take no notice of it to him, especially of the affair of *money*, those who employed him in that having earnestly desired no more might be said of it. A thing has happened now which, I believe, will make *Menzies* give over meddling any more, but that shall come from himself and not from us. *The King* has ordered that *Inese* shall be no more employed in his business.

It is fit you should know it, that you may write no more to him of what concerns *the King's* business, and I believe you will think this can have no ill consequence to his affairs at home. It is necessary they should be acquainted of it, therefore I have wrote the two enclosed letters to *Menzies* and *H. Straiton*, which you will forward the best manner you can. There is little in them but of this, so, if you do not find a sure occasion of sending them soon, you had best venture them by this post.

I hope you got a good way of sending those three packets to *H. Straiton* and that he has them before this. By what you tell me I conclude we shall hear from *Ormonde* of *Jerningham's* joining him. The last I have seen from him was of 10 Jan. and he was not then come to him.

March 6.—Since writing the above, I have seen two of *Menzies* to *Inese* of 23 and 27 Jan., both wrote in a peevish enough way, but he gives an account of his letter from *Gyllenborg*, and I have one from the gentleman to whom *Gyllenborg's* letter really was, which gives a very satisfactory account of things.

The Czar and *the King of Sweden* are making up their accounts, and when that is done *Gyllenborg* says the first will satisfy *the King's* demands. I will long to hear of Orlando's* (the King of Sweden's) and *Dr. Erskine's* return to *Petersburg*. I have a letter too from *Lady Mar* of 21 Jan., by which I see some of hers to me miscarried; however, this one puts me at some ease and the more that her business with *Scotland* is now in a better way than it was. She is doing what she can to get an affair through, wherein *Lord Erskine* is concerned, in which her friend (the Duke of Kingston) has promised to assist, which may prove lucky enough, in case other things should not go right, though we have more reason than ever to hope that will not happen so. The poor Squire must, she fears, return, for his creditors are still hunting for him, and there are no hopes of any composition. They forced her to speak to her friend about him, which did rather hurt than good.

* A mistake for a christian name beginning with N, which means in this cipher the Czar.

In future you must write of anything concerning the King's business, which requires haste, to *Dillon*. (Concerning the probability of Dillon's leaving Paris and the intention of *the King* in that case to send James Murray to take his place as in other letters.) *James Murray* has been very useful of late in preventing any of *Bolingbroke's* scoundrel malice against *the King* to take place, as *C. Kinnaird's* old pupil has also been, so that he is now despicable and forsaken by all who were his friends, and can do little hurt, go there when he will, but his going is not yet certain. If I have time, I will send you a note to be forwarded to *James Murray*, but you must send it to one with *England*, who will return it in case he has left, and you must not send it to *Menzies*, he having fallen out with him.

About a fortnight ago *Lord Panmure* left the company he was with to go to *France* about some of his private affairs, his friend with *Scotland* having wrote to him that she had hopes of making a composition with his creditors but that it would cost considerably to *the Elector of Hanover's* countrymen, and that it was thought it would be easier done, if he came nearer them. He had not great hopes himself of its succeeding, and I am persuaded he will never do anything unbecoming him to make it do, but he thought he could not refuse the advice, and the rather that he was very weary of the place where he was. He spoke of it to *the King*, who would not hinder him, and seemingly he parted very well contented, though I know he is not so, which is in a great measure owing to his natural temper and want of knowing the world, having never been much in business nor conversed much with those that were. He fancied he was not let into things nor so much advised with as he expected, and that there were secrets where there were none, and in a word, so peevish that he thought nothing of what was told him, sometimes not believing it, and at others that nothing was done right, and this notwithstanding *the King's* taking all the pains he could to please him, and both he and *Mar* told him the substance of all concerning *the King's* affairs, only without the names of those concerned in them.

Dr. Bla[i]r is gone with him, for whom he has a strange fondness, and who was as much out of humour as he, and did not, I have reason to believe, contribute a little to make him so. If the composition with his creditors do not succeed, he has a mind to go and live in *the Governor of the Netherlands'* country, where his friend will come to him.

As to *the King's* marriage, I can say no more of it just now, but ere long, I hope, you will have a satisfactory account of it.

I thank you for the *Gazette* and wish it may be continued, and one of the persons you mention shall write you now and then what accounts are fit to be put in it. I enclose a paragraph which would not, perhaps you'll think, do amiss in it. I had it sent me from one of your countrymen.

I believe *Mar* may go for Rome in about a fortnight, but his stay there will not be long. Money is just now so scarce with *the King* and *Queen Mary* and they have so many to maintain that it is hard to increase the expense, but, if you would contrive any particular business for Mr. D[unda]s to do on their account which would be useful, perhaps some little thing might be got done for him, and it would be no preparative to draw on further charge of that kind. Is Mr. Hamilton I saw with you still in your parts or is he gone where he intended ?

You may be sure we are neglecting nothing in the affair of *money*, which you mention, to have it in readiness when required, but where we thought ourselves surest of it, we are too likely to be disappointed.

I had yours of 1 Feb. last night, but have heard nothing of the rest. Pray let *Lady Mar* know how she may address you, and send the enclosed to *T. Bruce* as soon as you can.

The King is in perfect good health.

When you write me anything of Mr. *Robertson* let it be in a sealed note apart. I am very sorry your friend at home has not yet got her business done, but hope it is a-doing. I knew none of *Robertson's* children were with him. Had he not best make the girl a nun? Her I have seen and she seemed not to look as if she would make a handsome woman. How much would that cost?

You may have had from England an account of a late letter from the Chevalier to Mr. Leslie. In case you should not, I enclose a copy of it. *Mar* says in his letter to me, that I may see by that letter how much more secure and happy the Church of England would be under their native and lawful prince, as he calls the Chevalier, than at present, notwithstanding his private opinion as to his own religion, which the people of England have themselves in a great measure to blame for his being so. Our Court at home's management in the affair, which is the subject of the Chevalier's letter, is odd enough and it is little wonder it gives some alarm to the true friends of the Church established there.

If *H. Straiton* does not know already how to address letters for you by the post, you should let him know how to do it. 8½ *pages. Copy.*

Patrick Gordon of Achleuchris to James III.

1718, March 6.—Petition for a recommendation for getting him into some service or for subsistence. The petitioner had been forced to leave Scotland, after lurking for some time, and had received 35 *livres* a month for ten months from Dec., 1716, at Paris, and had then gone to Vienna with recommendations to Count Hamilton, privy counsellor to the Emperor, to procure him employment against the Turks, but on his arrival found the Count was dead, and then came to Italy, where he believed his uncle, Major-General Gordon, was.

Olive de Trante to James III.

1718, March 6. Paris.—Expressing her thanks for his letter of 13 Dec., but regretting not to have recognized the hand which she cherishes and that it was so tired as to require the help of another :—"Je reçois avec une respectueuse reconnoissance les obligeantes et gracieuses protestations de la votre. Pour m'en rendre plus digne, j'ay suivie les vuës que vous me donnez ausy fidelement que je l'ay pû, mais moins promtement que je n'aurois souhaité. Le Duc d'Hol[? stein], a qui j'avois écrit la maniere dont vous aviez reçues ses offres et les politesses dont vous aves bien voulus me charger pour luy, ne m'a point encor fait reponce. Son intendant, qui estoit a Bruxelles, s'etoit chargé le luy faire tenir ma lettre, mais aparament il est enfoncé dans le nord et je n'ay pas crû devoir differer plus longtems le comte que vous m'ordonnes de vous rendre du mariage que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous proposer dans ma derniere lettre. C'est M. de Chataudoux qui m'en a écrit. Il estoit fort conus de feu M. votre pere, et a esté toujours fort attaché a ses interêts. Il conserve pour vous les meme sentimens, et seroit charmé de contribuer au bonheur ou votre naissance vous apelle et dont vos grandes qualites vous rendent sy digne. M. de Chataudoux est maintenant au service du pere de celle qu'on vous propose. Son maitre souhaite avec passion l'honneur de votre ailliance. Il ne promest pas aujourdhuy beaucoup de bien, mais, quand ses affaires seront terminées, il n'y a rien qu'il ne fasse pour vous procurer de plus grands avantages. Ce ne sont point de sa part de simples desirs et, s'il est assurés que ses offres soient bien reçues, il vous les fera luy meme par une lettre, qui vous instruira de ses sentimens sur l'honneur qu'il recherche et des efforts qu'il fera pour le meriter. Voila ce que M. de Chataudoux me mande de la part de son maitre. De mon coté j'ay vû trois Almands qui ne savoient certainement pas les raisons que j'avois de m'informer du merite de la personne et de ses soeures. Ils m'ont tous assuré que celle, dont il s'agit, qui est la cadette, est belle, bien faite, remplie de vertus, d'esprit, et de bonté de coeur. Une personne de ce caracter paroit vous convenir infiniment mieux qu'une autre, qui avec de plus grandes avances pour le bien n'auroit pas les bonnes qualites de celle cy. Vous saves a quels esprits vous avez afaires et combien il vous seroit avantageux de paroitre avec une famme capable de les prevenir en sa fauveur et propre a contribuer a les attacher a vos interets. Il est heureux encore qu'elle soit eleveé dans la meme religion que vous, elle ne sera pas tantée dans la suitte d'entrer dans aucun projet fauvorable a la religion du pais et de se servir d'un fils pour chasser le pere. Vous n'ignores pas daillieure combien les Francoises sont haies. Il est rare et meme impossible de trouver aujourdhuy une Almandes du merite de la mienne, et avec un merite mediocre une étrangere auroit toute a

craindre dans une nation, ou elle pouroit devenir l'objet du mepris, la dupe de l'artifice, ou la victime de la malignité. Au reste on publie en France qu'on vous propose dans le Nord un party de neuf a dix ans, dont le pere a ce prix embrasseroit vos interets. C'est a vous avoir ce qui vous convient le mieux, vous en saves plus que moy, et vous este sans doute plus capable de faire un choix digne de vous. Je ne prend la liberté de vous exposer mes pensées que parceque vous avez eu la bonté de me le permettre. Oseray-je prendre encore celle de vous representer que, sy vous n'este point absolument engagez aillieure, vous deveries vous conserver la liberté d'accepter ou de refuser le party que je vous propose, en ne faissant point une reponce qui vous empecheroit d'y revenir, sy l'autre party ne vous convenoit pas. Sy je ne reçois point de nouvaux ordres de votre part, je suposeray que vous avez des raisons importantes de ne pas vous expliquer maintenant sur cette affaire et, sans vous comettre, j'entertiendray l'attente de M. de Chataudoux et de son maitre de maniere qu'on ne poura vous savoir mauvais gré de votre silence. Cependant, comme vous avez des relations dans le Nord, vous pouriez, comme j'ay deja eu l'honneur de vous l'insinuer, envoyer sur les lieux quelque homme de confiance au raport de qui vous pouvez vous raporter."

Your mother has sent word to me that the pension would be paid. I know to whom I owe it, and I should be ashamed of having spoken of it, if circumstances you are aware of had not compelled me. You will do me the justice of being persuaded, that I shall never be unfaithful to the disinterestedness with which my family has served your house. *French.* 9 *pages.*

The Comte de Castelblanco to [? David Nairne].

1718, March 6. Bologna.—Requesting him to assure the King of his profound respects and to give him the news of his Majesty's return to Urbino and of his health; and hoping the weather there may be as fine and soft as he has found it on his journey.—I am persuaded that after hearing the operas of Fano, you will not be able to bring yourself to hear the concerts of Urbino. *French.*

Charles Wogan to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 6. Ohlau.—I arrived the 27th, after a most dreadful journey from Prague, occasioned by the great fall of the snows from the mountains and the slowness of the thaw, that only served to make ruts and breaches in the ice. I never before had any notion that roads could have been rendered so impracticable by the change of weather. I have been overturned in sledges and swam in chaises and slid down precipices. But I had no chance of being well received but by arriving in Carnival time. "I had the good fortune at my coming to find a worthy gentleman of my country and a

kinsman commandant in this little town for *the Emperor* and in good grace at this *Court*, who was well pleased to find me in the resolution of passing the time I am necessitated to stay abroad in volunteering against the Turks. After I had given him a sufficient reason for the roundabout I had taken in making this my road to *Vienna* and discoursed him about the inclinations and interests of this *Court*, which he is well apprized of, I found I could not make a better nor a more agreeable figure here than in my own natural character, for, if it had not been entirely out of doubt that I am an enemy to *the present government of England*, I believe I should never have been admitted, so fierce are the people here in their inclination to *the King*, either through motives of honour and justice, or a disgust to *the Emperor* or perhaps another reason which I shall open by and by. I pretended, however, to go forward and was prevailed upon in appearance merely at my cousin's request to stay here a few days, in order to guard against any suspicion of what I came about. The conjuncture and, indeed, the reception were as favourable as I could have wished them, and I was used with particular distinction by *Prince James Sobieski* for having been what he was pleased to call a sufferer for his Majesty, for whom he has all the sentiments of honour and regard possible. My time passed agreeably in balls and masquerades, which I took care to be equipped for, in eating at his table and being at the assemblies, which are held here every night, so that I wanted no opportunities for remarks and careless information. But what surprised me most was to find that the affair in hand had been already a talking of here for some months past, and the youngest *Princess* called our *Queen*, which humour it would have been absurd in me to have formalised or looked grave upon, and betrayed more of design than my entering into it unaffectedly with the rest, but I must say the grace and that genteel modesty with which *the daughter* received such compliments and addresses from them all were very becoming. I can attribute their talking of this matter so early here to nothing else but the great desire this *Court* takes no manner of pains to conceal in favour of that *alliance* and a correspondence that has been carried on for some time upon the subject between Mistress *Trant* and a French gentleman called *Mr. Chateaudoux*, who has been for some time in *Prince James Sobieski's* service and formerly much about *St. Germains*, but, as I am a Hungarian volunteer, that have no notion of returning either to *France* or *St. Germains*, I daresay that, after the manner I have carried myself, there's no *suspicion* yet arisen here concerning my *errand*, but it is time I should descend to *characters*.

"I found the *Court* more splendid and more gay than I expected, for *Prince James*, like all the *Polish* lords, has no notion of saving money or coming to any account with his domestics, who consequently cheat him. This place he has

in mortgage from *the Emperor* and receives the rents by way of interest for money lent by his father. He and his brother have likewise considerable lands in *Poland*, to which the brother's share who died at *Rome* and the mother's money and jewels are no small accession. As their view upon the *Crown* of *Poland*, of which they have so often been balked, is their greatest attention, they still endeavour to keep up the expense they began with, and the *courtiers* about them are generally refugees from thence, and entertained with what gratifications they are able to afford. Their next great aim is the settlement of their three *daughters* which is likewise an encouragement to their way of living, and there being little prospect of *heirs male* in the family, in regard of the younger *Prince's* separation from his *wife*, makes them still more careless in that respect. They keep fair with *Stanislaus* and entertain some of his friends in hopes of joining his interest to their own in case of accidents. Their great dependence is on *Sweden*, the peace with the *Czar*, *France's* engaging against *the Emperor*, and *the King's restoration*, and in the main their views and policies, as far as I can comprehend anything of the matter on either side, are much of a piece of those of *the King's friends in England.*

The eldest *daughter is* about 22 years old, and is promised to the *Prince* of *Modena*, to whom *she* bears some resemblance. *She* is somewhat less than middle *size*, fair and well-skinned, but somewhat flat-*featured* and subject to some disagreeable *grimaces* that betray ill-humour or ill-nature, though here they think otherwise. *She* has had few or no *admirers*, by which *she* has been saved from *coquetry* and *airs*, does not pass for having much sense nor seems to be of an even or an engaging temper, is fond of the *marriage* and to go next summer with *her* second *sister*, promised likewise to the *Duke* of *Guastalla*, who is not quite so fond of *her* establishment there. *Her money* is reckoned about 150 *thousand pounds* The second *daughter* is tall, finely *shaped*, with *red hair* and the complexion that generally attends it, a *round face* and very good and *handsome features*. As *she* has been in possession of being admired, *she* seems to be of a disposition to give in to that lightness of behaviour and variety of temper that generally attends such a situation in a young and fine person, that does not want wit and vivacity. The last of the *daughters*, who is the darling of the family by the advantage *she* has over the others in point of sense, discretion, evenness of temper and a very becoming modesty, is about fifteen, but much *of low stature* though *taller* by almost the *head* than *Prince Lewis' daughter*, light *brown hair*, very pretty *black eyes* and genteel little *features*, with a good *shape* and a behaviour already as much formed, as regular and as becoming as can arise from good education and good sense: very *devout* and no manner of *airs* or variety of humour. *She* has a good mixture of haughtiness in *her* composition, but cunning enough

to disguise it upon occasion. *She* is healthy, but somewhat thin and has the hopes and wishes of the family for growing more *tall*, though I fear they won't succeed in any considerable degree. *She* is like *Prince James Sobieski* and for this and indeed, many other reasons, is his *favourite* and he has professed more than once that, if *the marriage* were agreeable to *the King*, he would make *the provision* much more considerable to *her* than to either of the others. They are in great apprehension about the *marct* (probably a mistake for *marriage*) of *Courland* and *Prince James Sobieski* has used abundance of arguments against it to me, which I shall communicate to *the King*.

"I have been here eight days and propose to go to *Vienna* to-morrow in my way to *Urbino*. As I have taken time here and been in all their parties of diversion, I believe the above remarks are just, though there is such a guard kept over such sort of people in public, that no stranger can pretend to come to an exact and perfect notice of their inward qualities. But in the main I think I do not exaggerate, when I say that, if the youngest *daughter* had the stature of the second, she would be perhaps the most desirable *wife* in *Europe* for a *Prince*." 5 *pages*.

The Duke of Mar to L. Inese.

1718, March 6. Urbino.—When I wrote last from Fano, I little thought my next would have been on the subject on which I now write. The King told me, after he had dispatched his letters from thence and not till then, his orders in relation to you, which perhaps you may think I previously knew and had some hand in procuring. Were it so, I would not deny it, as I think no honest man should the advice he gives his prince. You know best what has occasioned the King to do so, and I know it is not fit for me to meddle further than where my advice is asked, and I know so much of his Majesty that I am sure he likes not to do a harsh thing or what looks like unkind to any body, especially to those who have been employed by him, but, where he thinks he has good and certain grounds for so doing, it does not become me to inquire further than he thinks fit to tell me.

I know but of one Prince whom the world allows to judge for himself, and what others do is commonly imputed to the designs and advices of those most immediately about them.

If my being so about our King occasions my being thought by you and others the cause of his doing so in this affair, you do me wrong, but I cannot help it, though in time the world will see that there are more kings than one who think for themselves and are able to be their own just ministers, which must always be a happiness to their subjects, when they are endued with the good qualities I know ours to be master of. I assure you once more I have told you the truth, and, if I had had a mind to have you no more concerned in business,

I would never have gone about it in this way and denied it after I had done so. With all deference to the King it may be allowed me still to be your humble servant, which I shall be so far as you leave it in my power, and till I find you have not acted a friendly part towards me, and also have a just sense of all the favours I owe you, since I had the good fortune of your acquaintance and of corresponding with you, and our having less opportunity or occasion of doing so in time coming, should not make it be thought otherways.

I write the above in great sincerity; if you believe it, you do me but justice, and if not, I have nothing to reproach myself with, and time will convince you you do me wrong.

Pray send what letters shall come for me under your cover to Mr. Dillon or Gordon to forward to me.

I had yours of the 7th since I wrote, and shall not be unmindful of the particulars in it.

Postscript.—March 10.—This has been longer going than I expected and I have since got yours of 14 Feb., which with that of the 7th, I have answered in mine to Mr. Dillon. 3 *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to J. Menzies.

1718, March 6.—I hope you got my two long letters of 14 and 15 Feb. This goes by *Sir H. Paterson's* canal and that way you may write to me sometimes. Since those letters I have seen yours of 13, 16, and 20 Jan. to *Inese* and yesterday I received from him yours to himself of the 23rd and 27th.

(Informing him of the dismissal of Inese from the King's business.) *Dillon* has orders to receive from *Inese* the ciphers with the other account-books he had, and, till he send an address, *Menzies* may get one from *Sir R. Everard* or *James Murray* who corresponds with him. *The King* bid me tell you this shall not alter his kindness to *Menzies* and that it will be in nobody's power but his own to do him hurt with him.

Pray give my humble service to *the Duke of Shrewsbury* and *Anne Oglethorpe* and tell them I had theirs to-day of 20 Jan., and I hope she had mine of 12 Feb.

It is a little hard, one would think, for *Menzies* to complain in a manner to *Inese* of *Mar's* trusting *Hamilton* and sending him back to *England*, when he did the first on his recommendation and the other on his earnest and repeated desire. *Lady Mar* writes me she had been persuaded against her will to speak to a friend of hers about him, which, she was afraid before she did it, would do him more hurt than good, and that she had found it was so, so that she was afraid he must return. Why did he not do so on his first finding his creditors so hard on him? As to the charge his not doing so has been to

Menzies and the great load of debts, in which he is so immensely dipped, I will say nothing till I have an answer to mine of 14 Feb.

Inese tells me you mistake what he wrote to you concerning *the Duke of Shrewsbury*, which I suppose he has explained to you, but mine of the 15th will show you as it may him, how cautious we were in that. I am exceedingly concerned, as *the King* is, for what you now write of his illness, but I hope soon to have better accounts of him. *Inese* notices to me your peevishness in your letters of late. It were better for yourself not to be so. After what I wrote in that of the 14th you will be in the right to yourself to set all right again with *James Murray* for more reasons than I can now explain and you ought to lose no time in it both on your own account and *the King's*. Pray tell *Anne Oglethorpe* that, if the lady she writes of receive a letter from *the King* by another canal than hers, that is none of our fault, for 'tis above ten days since that thing was wrote of from her to *the King*, and he wrote that way as it was then desired.

Amongst other things I have wrote to you, which remain unanswered, that of *Marlborough's* affair which was done by your advice you have never said anything to, I mean whether or not it was ever heard of. We are in daily expectation of having some agreeable accounts from *Ormonde*.

What you write of *Sir W. Wyndham* is very handsome and like what I expected of him. He may depend on *the King's* having a just sense of his worth. Remember me kindly to the poor Squire (Hamilton) and I wish both he and I were where we met last time about a twelvemonth ago, and, if he be obliged to go there, he'll be taken care of.

I wonder we have heard nothing yet from you of *the King's* letter to *Bishop of Rochester*, for there has been more than time for our doing so, and I long to know what effects it has. 3½ *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to James Murray.

1718, March 6.—This is wrote at a venture, for I am afraid you may be come away on my last letter of 16 Feb., but in that case it is to be returned to my friend with *Holland*, who is to forward it to you.

(About Inese's dismissal as in other letters.) *The King* is to write of it himself to *the Bishop of Rochester* by another canal, but, if this reach you sooner, you must acquaint him of it. By what I have told you, I am persuaded his laying *Inese* aside cannot but have good effects amongst the traders with you, and, if the whole story were known, it would have more, though it is likely he may endeavour to give it a wrong turn and to impose on some very honest people both where he and you are; therefore it is fit you should be made fully *au fait* of the whole affair. This nobody is so able to do as

the King himself, nor can he do it thoroughly by writing, which makes it absolutely necessary you should not stop at the post where those people are above a very few days but come straight on as fast as you can to where *the King* himself is. Should this miss you by your being gone, a duplicate shall be lodged with *Gordon*, the banker, and there you must see *Queen Mary* and *Dillon*, whom you may tell you have orders to go straight on to their principal.

It behoves you to be very cautious of what you say to anybody on this side the water of the affairs of the company, till you have seen the Director. You may hear all, but beware of letting that make impressions on you, till you discourse fully with him.

We know no more yet of *Dillon's* removing from where he is, but, before you can reach the Director, that will be certain, and then it will best appear how *James Murray* is to be disposed of.

(Recapitulation of the last letter to Menzies.)

One thing further you are to think of, which is, now that you will be from that place, who can best supply your place with *the Bishop of Rochester* and others of our friends in delivering to them the letters and commissions which we may have occasion of sending to them, till that can be better adjusted on your seeing and conversing with the Director. 3½ *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to H. Straiton.

1718, March 6.—I hope what was sent you of 3, 4, and 8 Feb. are all come safe, since I know they came safe to my friend with *Holland* to whom your friend with *St. Germains* sent them.

(Concerning the dismissal of Inese, the new address to which he was to write, and Menzies and Lord Panmure as in other letters.) Do me the favour to give the enclosed to *Father Carnegie* and Mr. *C. Kinnaird.* 3 *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to C. Kinnaird.

1718, March 6.—I am sorry you did not understand the papers your friend at Liége gave you, but that was your fault, for I find since they were right, as *T. Bruce* now knows. Had you not left them behind you, I would write to you more fully, but now it cannot easily be done, so I must refer you to what I have wrote to our friend who is to deliver you this.

The chief occasion of this letter is about those two boxes of goods which your friend at Liége spoke to you of, and entrusted to your care. That friend desires me now to tell you that he would have you send them, as you think best, to *Gordon*, the banker, and not to the person he desired you at first to send them to.

The gentleman who, your said friend at Liége told you, had been long of returning an answer to a certain letter, has done

it some time ago and in a very handsome manner, as he has also behaved in another particular and indeed in everything daily, which shows his worth, and the gentleman to whom he has wrote is very sensible of it and has all the gratitude for it he himself could wish. You will not fail to acquaint him of this, when you see him or write to him. *Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Mr. Hall (? Father Carnegie).

1718, March 6.—My long silence has not been occasioned by unkindness or forgetfulness, but I have been in so unsettled a way this twelvemonth and had not your paper with me till of late that it was little I could say. I desired our friend *Mr. Abercromby*, who is now gone, some time ago to tell you what's above, and that I would write to you soon, but I know not if his health allowed him to do it. I cannot enough regret his loss. I would have done sooner what I promised you by him, had I not been a good deal taken up since I came here.

(Concerning the dismissal of *Inese* as in other letters.)

I shall be very glad to hear sometimes from you, and he who is to get this delivered will let you know how to address and send it. *The King* doubts not of your continuing to do all in your power for promoting the trade of the company, which comes now to have a better appearance than it has had for some time.

It is naturally for you to expect I should say something concerning *the Duke of Gordon*, but I hope you will excuse me for not touching on that. I only wish he had taken more of the advice of some of his friends with regard to John (? the King) of late as well as formerly.

Postscript.—(Concerning what had been done for Mrs. Abercromby.) 2 *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to T. Bruce.

1718, March 6.—Since I wrote to you 15 Jan. I have yours of 28 Jan. and 6 Feb. The paper you sent along with it I have not yet got time to read.

(Concerning the dismissal of Inese and how he is to correspond in future.) I send this by *Sir H. Paterson's* canal, to whom I refer you for what else is needful for you to know. Pray let me hear from you on your receiving this.

I am sorry cousin David has played the fool, but *the King* is not just now in such a condition that I can speak to him for a supply for him, which you may tell him, and many as good as he live easily on less than is allowed him. I have never heard from Sir Peter's son, whom you mention to be come to your parts, so know not what he intended to propose to me. I would be glad to have it in my power to serve him both on his own account and his father's. 1½ *page. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Lord Tullibardine.

1718, March 6.—I communicated yours of 28 Jan. to *the King*, who has directed me to let you know his sense of your handsome way of proceeding by him, and particularly in what you tell me of sending that young man to *Scotland*, which he very much approves of, and hopes it may have good effects for his service. He wishes any particular thing towards *Tullibardine's* advantage may be produced by it, but bids me assure him that neither he nor *Lord G. Murray* shall want so long as he has anything. *The King* approves of *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule* going as you propose to live somewhere on the Loire, as they like best, and, if *Tullibardine* pleases, *Lord G. Murray* may go with them too, but that he himself is best judge of. They will let us and *Gen. Gordon* and *Brigadier Campbell* &c. know where they go, and it is fit *Dillon* and *W. Gordon* know it also.

I am sorry *Brigadier Campbell* finds it necessary to have an allowance or connivance from the *King of Spain* before those goods he was employed in can be got, and *Barry* last year thought there would be no occasion for any such thing, else we might have been trying long ago to procure it. We are now doing it, though I'm afraid it will be no easy matter to obtain, and it will take much time, if it can be got at all, which vexes me, and the more that it disappoints at present a thing which I thought was certain, and what I formerly imagined would have been got ready before now. However, we shall lose no time in it, and, when we have any answer, you shall know it. In the meantime you would acquaint *Brigadier Campbell* with what I have now written.

I cannot yet give you much more light in *the King's* affairs than I did. We expect daily to have accounts of them from *Ormonde* and others employed in them. In the meantime I may venture to say they come every day to have a better aspect.

(Concerning the dismissal of Inese and Lord Panmure's going to Paris, as in other letters.)

I can tell you very little news from this, but that the Spaniards and Germans are both expected in this country. I had a letter t'other day from one of our countrymen at Urbino, who tells me they were all very well there and that the Chevalier was that night returned from Fano, where he had been the last ten days of the carnival, and was mightily pleased with the entertainments he had there, where there were two fine operas acted by some of the best singers in Italy, with balls, where he danced, and conversations, their word for *assemblées*, where the people of the opera sang, as they did every day to the Chevalier at his own lodgings, he having become a great liker of the Italian music. He says, too, that he believes your acquaintance, *Mar*, may go soon to see Rome, but that his stay there will be but short.

Malcolm of Grange has made one write to *Mar* for leave to go again to *Bordeaux*, but he will do nothing in it, but leave

it entirely to *Tullibardine* to do in it as he thinks fit, so you will speak to him of it, and I think his humouring the honest old man could have no ill consequence. *Over 3 pages. Copy.*

James III to the Duke of Ormonde.

1718, March 7. Urbino.—By a letter I have lately seen from Mr. C[æsa]r, I am the more impatient to have an account of *Jerningham's* negotiation from you, finding in general he has succeeded, but knowing no details till I hear from you. I must give an account of some private matters, which would very little merit your or mine attention, were it not that I apprehend, if I did not explain them to you, it might be of ill consequence hereafter.

"You know how little fond I am of letting *priests* meddle with business, and you are not ignorant of the reasons which made *Inese* be unavoidably in some measure concerned in my affairs. Indeed, of late, the correspondence falling naturally into *Dillon's* hands, he had very little to do, and I own I was not sorry that by degrees he should be removed from business without my doing anything harsh to one, who had been long employed by me, entrusted by several of *Scotland's* family and always well looked upon by *the French*, which last consideration deserved particular regard. But I have been now at last forced to remove him absolutely and at once from my affairs by an order sent to that effect to *Dillon*, in which no particular reason is given, and I don't intend to make the true one public, though it is fit you should know it, it being what determined me, though it was not the only motive of that step. To explain the whole matter would be impossible, but in two words the thing stands thus.

"You may remember a letter I sent you, which I had written to old *Leslie* in November last. Now, by a false exposition of this letter in leaving out some words in the translation of a part of it he made into French, it must give an impression of *the King* in foreign countries, which cannot but be prejudicial to him, if the matter were credited, which I don't much fear it will, nor that that letter, which is so clear and plain, can have any other effect in general, but to show that *the King's* private sentiments as to *religion* do not hinder him from showing all favour and protection to *the Protestants*, which was the real and only intent of it. But still the unfairness of *Inese's* conduct was the same, this is fact and proved, but I own to you that I have more than suspicions as to other matters in relation to him: for I have the mortification to find that several of my late letters have been strangely misunderstood at *St. Germains*, particularly that I wrote to *the Bishop of Rochester*, and which I sent you, of the 7th January. You could not but see that I spoke very clearly and kindly to him, and yet I find it's thought that that letter might look as suspecting you and *the Bishop of Rochester* of being against

Mar, and as if *Mar* was picking a *querelle d'allemand* with us. At the same time, I have the mortification to find poor *Dillon* a little uneasy, doubting of my kindness, and thinking *Mar* is jealous of him, while the last is daily putting new correspondence into his hands and I writing to him as if he were my brother, for I really think him an upright honest man.

" All this was indeed very surprising to me at first, but I have daily greater reason to believe that it is, or rather must necessarily be, *Inese*, who causes all these jealousies and mistakes, that by diminishing the confidence people have in *Mar*, he might have more share in business. This is very clear to me, for it is impossible that an upright man like *Dillon* could be so strangely mistaken, and when he is, as he will now be, alone in business, I am persuaded he will open his eyes and apprehend aright both *Mar's* and my own frank and confidential way of proceeding with him. On the whole, it is certain that I will be master in my own business, and that I both must and will show that I cannot be imposed by tricks and that honest men alone can thrive with me, and that I look to be *Dillon's* and *Mar's* case. I must confess to you that, though I never much admired *St. Germains'* proceedings, I am now quite surprised of them, and that, bar *Queen Mary*, I do not desire to have any more to do with them ; their principles and notions and mine are very different, former mistakes are fresh in my memory, and the good education I had under *Queen Mary* not less ; so that I am not at all fond of the ways of those I have so long lived with, nor in the least imposed on by their ways or reasonings.

" As for all the grounds I had of thinking there was a design against *Mar*, he was himself ignorant of them, I neither sent them all to *St. Germains*, nor can explain them by writing more than I have done, but they were solid and I thought it was but just to write to you and *the Bishop of Rochester*, that no *tracasserie* might be made. After that I am sure I know both you and *the Bishop of Rochester* too well to so much as suspect you of any mean little ways or that you can have any aim but the good of the company, which, it is plain, can never prosper without friends agree, towards which, I believe, now there will be no obstacle, the chief author of misunderstanding being removed. I do not doubt but that some will say on this affair of *Inese's* that *Mar* disposes entirely of *the King*, but, besides that it will not, I believe, find credit, that would be better, though it should, than to have my affairs really governed by *Inese*. I do not doubt neither, but that my choice of *James Murray* (in case of Dillon's leaving Paris, which, I hope, will not be so soon) will be strangely canvassed, but I refer you for that to my letter to *the Bishop of Rochester* on that subject, and shall be very indifferent what *St. Germains* may say, when I do what I think for my service, and what I am sure *the Bishop of Rochester* will like. I am ashamed to have given you so much trouble on such stuff, but, had I not,

it might have been inconvenient. As a friend I could not but give my heart to you, and, as I may say, make my complaint to you, that by seeing in all my impartial conduct the horror I have for tricks and the regard I have for honesty, you may be yourself the more convinced of the place you have in my esteem and true affection. I am very well, thank God, and charmed with the opera at Fano, which was really very fine. I stayed there a week, and am returned here since Thursday." 5 *pages. Holograph and copy, the last dated the 8th.*

J. Menzies to *L. Inese.*

1718, Monday, Feb. 24[–March 7].—Because I have a most necessary attendance this evening, *Hamilton* will write a new account of Parliament matters on the same foot as in my last, which he sent also from me on Friday to Holland to *Mar's* brother[-in-law] (Sir H. Paterson), to whom I fail not to give the best possible lights for the service of partners further North.

The petitions about the iron trade &c. give a great deal of trouble, though they should be frustrated of the plain effect, and they will sound strangely abroad. As far as the bill about forfeited estates is gone in the House of Commons, the Court has gained every article, and it will soon be finished. The Mutiny Bill was read the third time to-day in the House of Lords and the Court carried it by a majority of 26 or 27, so now they are triumphant and victorious for all this campaign. It is fancied they will suspend the *Habeas Corpus*, desire more money and such other things for which they have both inclination and occasion. I hope you will not show to the Regent the enclosed paper about the coin.

James Murray to *Lieut.-General Dillon.*

1718, Feb. 24[–March 7]. London.—The affair I mentioned in my two last is now become so public by the means I formerly stated to you that it was t'other day mentioned in *Parliament* by a certain person. We have heard nothing yet of *George Kelly's* arrival and expect it with the more impatience that it would be for *his* service to be in town before *his* friends leave this place. The management of the picture has been something so unaccountable, that I'm pretty sure there must be some woman's policy under it of a piece with some stories you received from thence last summer.

There's an end to the disputes in the House of Lords upon the Army, our friends having carried the number of the forces and the powers they desired for the government of them by a majority of 14. Lord Sunderland, amongst other reasons for the Army, gave the following: That the Pretender had so much credit in Europe that his ministers were received in several Courts, and that some openly espoused his interest, and as a proof acquainted the House that he had negotiated

a marriage with a certain Northern princess. If our negotiations with the Regent do not prove successful, in all appearance a war with Spain is unavoidable. One thing of late has given us great uneasiness, and that is, that the Swedish merchants have raised a prodigious clamour in the City, and have petitioned the House of Commons in order to force the King to open the trade with Sweden. They have been once heard and are appointed to attend again next Thursday. It appeared but too plain that England is a vast loser by that prohibition and that Holland enjoys the trade to our great detriment. However, we are in hopes to be able to throw it off for this Session, though it is certain it will soon force its way.

It would be proper to represent what I have mentioned to you to *the King of Sweden*, that he may see his friends are not unmindful of his interest. I desire my service to Lord Stair. 2 *pages*.

James Hamilton to [L. Inese].

1718, Feb. 24[–March 7]. London.—Lately about 400 merchants petitioned the Commons to take into consideration the trade with Sweden, since Holland has a free commerce in those seas, and his Majesty last year promised we should enjoy the same privilege as soon as the Dutch. Some of the Privy Council said t'was needless to lose time in considering that petition, by reason his Majesty had given orders for issuing a proclamation that would make that easy to his subjects. The proclamation comes out, giving the merchants free liberty of trading in iron to all ports except those belonging to the dominions of the King of Sweden, so that, instead of the looked-for and desired effect, it much exasperated the merchants to see that trade closer shut up from the English than formerly and plainly made over to the Dutch. On this the merchants renewed their petition last Wednesday, where several Whigs as well as Tories assisted. The Court vigorously opposed the petition, saying that a thing of this nature in their votes from so great a body of merchants would expose his Majesty and his affairs to the last degree. Notwithstanding these weighty reasons the merchants obtained a good part of the substance of their desires, as you'll see by the enclosed vote. The Court was forced to own there were treaties between his Majesty and the States of Holland relating to this trade much in favour of the Dutch. This affair of the merchants is most cutting to those treaties. Another knotty point was started in the House by merchants that are members, which was to address his Majesty for an account to be laid before the House of Commons of the damages and losses we have sustained of late by the privateers in the West Indies, what orders and ships have been sent to suppress them, with what may be further necessary. Since the Parliament has provided sufficiently for the naval force of this year, this is thought

perplexing, considering what is past and what has been neglected, so that this may diminish our Baltic and Mediterranean squadrons. In fine, things run strangely, but a well-paid army at home against a cowed people enables the Court to surmount all difficulties, the least of which would have shaken the sceptre of our hereditary princes.

The Commissioners for the forfeited estates have gained much of their desires in the House of Commons against the Lords of Session, so that the greatest part of that kingdom is judged by this new judicatory or Court of Delegates with a parliamentary power, from whence there's no appeal, but 'tis thought 'twill not pass the House of Lords by reason of this new supreme judicatory without appeal.

There's one thing very remarkable in some of the Scotch members. When the wives and widows on the forfeited estates in England had petitioned the Parliament to empower his Majesty to grant their jointures &c. to their children after their decease, Mr. Halden, Sir W. Gordon and Sir Robert Pouge (? Pollok), voted for the wives and widows and carried it ; but, when the same thing came into the House in favour of the wives and widows of Scotland, they voted against those ladies and children of their own country, and carried it by these three votes, which partiality very much surprised most of the English.

The Court carried the Mutiny Bill in the House of Commons. It has been twice read by the Lords and twice debated with great warmth, in which Oxford and Argyle exerted their parts and rhetoric, but the Court carried it, even without the two amendments proposed by the Lords, the first by a majority of 14, which was that no sentence of a court-martial should extend to life or limb, the second by 11, relating to the officers not being exempted from the common law. This majority is thought very small, considering the advantages the Court has by places, money &c.

They sat till 9 on Thursday on this bill. The Prince went away at 4, which has done him no small prejudice. 'Tis reported Townshend and Walpole advised him not to come to the House that day, but Argyle came after they were gone and prevailed on him, though to little purpose than lessening his interest.

Townshend was so transported with passion to see the Court carry all in the Commons against his friend Walpole and himself in the Lords, that he gushed out floods of tears in the middle of his speech. He begged pardon of the House, saying that the subject touched him so sensibly that he could not contain his concern for his country, which was extraordinary from one of his bowels, compassion and humanity.

On Saturday the Commons were on the trade to Sweden. Mr. Jackson, late minister there, with several merchants that signed the petition were examined. 'Twas demanded of one, Mr. Ashton, if all those merchants who signed it traded

to Sweden. He answered: They did, and that their and the nation's loss by the want of that trade was 80,000*l.* yearly, which he could demonstrate. Then he was asked, if the Parliament should take off the prohibition, if the King of Sweden would allow their trading to his dominions. He replied: He was not of that monarch's Council, but no good King would prohibit a trade so advantageous to his subjects. On Thursday 'tis to be before the House again.

On Saturday the Lords in a Committee of the House were on the Mutiny Bill for the third time. Many warm and excellent speeches were delivered. The Court carried it by 21, without proxies.

(About Lord Sunderland's speech, as in the last letter.)

To-day the Court carried the Mutiny Bill. 4 *pages.*

James Hamilton to *L. Inese.*

1718, Feb. 24 [–March 7].—Before I left *Sir H. Paterson,* he told me he could furnish *Menzies* with several particulars relating to *the King of Sweden* and those parts, with what had been done there by directions from *England* against that trade. I informed *Menzies* of it, and he ordered that those particulars and anything else well-vouched might be sent for, for there might be use made of them with *the House of Commons.* When those things came, *Menzies* ranged them and others into a concise and regular form, so that with his and *Lord Oxford's* application to traders that way at *London* and brought matters to bear as they now are, and merchants here went readily into it, before *the English Ministry* heard of it. As soon as they did, they made applications with interest and promise of money, but 'twas too late, so that from this time that business was first openly spoke of. Sure I am that *the King of Sweden* owes all this branch entirely to *the King's friends* and 'tis hoped 'twill turn to account.

Hamilton himself is still hunted by his creditors, which makes him incapable of what he would with pleasure do.

Subjoined is an account of wines sold, probably put in as a blind.

James III to the Earl of Oxford.

1718, March 8.—Explaining his dismissal of Inese and his reasons for it as in his letter of the previous day, with parts of which it agrees *verbatim.*—After this I never propose to constrain your correspondence, but will always leave you in that point to yourself, and therefore, though I have lately sent for *James Murray* to replace *Mr. Dillon,* if he be called away, yet I do not expect you should correspond with him without you have a mind. I look on him as a true honest man, and I think you might safely confide in both him and *Dillon,* but of that you are master. I have said so much on subjects which I could not employ another in, that I shall refer you to *Mar* for all other matters, which are not much. Your constant

application to our trade is not lost on me. I am and you will, I hope, one day see that I am truly sensible of it and a true friend to you. My health was never better, I hope yours is the same.

My chief reasons for settling on *James Murray* to replace *Dillon*, if he be called away, were the good opinion I have of him, and that I think he will be my man alone, besides that he was trusted by most of my friends, and that his being so well with *the Bishop of Rochester* could not but make him agreeable to *Ormonde*, for whom you know particular regard is due and requisite. The knowledge and character you had by others of *Inese* made me enlarge the more on that head, for else, I assure you, we perfectly agree in persons of his coat not being employed in business without great necessity, and, if ever you and I meet, you would see that my notions in most things of trade are more like yours and those I have been bred up in by *Queen Mary* than those of the persons I have lived almost all my life with, of which I own I am surfeited, so far from being imposed on by them or entering into them.

I beg you to give particular attention to what *Mar* writ lately of to you about some goods, without which it is impossible to carry on the trade, while we have little or no prospect of getting them elsewhere. *Nearly 4 pages. 2 copies.*

James III to *the Bishop of Rochester.*

1718, March 8.—It having been found necessary by *the King* to inform *Ormonde* and you of some late proceedings in relation to *St. Germains*, *the King* writ accordingly to *Ormonde*, and, that letter being ample and clear, I think I cannot give you a better idea of those matters than in sending you a faithful copy of it. I am ashamed to trouble you so often with such stuff, but I cannot do otherwise without wronging myself, since by my overture of frankness with you, you can alone judge of my sentiments and of the justice I do to all honest men. The great occasion of mistakes being now removed, I hope we shall be no more troubled with them, and, when I am master in my own affairs and employ so trusty a servant as *Dillon*, he will, when left to himself, certainly avoid any wrong notion and continue to serve with mutual satisfaction here and with you. I hope you took it not ill of *Queen Mary* that *she* did not immediately enter into what was proposed from your side as to *Lord Oxford*. *Queen Mary* is always loth to take some things on *herself* and is in general, I think, in the right, but, as soon as I heard of your desire, it was complied with, as you will have known.

I have writ to *Lord Oxford* about *Inese*, that no mistake might be made and that, whatever notion he may have had of him, it may not affect the good opinion I have of *Dillon*. I hear no more of *Dillon's* journey, so I hope it is not so near, but at a venture I have ordered *James Murray* to come straight

here, for I should be glad to converse myself with one you trust, who is employed in my affairs with *England*. *Nearly 2 pages. 2 copies.*

L. Inese to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 8. Paris.—I send *Mar* the receipt he desired, though, as I wrote before, it be not usual to give any receipt for a *depositum*, and this is the first I ever gave, though I have had money and have still some considerable *depositums* in this house. The papers relating to Capt. George and his crew I have sent to *Tullibardine* to be kept till he receives directions from *Mar*, who will either name an umpire himself or leave it to *Tullibardine* to name one.

The enclosed I had yesterday from Robert Gordon, and, though he desires it should be burnt, I thought *Mar* should first see it, he being best able to judge what ground there may be for any suspicion. I remember Glendarule gave no favourable account of Lochiel's conduct towards the latter end of the last affair in Scotland.

I have been here since Thursday last and return next Thursday.

Mar will find in this packet a letter from Lady Bute and two with some prints from *Menzies*. *Enclosed*,

Robert Gordon to L. Inese.

A few days ago I discovered there was a letter in town in the hands of an English Whig from Lord S[?tair] directed to John Cameron of Lochiel with orders to deliver it to him en main propre, *if he was here, and, if not, to send it to him to Toulouse, and he that had the letter said he believed it would do the gentleman a great pleasure, and it has been sent to Toulouse under cover of a French Whig, but I lost no time in advertising Gen. Gordon, who was near this, of all, and he is gone post to join Mr. Cameron, who is at Verdon, 5 leagues from Toulouse, under the name of Fitzgerald, and he hopes to be with him before the said letter, or at least before he can answer it. What makes us judge charitably of Lochiel is, that we think that, if it had been a settled correspondence, Lord S. would have known his address. I desire you to burn this as soon as you have read it, and I think you need not say anything to the Queen till we know more, which I expect to do in a few days. March* 1, 1718.

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Tuesday, March 8.—In my last I sent *Jerningham's* accounts of his voyage and negotiations, with *Ormonde's* letter to me of 3 Feb. as also the original copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to him of 17 Jan. O.S.

I'll now answer yours of 12 Feb., received the 5th instant with the two powers for *Lord Arran*, and a copy of *Mar's*

to *Lord Oxford* of 11 Feb. The precautions you recommend about this last shall be observed and I'll return the said copy next post. *The Duke of Shrewsbury* is dead and buried some days ago, so there is no more question of addressing to him.

Your letter to *Lord Oxford* answers *the Bishop of Rochester's* desire, and I hope the former will comply with your request, which is as pressing as could be reasonably expected. Both those gentlemen live well together in appearance, and what I said of their misunderstanding is grounded on accounts from other hands, but, if *Lord Oxford* enter heartily into the *collection of money* and with such as he alone can influence, as required by your letter to him, I don't question but that step will unite both him and the *Bishop of Rochester* in a more fixed manner than they have been hitherto. I will not fail praying the latter to take no notice of your writing on this account to the other, except he speaks first to him of it. I'll tell *the Bishop of Rochester* what you say about not answering his last till something material occurs, and that in the meantime he'll hear from you by *James Murray*. I'll also tell *Inese* what you desire, and have already informed you that the *Bishop of Rochester* gave no particular commission to *George Kelly* concerning *a declaration*, but, since you think it necessary, I will put *the Bishop of Rochester* in mind of that matter.

Lord Panmure is a most worthy honest man, and, I believe, incapable of taking any party but such as may be consistent with true honour. I am persuaded his peevishness proceeds from what you mention. If he passes here, he shall have no reason to complain, and you may be sure none will be informed of what you say of him except the persons you name.

I am pretty well acquainted with Mr. Norcross. He has been here about 6 weeks ago, after making his escape from *Dunkirk*, where he was seized by orders. He appears to be an unsettled, scatter-brained fellow, and in my opinion, there can be no great reliance on proposals that come from him. He seems, however, very zealous for *the King's* service. When you have occasion for a pirate, he may be of use, excelling in that noble calling, and, I am told, being a good seaman.

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 8.—*James Murray* had the same account in *England* that I sent you in mine of 21 Feb. and *Queen Mary* had the confirmation of it from a sure hand. Till the issue of that affair is known, all speculation seems unnecessary and not worth the time that would be lost in thinking. However I venture to enclose you a memorial of some small remarks which may rather serve as an amusement than perhaps for any real use.

I enclose my two last letters from *James Murray* of 13 and 17 Feb. O.S. I don't comprehend well his story about the picture, he not explaining what gave occasion for it, but what I see very plainly is that *James Murray* mistakes *the Regent* or is ill-informed of his thoughts at present in regard to *the King*. He says, if *the Regent* could be brought to explain himself in *the King's* favour, that friends in *parliament* would do marvels. I wish the first point were practicable, and should not be much in pain about the second, but am sorry to say, though with great truth, that neither *the Regent* nor any of his chief managers would hearken to any proposal in *the King's* favour, that could draw the least appearance of war on them or interrupt the ease and tranquillity they expect to enjoy by *King George's* mediation near *the Emperor* to engage the latter to acknowledge *the King of Spain* and renounce all pretensions to his actual possessions. This is their scheme and great desire, hoping by this to be rid of all future apprehension either of war or any other trouble. If their expectation in this account should fail, as many good judges think it will, then indeed *the King* may reasonably hope for good and great succour both from the *Regent* and *the King of Spain*, and, as it is of great importance that *the Emperor's* answer and resolution should be known timely, I hope *the King* will not omit employing his friends at *Rome* about it in order to be informed the soonest possible. I'll recommend the same care to friends with *England*, and you may be sure of *Dillon's* utmost endeavours to find out what he can hear. Of the friends with *Rome*, I'll except *the Pope*, presuming his own interest would make him wish that proposal should take due effect, the tranquillity of *the Empire*, *France* and *Spain* being a considerable augmentation to his present revenue.

I have not hitherto informed friends with *England* of the little hopes we had of *the Regent's* serving *the King* for fear of discouraging them, but in assuring the proposal made to *the Emperor*, I can't avoid telling them how desirous *the Regent* is to have it effected.

Your letters for *Lord Oxford* were sent him by *Capt. Ogilvie's* channel a great while ago, but *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* not being willing to receive theirs but by a messenger of their own and having promised to send a boat, which is not yet come, their packets are still this side, but I hope they will receive them in a short time. I enclose O'Rourke's letter to you and one of 14 Feb. from Germain (Wogan). $5\frac{1}{2}$ *pages. Enclosed,*

The said Remarks.

[1718, March 8.]—*On* James Murray's *memorial of* 24 *Nov.*, 1717. *O.S. calendared in the last volume, p.* 602), *as also on the contents of* Dillon's *letter of* 21 *Feb.*, 1718. *It is undeniable that hindering* the fleet *being sent to the* Baltic *and* Mediterranean *would be a most*

essential obligation on the King of Sweden *and* the King of Spain *and that both ought to own that favour to* the King, *it being transacted by his friends. 'Tis likewise most evident that nothing can be of greater consequence to* the King's *interest than to break* the Regent's *co-partnership with* the Elector of Hanover, *provided it could be effected in a certain manner, but it's presumed that* the Emperor's *acknowledging* the King of Spain *and renouncing all pretensions to his actual possessions would not only put an end to their strife, but also settle* the King of Spain *and* the Regent *so much to their satisfaction that perhaps neither of them would think it proper to disturb* the Elector of Hanover, *by whose mediation the above settlement is supposed to be procured. In this case, though* the King of Spain *and* the Regent *had all the willingness imaginable to serve* the King, *it's reasonable to believe they would not act effectually in his favour, till their affairs at home were arranged so as to be able to declare and support an open war. Those arrangements at best may require great time and, perhaps, prove unsuccessful in the end. In this situation it may be apprehended that* the King's *friends would languish and his only resource die away without being able to make a solid attempt for asserting his right. This whole matter well considered, it's conceived that* the Elector of Hanover's *new bargain with* the Emperor, *if as reported, and his sending* a fleet *into the* Straits *in consequence can be of no prejudice to* the King's *interest, it seeming reasonable to imagine, that* the Elector's *acting thus would create a jealousy 'twixt him and* the Regent, *and perhaps engage the latter to declare openly in* the King of Spain's *favour, as most thinking people are of opinion it is his interest to do. In this supposition, it appears plain and almost undoubted, that* the King of Spain *and* the Regent *could not avoid espousing* the King's *cause, which would be their best and surest play, in order to carry on a war that may arise from the premises.*

As to the Baltic fleet, *'tis an affair settled and the funds accorded, so there is no more question of that point and it appears pretty plain from the above, that sending one into the Straits can be of no prejudice to* the King *in his present situation. Several other essential branches in relation to war may be added to this reasoning, if the case happens; till then they can keep cold.*

This is Dillon's *private opinion which he submits to better judgment, but, as he converses frequently with* the Regent's *chief people and compares notes with them, that encourages him to speak his mind freely on this account, by so much the more that the facts are relating to war. 2 pages. In Sir John O'Brien's hand. Noted as enclosed in Dillon's letter of that date.*

JOHN KER to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 8. Paris.—As Mr. Gordon is somewhat indisposed, sending him by his recommendation, packets for the Duke of Mar.

M. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 8. Vienna.—Expressing his pleasure at the account in his Excellency's letter of 17 Feb. of the King's good health, about which he had been anxious from the reports to the contrary and at the kindness with which the King and his Excellency had received the trifling proofs he had given of his good intentions and announcing his intention to give his Grace the best information he can of what concerns the King's interests.—God grant that circumstances may shortly take a favourable turn for his Majesty, I mean above all a peace between my Master and the Czar to the exclusion of the usurper of Great Britain. I have always good hopes of it, though I have as yet no certain news of it, notwithstanding the obstacles there appear to be to it. What makes me hope that we shall see it finished at last is that it concerns as much the interests of his Swedish as those of his Czarish Majesty, and that one must presume that sooner or later Princes understand their interests and take the way they point to, though for a time they may be undecided what road to take.

I enclose some news and reflections on present circumstances which seem to me worthy of the curiosity of his Majesty and your Excellency.

Mr. Busi showed me to-day what he has written to Mr. Paterson about a commission from the King which he begs may be given him. You should not doubt that his intention is good, namely, to be in a better position to serve his Majesty, and it is for you to judge if it is for his Majesty's convenience to give such a commission at present. It is not for me to give you advice thereon, but it seems to me that there cannot be any inconvenience to his Majesty in doing so. I shall not fail to inform the Swedish gentlemen mentioned at the end of your letter that you honour him with your recollection and esteem. *French.* 6 *pages.*

Postscript. March 9.—After writing yesterday the letter and enclosures, M. Busi came to tell me the good news of the approaching peace, or what comes to the same thing, of the preliminaries ready to be settled between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties, which he has received from M. de Weselowski, the Resident of Muscovy. Since receiving this news, of which M. Busi will send you the details, I have received confirmation of it by several other ways, so that I believe it true, notwithstanding that I know nothing from Sweden about it of recent date, besides what Count Reventlow received several weeks ago from his friend, Baron Görtz. But the silence preserved in Sweden towards the Swedish ministers abroad does not at all

surprise me, for I know that it is the way and the wish of the King, that profound silence should be kept, when affairs of this importance are at a crisis, as that of the peace with the Czar is at present. What M. de Görtz has written about it to his intimate friend and relation, Count Reventlow, is another matter and an exception to the rule. If peace is soon made between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties to the exclusion of the Elector of Hanover, as I have reason to believe it will, I congratulate from the bottom of my heart King James on the favourable influence it will have on his interests. *French.* 3 *pages. Enclosed,*

People speak of news lately received of a strong Spanish fleet ready to put to sea with a considerable number of troops to be landed in Italy, and also of the great delay in the arrival at Fiume of the vessels for transporting the three foot regiments to Naples and of the apprehension that Spanish ships may suddenly appear in the Adriatic to hinder their transportation. While waiting there very many of those regiments have died and are dying from their sufferings on their march in such an inclement season. An express has just arrived from Naples, who is not, I am informed, the bearer of good news about the internal condition of that kingdom, should the Spaniards land, before the arrival of the above reinforcements. Though it is said that the Emperor has decided to send 9 *regiments,* 6 *of foot and* 3 *of horse into the territories of Milan and Mantua, neither what troops are to be employed nor the time of their marching has been decided. They are not in too great a hurry according to the usage established here from time immemorial of proceeding with such slowness to resolutions and their execution, that they are sometimes exposed to finding themselves in the position,* Dum Romæ deliberatur, perit Saguntum. *There are Spanish and Italian ministers, who reproach the others that they would not regret to see the Emperor, not only obliged to renounce his claims to the crown of Spain but also dislodged from Italy, on the supposition that after that he would get rid of the first, and that his affection and confidence will be granted to the latter alone, but they add that they have a better opinion of his firmness and that they hope that neither a peace with King Philip, and still less his dislodgement from Italy, should this last misfortune befall him, would make him lose the hope of remedying both in time and his desire to preserve in the meantime his faithful Spaniards and Italians. This language used in common by the Emperor's favourites of these two nations against those who wish to see them both removed from here does not prevent ill-feeling among themselves, and that the Italians would be well pleased to see the Spaniards removed and the Emperor reigning in Italy without the character of King of Spain and without a Spanish ministry, but*

with a ministry solely Italian. Since my last some Imperialists have told me, that, notwithstanding the declaration on the Emperor's part concerning his recognition of King Philip as King of Spain, on the hope, they add, which has been given him by the Regent, that he would endeavour in conjunction with the Elector of Hanover to settle the affairs of Spain and Italy in a tolerable manner for his Imperial Majesty, people still perceive an inclination of the Regent to unite with King Philip, the Duke of Savoy and other princes of Italy, either in order to dislodge the Emperor from Italy or to oblige him to such harsh conditions about the settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy, that he will refuse to agree to them, and will prefer either by the cession of Belgrade to obtain a speedy peace with the Turks, notwithstanding his repugnance to that cession, or, if he would do so, it would be certainly against the advice of Prince Eugene and the whole German ministry, or even, making it a point of honour not to yield easily in the bad situation of his affairs, to expose himself to two wars at once, especially if he can make terms with the Duke of Savoy to the exclusion of France and of the King of Spain. The Emperor's opinion of the present disposition of the Regent does not prevent his refusing the proposal made by the Elector of Hanover and the Dutch touching the accession of the latter to the alliance between the Emperor and the Elector on condition of including the Barrier treaty therein, notwithstanding he is given hopes that thereby the Dutch would be engaged to join a squadron to that of England to assist the Emperor against what he apprehends in Italy. I know not if I am wrong in imagining that a party in the Court of Vienna would not be sorry to see this entangled situation cleared up at last by a sincere reconciliation and union between the House of Austria and that of Bourbon reigning in France and Spain, though that reconciliation and union should be preceded by a storm, and that by means of the renunciation by the Emperor of his claim and that of his House to Spain, and the guaranty of the Regent's claim to the crown of France in case of the death of the young king without children, but with tolerable conditions for his Imperial Majesty with regard to Italy and in such a manner that this change of scene should facilitate the conclusion of the war with Turkey to the entire satisfaction of this Court, the general peace of the North according to the balance of power, the strengthening of the Imperial authority in the Empire and the humiliation of the Dutch regarding the Austrian Netherlands and also that of the princes of the North who cause jealousy to the Emperor, including King George, notwithstanding his present alliance with the Emperor. But, though it seems to me that some here have such ideas, yet they are not general, and I have reason to believe that

those of the Emperor are not such at present. The Emperor favours the Spaniards here as much as formerly, and according to appearances has the same affection for them, especially for the Catalans, whom he feels an extreme repugnance to remove from his heart on account of the great attachment of that people to him and his long residence in that province.

Mr. Schaub, the English secretary, a Swiss by birth, arrived here some days ago from London by France, where he stayed a little while on the way about the affairs of Spain and Italy. What I have been informed about what he has brought and what he says about affairs is that the Emperor would do well to make a complete renunciation of the claim of himself and his House on Spain and also to become yielding in the affairs of Italy, and that, if he takes both these resolutions and at the same time consents to Holland coming into the treaty between himself and England on condition of confirming thereby the Barrier treaty and also of entering into the views and interests of the Elector of Hanover regarding the pacification of the North, that Elector will take effectual care to divert the storm that threatens him. Notwithstanding, it is reported that at the Court of France the plan has been put on the tapis *of making Tuscany pass to the Duke of Lorraine on the death of the present Grand Duke without children on condition that Lorraine be incorporated with France; the plan of the Court of Spain is to procure the succession thereof and of the Duchy of Parma to the eldest son of the second marriage.*

Count Lagnasco, minister of State to King Augustus, a Piedmontese by birth, gives the Imperial ministers to understand that he hopes for a favourable issue to his Master of the negotiation between Baron Görtz and the Russian and Saxon Courts on the preliminaries of the congress to be held at Danzig, and that in this hope M. de Lagnasco tries to prepare the Imperial Court to send representatives to this congress, when the preliminaries shall have been settled and the King of Sweden shall have formally declared here that he will send his plenipotentiaries and that the intervention of an Imperial minister for the conclusion of peace will be agreeable to him.

Though part of the Imperial Ministry begins to give way about holding the congress at Brunswick, and that speaking of the congress of Danzig as a general congress where the pacification of Germany may also be treated of, I adduce to the Imperial ministry the precedent of the congress of Nimeguen, where the pacification of Germany was first treated of and the peace between Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg was concluded in France a little after that of Nimeguen, representing also that the Emperor's point of honour about the place of the congress is not

well-founded, and that it ought to be indifferent to him where the peace of the North is made, provided it is made, and he has a share in mediating it. It seems to me nevertheless there will be great difficulty in inducing him to give up his pretension that the Congress should be in some other town of Low Germany, for instance Hamburg or Lübeck, if the peace regarding Germany is also to be treated of there.

Regarding the proposal of marriage of the Electoral Prince of Saxony the Imperial ministry is still divided and the Emperor delays declaring himself. However, it appears that that prince is much to the taste of the high nobility of this country, whom he tries much to please, and with whom he is strongly supported by the Count and Countess Staremberg, his great friends. The issue of the negotiations for the peace of the North will apparently much influence the Emperor's resolution thereon. It is said that the Princes of Bavaria and Saxony have as a rival for the hand of one of the Archduchesses the Prince of Piedmont, and that the latter is supported by Prince Eugene. The German ministry appears disinclined to the marriage of these princesses to any but a German, but I know not if the Emperor may not be of a different sentiment, if he thinks it will be to his advantage to marry one of them outside Germany, especially if the Empress continues to bear children, and the expectation of the succession of the Archduchesses, the daughters of Joseph, becomes very remote. But it is apparent that in this case there will be no longer pressing suitors for these Princesses.

I am told that M. St. Saphorin, the English minister, a Swiss by birth, talks of a marriage projected between King James and the Czar's niece, the widow of the Duke of Courland, with the addition that care must be taken to avert in good time the projects dangerous for the peace of Europe that might result from that marriage, in case of a peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden to the exclusion of his Master and of union between the two first. 11½ *pages. French.*

James III to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, March 9. Urbino.—*Mar* writes so fully to you that I have nothing to add, but to send you the two enclosed to forward as soon as possible. It was but necessary I should write myself on *Inese's* removal, which, I believe, will displease none of those I write to. I know none will suffer by it but yourself by the load of business it will bring on you, but you must comfort yourself by seeing that honesty gets always the better even in this world. I made *Mar* add a postscript to his letter, which I believe you will approve, for it would be unreasonable to overload you and not to propose to you some means of easing you in your present drudgery. 2 *copies.*

Fanny Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 9. From the country.—We have not heard since from the Doctor (Lord Ilay) which exceeds our comprehension. The original letters we sent you have made you hope, I believe, as well as us, that we should hear soon from him. My mother sent us word again in her last that he is with her every day and talks always of our master and in right terms and told her he had a little book to send us, and believed he would get her to send it us, but he had not given it her, nor told her further what it was, but told her once he was persuaded, you could never succeed without the easy gentleman's (the Regent's) help. Time, I hope, will make him determine, for it's plain he's still uncertain. The great news is that the King of Sweden and the Czar have made a peace offensive and defensive, particularly against Hanover, that the king gives up Petersburg and Ingria, and the Czar engages himself to make the King have Stettin and the Duchy of Bremen. You ought to know the truth of this better than us. The Archbishop of Cambray is dead, by having taken too much emetic, the archbishopric is given to the Cardinal de Tremoille, that of Bayeux to the Abbé de Lorraine, at least promised.

The Duchess of Berri gave a great feast to the Duke and Duchess of Lorraine. M. de Ma[g]ny told the ambassadors of England, Portugal and Sicily that they were not to sit with the princesses at supper. They went together to the Regent to tell him they supposed M. de Ma[g]ny did not know what was due to ambassadors and desired to know if they were not to sup with him. He asked them how they could imagine they were not, on which they went, but, when they arrived at the Duchess', a person desired them in private to sit at the second table, on which they made their bow and walked off. After this whimsical scene, M. de Ma[g]ny arrived, who had put into his head, I believe, he was an ambassador too, and placed himself at the second table, after the princesses. M. de Sommery whispered him that he was not invited, and was he, that table was not his place. As he had a mind to finish his supper and liked his company, he told them by his employment he had right to be there, on which another message was sent him that, when he came to introduce an ambassador he was welcome, but at present he was desired to retire. He assured them they did not know who they spoke to, and he was resolved to keep up the privileges of his charge. Finding he was inexorable, four guards came up and helped him to walk out of the room. While they were conducting him, he said all the insolent things imaginable on the Regent and the Duchess of Berri and threatened them both with his indignation. Next morning he was sent to the Bastille, but he was yesterday set at liberty, with orders to sell his charge. Everybody pities his father, who is a famous lawyer and a very worthy man, but as to the son, as he was always looked on as a madman here,

nobody is surprised. The Regent sent great excuses to the ambassadors and laid the whole fault on M. de Ma[g]ny, and hoped they would not take notice of such a trifle to their courts, but the couriers were gone, and Lord Stair is extremely angry. The others are piqued that they were not invited. It is difficult to please all the world. They talk for certain that Spain is making great preparations to declare war with England. M[ezières] has not heard from the neighbour (Sparre), which he can't but think very odd. They have all their lives been so intimate friends, that he is certain his silence must proceed from some essential reason.

We are going to Paris, whence, since you like it, I'll send you all the news I can gather, for, though the stories of Paris are but trifles, yet I imagine at Urbino everything goes down, even my dull epistles. I don't know what I write, for I have passed my day among country wits, which is enough to turn a more sedate brain than mine. 3 *pages*.

Father Græme to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 9. Calais.—*Capt. Ogilvie's* letter to you from this about three weeks ago has certainly informed you before now of the motive that made him take a trip to the other side. I have received four letters from him, saying he would not for anything not have gone there, because, by the help of certain discoveries he has made, he hopes at his return to set things in their proper light and let you see plainly that some people have been endeavouring to ruin *Mar* under trust. *Capt. Ogilvie* found *Lord Oxford* indisposed, which obliged him to stay there longer than he intended, but now he waits only for two packets, which are lying in my hands for him, and which I am to send him by a skipper I expect daily. One is from Dil[lo]n and the other from W. Gordon. Both came by Mr. Gough, who, knowing nothing of *Capt. Ogilvie's* being gone, wrote to let him know he had received them, and wanted his orders how to dispose of them, he having advice to deliver them into *Capt. Ogilvie's* own hands. Having read this letter according to *Capt. Ogilvie's* instructions to me, I answered by express that *Capt. Ogilvie* having gout in both hands uses my pen to desire you to send the packets to him by the bearer. As soon as I received them, the very day I sent for them, I acquainted *Capt. Ogilvie* with what I had done to conceal his absence, and he sent me word to keep them till a certain person, who is to be here soon, calls for them.

This moment I receive another packet from Mr. Gordon for *Capt. Ogilvie*, and, finding very providentially that the *Commis* of the post office here goes this night with Abbot de Bois' packets for England, I have entrusted him with the three packets for *Capt. Ogilive*. As they are all three under the Abbot's cover, which the *Commis* is to take off when he arrives at London it's morally impossible they should not go safe, and therefore you may be in no manner of pains about

them, for I am not a man to risk any thing rashly that either *the King* or you may have any concern in.

I read a letter from Father Southcott to Northcross, an Englishman who commands a Swedish privateer. I cannot set down the very words, but they carry this meaning: You must have a care of that shuffling man (he speaks of Cronstrom, the Swedish envoy), for I am afraid some things are going on by his way that will hinder him from doing you any service, and that, rather than give any suspicion of what's carrying on in the North, he will not stick to make a sacrifice of you and to let you be laid up, for he communicates with none of ours here, not even with Dil[lo]n. I cannot imagine what could be his design in writing after this manner to a mad fellow such as Northcross, but surely either he had no true notions of the man or did not comprehend the force of his own expressions. I could not prevail with Northcross to leave me the letter. He is gone up to Paris, being sent for by Cronstrom.

J. M[enzie]s sent me word some while ago he had sent me a packet of letters to be forwarded, he does not tell me to whom, but the person that was to deliver it was forced to throw it overboard.

I wrote in my last about a commission Mr. Murray of Stanhope gave me and should be glad of your answer that I may satisfy Mr. Murray and his cousin, Lord Carnwath. I shall write again so soon as I hear of the packets being delivered to *Capt. Ogilvie*. Expresses from Lord Stair and the Abbot de Bois pass here very throng, we see sometimes two or three a day. I have left off corresponding with Dil[lo]n, because I am told he is not so much *Mar's* friend as I am. $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pages*.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 9. Vienna.—Acknowledging his letter of 17 February and expressing his pleasure at the satisfaction of the King and the Duke of Mar on his recommencing his correspondence.—I shall do my best to inform the King of what passes here relating to his interests or otherwise worthy of his curiosity. Monsr. Stiernhock has already given the King and the Duke of Mar his ideas at large on the confusions of Europe and is writing another letter to-day.

Notwithstanding the remains here of the old prejudice in favour of the House of Hanover, which was allied to that of Austria by the marriage of the two empresses, there are persons well-affected to the cause of King James, who reflect on the little reliance there is to be placed on the Elector's friendship notwithstanding the benefits he has received from the Emperors Leopold and Joseph and from the present one. I repeat that Prince Eugene appears to be of that number, Monsr. Stiernhock is of the same opinion. Monsr. Penterider, the Emperor's minister, is of the same number, notwithstanding that he is playing the comedy at London and that he is obliged at present to sing his master's song at that court. As for the Emperor,

whatever ideas he may have with regard to the present system of his affairs, he has the reputation and every appearance of being naturally inclined to everything just and magnanimous, but as regards King James, circumstances must be allowed to ripen in order to derive from him with regard to his concurrence with other powers any advantage to the interests of his Britannic Majesty, but nothing efficacious is to be expected of him. That must come from elsewhere, but this does not prevent as it seems to me, that his Majesty would not do ill to sound and cultivate a little the part of the land here where there may appear to be some disposition to bear fruit hereafter. (For this reason he again urges the desirability of his receiving a commission either with or without the title of agent to watch over his Majesty's interests there and refutes arguments against such a commission.)

M. St. Saphorin, the English minister, a Swiss by birth, spreads a report here of a marriage projected between King James and the Czar's niece, the widow of the Prince of Courland, and makes it appear to the Imperial ministers that this marriage, accompanied by a peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden to the exclusion of the Elector of Hanover, would disturb the peace of Europe.

The Resident of Muscovy here has unexpectedly absented himself, it is said on account of intrigues between himself and his master. The said minister assured me lately that the preliminaries for peace between the Czar and Sweden, which are going on in Finland, are on the point of conclusion, so that Fabricius, the English minister, who left Lübeck for Sweden 26 February, will arrive too late to prevent the said treaty and that it is said that the King of Sweden will have nothing to say to the Elector of Hanover.

The peace between the Emperor and the Turks remains uncertain. The Imperial and the English plenipotentiaries have not yet arrived at the place of congress. This Court makes this delay, for it wishes to know before in what tone the Turks will sing on Prince Eugene's last letter to the Grand Vizier on that point.

Meanwhile every preparation is being made here to open the campaign early. All the generals have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march, and Field-Marshal Prince Alexander of Wurtemberg will leave this about 6 April to put himself at the head of an army of 30,000 men to invade Bosnia, take Wihatz and endeavour to make himself master of that important province.

It is reported here as certain that there is here a secret minister of the Duke of Savoy to treat with the Emperor for the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont with one of the Archduchesses.

I try to have inserted underhand both here and elsewhere in the public gazettes that the King's health is very good. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.* 10 *pages.*

James III to the Earl of Panmure.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—I am very glad to find by yours from Milan that you were so far well on your journey. The little ja[u]nt I have made has agreed very well with me. It is not possible for anybody to have a better opinion of you than the Duke of Mar and I, but I know nobody that does not do justice to your merit and character. Would to God it were in your master's power to make your crosses lighter and that he could have given more help to make your journey easy to you. May it succeed to your satisfaction.

There is nothing new as to my affairs, though I think matters look better and seem to clear, in which when I know anything material and positive, the Duke of Mar shall inform you. I had so much to do to-day that I must refer you to the Duke of Mar as to Mr. Inese's removal from business, which will, I believe, more surprise than trouble you. *Copy.*

James III to Lord Seaforth.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—"I have perused the papers you sent to the Duke of Mar for my information. I can assure you that the uprightness of your intentions needed no justification with me, as your reception both at St. Germains and Avignon might have showed you. Former mistakes are subjects which you know 'tis my intention should be no more mentioned, and therefore after having opened your heart to me you will, I suppose, think no more on those matters, but rest satisfied that, as I chiefly look to the heart, so you need never doubt of my particular regard and kindness which your ancestors' merit and your own so well deserve at my hands.

"If you see your aunt, Lady Carington, and her niece, pray make them my compliments, as well as to your own lady." *Two copies in Nairne's hand.*

James III to Cardinal Sacripanti.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—Sending him a present of his portrait, and wishing it was in his power to prove more effectually the great consideration he feels for him and desiring him, when an opportunity offers, to support his interests with the Pope. *French. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to *Lord Oxford.*

1718, March 10.—Since I came here I have written to you twice, which I hope came safe and I'll long for an answer to them. We are very glad to hear of the good prospect of trade in your parts and are very sensible of the good part some of our partners act in it, particularly *Lord Oxford.*

We have no accounts lately from our factor *Ormonde* but by what I had t'other day in a letter from *Mr. Cæsar* of his hearing from his friend, *the King of Sweden's* factor, I conclude we shall

have particular accounts from *Ormonde* one of these days of his agent's joining him and the answers he has by him, which I admire we have not had ere now.

I had a letter some days ago from *the King of Sweden's* factor, who resides with *the Emperor*, telling me that the place has been agreed on for some time for his master and *the Czar's* meeting to adjust their accounts and future way of trading which he believes is only for form and that all is adjusted and agreed betwixt them already. This will now soon appear, as the contrary must, if not so. *King George* is endeavouring to be included in their agreement, but there's no appearance of either of them agreeing to it. *The Czar* will be returned to his former abode some time ago and we hope soon to have a return from him to some things of the trade, which were sent him in answer to some points he proposed to us. This we expect by one we have there, who is to take *Ormonde* on his way to us. I only hint these things to show we are not idle. We hear from pretty good hands that *the Regent* is not very well satisfied with his present partners, so it is pretty odd if he come not to look our way, and I believe the proper measures are taken to incline him to it, but I being far from that port must refer the accounts of all that to our factor there, who, I presume, gives his correspondents with you what accounts are needful. There is no appearance of any making up betwixt *the Emperor* and those he was engaged with last year. *The King of Spain* is like to have a good trade, if he has hands enough to follow it out, which we are told he has, and *the King* is taking all pains with him to get some commodities there, which he is like to have occasion for, but his success that way is very uncertain, though he has a warm side to him, so *the King's* resource for those goods must be chiefly from *England*, as I told you in my last, which failing, so must likewise the trade he proposed to drive, for this time, if not for ever.

(Concerning the removal of Inese, the behaviour of Menzies, the probable employment of Dillon in Italy and the intended arrangements to supply his place in Paris and James Murray's coming over, as in other letters.)

It is very plain that *Dillon* has been imposed on and in a manner governed of late by *Inese*, who, I fear, has done so by more people than *Dillon*, who is notwithstanding, I really believe, a man of worth and honour, and who would not be apt to misunderstand things and put wrong glosses on them, were he left to himself, as I found last year all the time I was with him, but *Mar* no sooner went the little tour you heard of than he quite altered in his way of doing, as he found him very much so to him when he returned and saw him on his way to *the King*. He pretended to take ill *Mar's* giving any credit to some accounts *Mrs. Ogilvie* had brought of a message *Dillon* was said to have sent to *the Bishop of Rochester* and others, but *Mar* thought all that had been set right before they parted, though it seems since his ways of thinking were not returned

to what they were formerly, which must certainly have been occasioned by his being imposed on by somebody or other. *Ormonde* was not thereabouts to have done it, with whom he was not so intimate, when they parted, nor so free as with *Mar*, nor was there anybody he was then much conversant with who had the head to do it but *Inese*, so that, without breach of charity and, though we knew no other presumptions of it as we do, we may pretty certainly conclude it must have been owing to him. *Mar*, though, has taken no notice of what he could not but so plainly see in *Dillon's* alteration to him, but gone on in his correspondence with him just as he used, and wrote so of him also to others, as you yourself know by what he said of him to you, which he would not have done, if he and I too had not believed him to be a very honest man, as I still really believe him to be, but, though he be very good at the business he has been most conversant in all his life, he has been little accustomed to book-keeping and the way of business he has been in these two years, so the less wonder, if he fail a little; one advantage in him is scarcely to be met with as to *the King's* business at this time, which was, indeed, the reason of his making choice of him, viz., the entire confidence *the Regent* has in him and the free access he allows him at all times, and his being also a particular friend of *the King of Sweden 's* agent made him the more fit for it, and these reasons still subsist, so that, if he be not called away from his post, it is of consequence to continue him. What he may have been faulty in must be overlooked, and endeavours used to bring him back to his old way of thinking and doing. If he has wrote anything unfriendly of *Mar* to *the Bishop of Rochester* or others or done anything towards him which may not look quite fair, considering the friendly way they professed to be in, it must in a little time fall on *Dillon* himself, for *the Bishop of Rochester* and all his people cannot but see, as *the King* does, the fair part of *Mar* has acted towards him, and, as a man's acting an honest and fair part is the way to obtain *the King's* favour, so must anybody, who does so, get the better at long run even with other people. I thought it fit you should be informed of all these matters once for all, which will save you a good deal of trouble at other times and make you comprehend our situation and so be better able to advise us as to the trade we are a driving.

The King desires that what he or I have wrote to you of *Mr. Dillon* may be entirely to yourself. He has himself wrote what was necessary on it to *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Ormonde*, but you have the whole. 9 *pages*. *Copy*.

The Duke of Mar to *Capt. Ogilvie*.

1718, March 10.—Acknowledging his letter of the 11th and reprimanding him for leaving his post without orders.—The delay of my letters going forward was bad enough and that

I am too sure to have been occasioned by it. Some more are now sent to be forwarded, which must be done in a safe way and none of them by post, they being of consequence. The sooner they are delivered the better. *Mr. Inese* is to be no more concerned in *the King's* affairs, so you are to write no more to him of them, but, when you have occasion to write of them to that place, you are to do it to *Mr. Dillon* and otherwise directly to *Mar*.

You send me a letter from F[ather] G[ræ]me, but, till I have an answer of what I wrote lately to you about him, I can correspond no more there. As to your coming here *the King* is still more and more of the opinion I wrote you and sees great inconveniencies in it and no advantage, therefore you should give over these thoughts.

The Duke of Mar to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—I wrote to you from Fano the 24th, and since had yours of the 8th and 15th. (Informing him of the removal of Inese.)

The King told me he had ordered all the papers in *Inese's* possession concerning his affairs to be delivered to you. Among them will be all the ciphers by which he used to correspond with those employed in them elsewhere as *Menzies* in London, Harry Straiton in Scotland, Sir H. Paterson in Holland and Mr. Bruce at Brussels, to all whom I have wrote by *the King's* direction that they are to write no more to *Inese* of those affairs but to you, when they have anything to say of them, in Paris and to *Mar* where *the King* is. You will also get from *Inese* the addresses for those people and it will be necessary you send them some for you.

I am very glad we hear no more of *Dillon's* being to leave *Paris*. However that may be, *James Murray* will come over and I have wrote to him to make no stop at *Paris* longer than to see *Queen Mary* and *Dillon*, but to come on straight to *the King*, he thinking it requisite he should have a full account of his affairs from one such as he, who is intimate with and entrusted by his friends, which is impossible to be done by letters near so well as by word of mouth, so I hope he may be with us ere long.

In answer to your two letters I am very glad *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* are resolved to settle a method for corresponding of their own which I heartily wish they had done sooner.

A letter from *Capt. Ogilvie* of 11 Feb. tells me he was then going to *England*. He does not tell me of his being desired by *Lord Oxford* or any of our friends with *England* and I am not at all satisfied with his leaving his post without orders.

James Murray's letters of 16 and 19 Jan. which you sent me require no answer, only our thanks for his full and frequent accounts, nor does *Ormonde's* of 10 Jan., and there is little

needful to be said either to the message you then sent me, which *Mr. Wogan* brought, more than to return *the King's* thanks to *Lord North and Grey* and *Shippen* for their good intentions and advice and that what the first desires shall be observed.

The particular of *Lady Sandwich* was answered and complied with on what you wrote first of it, which will be with you by this.

What you say on the union of *King George* and *the Emperor*, (which 'tis probable will happen, if not so already) with regard to *the King* being disturbed in his present abode, is very reasonable. But in that case one may reasonably think that either *the King of Spain* or *the Regent* would be glad to have him with them, and if so, 'tis to be wished the first should happen, and I should think it not amiss for *Dillon* to mention it in a proper manner to *the Regent*, as very probably he may have done already. You know of another project *the King* has as to his residence but of that nothing further can be said till returns come from *Ormonde*. *The King* himself, who knows *the Pope*, thinks it will be no easy matter to prevail with him to disturb him where he is, even though solicited by *the Emperor* to do it. But I heartily wish things may go so that *the King's* stay where he is may not be long upon many accounts, and one in particular that I believe another year of it would do much to kill most of those with him for want of tolerable wholesome drink, and the impossibility there is almost there of having any exercise.

Mr. Macmahon's letters I shall answer as soon as I can, having now many to write. He shows himself by these a very honest man and what he says of P[ultene]y is no more than I believed of him.

James Murray's and *Sir W. Wyndham's* negotiation with *the Marquis de Monteleon* may have very good consequences. It seems they are now over the suspicions we were told they had there of that gentleman, but, on what was wrote us of it, *the King* in his late applications to *the King of Spain* desired that *the Marquis de Monteleon* should know nothing of that affair, as was but reasonable for him to do. Should *the Marquis de Monteleon*, notwithstanding people's suspicions of him, write favourably to *the King of Spain* of our friends' good endeavours for him there, it may the more confirm *the King of Spain* in the accounts he has from *the King* and show *the King's* influence on those gentlemen.

The rendezvous you mention said to be of *the King's* friends with *Paris*, will soon confute itself, but by Macmahon's conversation with P[ultene]y, it is plain those folks are not ignorant of *Ormonde's* situation, which, indeed, they could scarce be for so long. But there is no great matter in that, if *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* make up, as we have occasion to hope they have done before now, I having a letter from *Cæsar* of 20 Jan., saying he had a letter from his friend *the King of*

Sweden's agent of 30 Dec., in which are the following paragraphs.—My master is now very busy in making up his accounts with one of his chief creditors, which done, I do not question but he will be able to answer all other demands and especially yours.—Not long ago one of your attorneys was with my master and was dismissed with this answer, that, as soon as he had made up his accounts with his chief creditor, he would then also satisfy you. *Mr. Cæsar* adds that, however fair the prospect seems by this, it ought not to hinder *the King* from taking in as many partners as possible and he wishes that *the King of Spain* and *the Regent* could be prevailed on to be two, if both their interests be compatible with it, which he says we can better judge of than he. He mentions *the Regent's* factor's being dissatisfied with *King George* and his people and proposes to have him applied to, but says that the factor is apprehensive of anybody's knowing of anything of that kind being done by whom it may come round to *the Regent* or his people. *Mr. Cæsar* says further that *the King of Sweden's* factor has wrote to him for several sorts of goods from that country without which he cannot carry on the trade to any purpose, and that it is very difficult for him (*Cæsar*) to get credit for them, but he will leave no stone unturned to get them sent.

I suppose by the above we shall very soon have a particular account from *Ormonde* of *Jerningham's* being returned to him and it is odd we should have the first account of his affair by so roundabout a way. By this account though, it would seem that *Ormonde* is not to go to *the King of Sweden*, till the affair betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* is finished.

I gave the letter for *Col. John Hay* you sent me to the owner and we expect Sir Peter Redmond in a few days, who shall have his.

The delay of that affair in which literal Campbell was to be employed is very unlucky, but there was no help for it by what you tell me, and now we are not yet sure of obtaining the allowance or connivance from *the King of Spain*, which, it seems, is absolutely necessary, and we are thinking that Sir Peter R[edmon]d, who is to return by *the King of Spain*, may be useful in it and get more easily what's wanting from him as a merchant on his own account than we, but there will be a necessity in that case of letting *the King of Spain's* man with *the Pope* and *the King of Spain* by him know that it is on *the King's* account, though there be no occasion for letting Sir Peter know that we do so, and his not knowing of it may make *the King of Spain* more easily grant what is desired. This is but a thought and nothing could be done in it, till we see Sir Peter again, which made us encourage his returning this way and get him introduced to *the King of Spain's* man where he was, that he may know him, in case we shall find it necessary to write to him of this affair, but Sir Peter is ignorant of our design of that acquaintance we got him.

We long to know what is the fate of that extraordinary *money* affair, which was expected about this time from *the Regent, Queen Mary* referring to the account you were to give of it.

By a letter from *the King of Sweden's* factor with *the Emperor,* I see the place for making up his accounts with *the Czar* had been agreed for some time viz., *Danzig,* by which he concludes matters were all adjusted and nothing but the form wanting which I heartily wish may be so. By other letters from that place there's no appearance of any accommodation with *the Turks* which, as things now stand, I think we will not break our hearts for.

We have heard no word yet of *Francia's* man, and I despair of that affair's coming to any account, notwithstanding what Father Græme writes me about it in a letter I enclose. *Francia* seems to be a strange fellow and light-headed enough by somethings besides this that I have lately heard of his correspondence with *England* and of his dealings with you, which, it seems, he trusts there to a very mean fellow, who talks of it over his cups, and his procedure with Græme looks odd after what he wrote to you about him, though it would not be fair to the good father to let him know what he tells us of him. I have not wrote to Græme since I came here, and this is but the second letter I have had from him, but I wrote to one to tell him of my having given up the correspondence on his not keeping the conditions I laid on him when I began it of not showing my letters nor owning any correspondence with me. It seems though the person I wrote to had not informed him of what I wrote when he wrote me this letter. Should I do anything on what Græme says from *Francia* or no ?

I must now answer some things in the last two letters from *Inese.* He says one Power, a lawyer, is lately dead, who for many years had been *the King's* counsel at law and that most of what he had in that kind is continued to his widow, and that he is now desired to write recommending a Mr. Polewheel to succeed him and gives some reasons for it, though he seems to think *the King* will not think one necessary to be put in that place, and, on my speaking to him, I find him to be of that opinion, though he has had a good character of Mr. Polewheel, as I have both now and formerly, but *the King* thinks a compliment should be made him, and he should be told, that, if he had had occasion for any such, he should have been the man.

As to honest old Jamie Malcolm, I have now wrote to *Tullibardine* about him, as I did on my leaving your parts, which he should be acquainted of, that he may apply to *Tullibardine.*

The information those officers gave, which *Inese* mentions, of *the Czar's* family is certainly defective, which is all I need say, since we shall soon have, I hope a more certain account.

Inese writes a good deal in his other letter of what *the Bishop of Rochester* desired about the application to *the Duke of Shrewsbury,* to which I need say little, since what was needful

from hence is done on it some time ago, only I think *Queen Mary's* conduct in it was very prudent. What *Menzies* writes of *the Duke of Shrewsbury's* relapse gives us great concern, but I hope God will preserve so fine a gentleman to us for a better day. It is strange how *Menzies* could so far mistake what *Inese* wrote him on the above head, but, when a man is in a peevish suspicious way as he has been for some time, they are apt to see things wrong and put wrong constructions on them. I wish he may not play the fool further than he has yet done and thereby ruin all he has hitherto done, which he was but in too likely a way of doing, as you might see by my last letter to him, which I sent open to *Inese*, and I am sure it is in nobody's power to hurt him with *the King* but his own as I have often told him. What *Menzies* writes of *Sir W. Wyndham* to be told to *Queen Mary* in relation to *Bolingbroke* is very handsome and like what I expected of *Sir W. Wyndham*.

(Recapitulation of the news in Wogan's letter of 14–16 Feb., calendared in the last volume, *p.* 468.)

Wogan reckoned to be at *the Emperor's* habitation about a fortnight after the date of his letter, so in another fortnight or three weeks at furthest I suppose we shall see him. On the whole I think his journey was well bestowed, though I hope the affair of *the Czar's daughter* will make it pretty useless, but that, you know, is still uncertain.

By letters to and from *Sir H. Paterson*, I find they go the way we send them through Germany much quicker than by France and the last from him that way came sooner than those from Paris the way yours come by eight days.

Postscript.—After reading the above with *the King* it naturally occurred that this addition of business which falls now into your hands will occasion much more writing than you had formerly and will therefore require more hands. We know you have confidence in *Sir John O'Brien*, who is a tried honest man, and he will serve for easing you in things of most consequence, but, as lesser business commonly takes up rather more time and labour than great, you will certainly have occasion for more hands than your own and his, and, if any of those, to whom *the King* gives subsistence already, can do for that, they had best be employed. There's a Mr. Alexander with Mr. Gordon now, I believe, who, I think, may be proper for it. There's also a George Mackenzie now at Paris or Sens, who has been bred to business, and Charles Forbes, all honest men, who write a good hand and I believe might be trusted, especially in lesser things, so you may inform yourself about them and make your own choice. 13 *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to the Earl of Panmure.

1718, March 10.—I had yours of the 2nd from Milan two days ago, where I am glad you got safe, and I hope your whole journey will be prosperous, though I'll long to hear how you

passed the hills. I did not doubt you would be pleased with Venice. We have been at Fano, where the operas and our other entertainments were much better than I expected, and the King was mightily pleased with them. Three or four voices there were really very good, two of which are to be here soon for some time.

I enclose one from the King, to whom I delivered yours. He referred to me to give you an account of Mr. Inese being removed from acting in his affairs. (Account thereof as in other letters.) Mr. Dillon is the only one there now employed or consulted in his affairs besides the Queen, so, whenever you may have occasion to speak there of any thing in relation to them, it ought to be either to her or Mr. Dillon.

The King said nothing to me, when he gave me that gold for you, about Dr. Blair, nor till I spoke to him on what you and the doctor spoke to Col. Clephan, when he told me what the colonel wrote to the doctor, and now he has told me that, knowing from you that the doctor was to go with you, he thought it would be no more charge than if you had been to go alone, so what he gave was intended for your journey in general, and there was no reason for specifying to you that the money was for the doctor as well as yourself. If his circumstances were better, he says you may be sure the allowance would not have been so small, but he can do no more than he is able. He spoke with that regard for you that, had you overheard it, I am sure you would have been pleased.

You seem a little uneasy on something I mentioned in my former letter, which you take as if some had not quite the same notions of you that I have, but, as I know of none such, I really believe there are none, who know you, but who have the same opinion of you as I told you in that letter I had, so you may be very easy on that head.

Poor Clephan has been very ill since you went, so that I was afraid of his being in danger, but he is now recovering, though not yet come abroad. My illness went off before I went to Fano, and I am now pretty well.

I wrote of your being to be at Paris to Monsr. and Madame de Mezières, where I believe you will be very welcome, and it will be some amusement to go sometimes there, where there is commonly a good deal of good company, and Miss Fannie will divert you. I am very much obliged to them all, and they are very civil and obliging folk to all the King's people, whose humble servants all of them are, as well as the ladies, his subjects.

It is likely I may go to Rome about the end of this month, but my stay there will not be long. *Over* 3 *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Fanny Oglethorpe.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—I wrote to you from Fano the 25th, though perhaps you may get this sooner, going by one,

who, I fancy, will be at Paris quicker than the post. I had yours of 1, 4, and 5 Feb. there, and the 3rd we returned here after having been very well entertained and much pleased there.

I thank you for *Lord Ilay's* letter you sent me. I will look out all of his I have and send you them, that you may be in no pain about them. What he speaks of sending you is certainly a better and fuller cipher, which is so far good, but neither *the King* nor I can find much in the letter. *The King* thanks the friend (Mezières) for his advice with relation to him, and I am to send you now from him what I hope will satisfy you and all concerned on that head, by which the friend may see how ready *the King* is to take advice when it comes from one who, he is sure, gives it with a good intention for his service, and how willing he is to lay hold on the least thing for retrieving people from their mistakes, and to make their doing their duty agreeable to them, as well as it would be of advantage to him, and that past faults, when truly repented of, will be no bar to his favour, and not only so, but that he is desirous to find out the most favourable excuse and best turn for those who have been so unlucky as to have committed them. I would gladly ask *Ilay* and his friend (Argyle) where they can find so much good nature with so good sense.

I remember very well what I wrote to *Ilay* I would propose for him, and, when you see what I am now to send you, you may think it comes short of it, but, before you or the friend makes a judgment that way, consider what I am going to tell you and you will find that on *Ilay's* account as well as *the King's* this was all that was fit to be done now. The case is altered since my writing to him. Then his friend had no children nor was in a way of having any, so that *Ilay* was looked on as certain almost to succeed him, and any thing done for *Ilay* made no addition to the number of that society but during his life, and that took off the envy and odium which two of one family being made so eminent in that place must necessarily and certainly have carried along with it, especially if done all at once, whereas now his friend has a child and is in a fair way of having more, so that what is done for *Ilay* is not likely to be come to be sunk in what he would have had from his friend in the other case, and, were what's now given him to take place to-morrow, the thing is so reasonable and moderate in itself, that it could not justly draw any body's envy on him, nor make them think that *the King* is too lavish of those things. Besides I am much mistaken of *Ilay*, if it be not the substantial part of things more than what makes a greater show that he values most, and this giving him all the solid privileges the other would, makes it so. As to *the King's* part, this way he observes his rule of doing such things by degrees and having it in his power to reward future services, when it can be done without

envy to the receivers or blame to himself. All this, when you have told *Ilay*, as it is fit you should as soon as you can, I am persuaded will give him full satisfaction, and the more when he sees the tenor of the paper of which you should send him a copy in cipher by a sure conveyance. It is so worded, that, should it unluckily fall into wrong hands, it can scarce hurt *Ilay* or his friend, and the good actions of the family are not forgot in it, when the bad are passed over in silence, and the best turn that was possible given to his own and his friend's behaviour. You may observe in it another thing and take notice of it to him, which is, its being wrote with my own hand, so that he nor his friend are in no danger by too many knowing of it, nor shall it be booked with us. When he considers this way of proceeding with him and his friend, when they have done so little and are so shy and backward, I imagine he will not expect apologies for the other thing not being yet done, which I wrote to him I was to propose for him, but what is now done cannot but show them that it in a manner depends on his friend and himself to get that or any thing almost which their ambition can project to them. I'll long to know the friend's and your opinion and of your having acquainted *Ilay* fully of the thing and all I have said on that head and what he says in return. As for the main affair, all I can say to him is, that in all human appearance it has a better prospect now than when I wrote to him, abroad as well as at home, where it may be in his and his friend's power still to make it better. *Ilay* will, it is likely, some time ago have seen a late letter of *the King's* to *Mr. Leslie* by which he may see how secure *religion* as now established would be with *the King*. You will hear of a change at *St. Germains*, for which, I believe, you will not break your heart.

You are certainly in town long ere now, and I hope you will let me have all your news and town stories. About a fortnight hence it is likely I may go to see the fine town, but your letters will be sent me, and my stay there will be but short.

One thing you must tell your friend from me, that I but judge towards him as I do towards myself, my paper of that kind being the same with his. He could not do better than make you the visit this summer he proposes, so pray encourage it, and perhaps he'll do it the more readily that *Mar* is not in those parts, which he is not likely to be.

Pray tell *René* [Macdonnell] I had his and shall answer it as soon as I find time and anything to say. 4 *pages*. *Copy*.

James III to the Attorney and Solicitor General of England.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—Warrant, after reciting that he had taken into consideration the great and remarkable services to the Crown by many of those who represented the

family of Argyle and that, being well assured of the many good qualities of the present Duke and his brother, the Earl of Ilay, he has long been desirous of drawing them back from the ways their education had led them into, to follow the good example of their predecessors, for which end he passed a warrant for a full pardon to them on their returning to their duty and lodged it with a friend of theirs to be kept for their behoof, against the time it should please God to restore him to his dominions, and that, being now persuaded that the said Duke and Earl are become sensible of their mistakes, and that, as soon as a proper opportunity shall offer, he doubts not of their doing all in their power to promote his interest and that of their country, by using their utmost efforts for his restoration, he has thought fit as a further mark of his good will and an encouragement to them to go on in their good intentions to bestow on the said Earl the titles after mentioned: for a patent creating the said Archibald, Earl of Ilay, Baron of ———— in the county of ———— in the Kingdom of England and Earl of ———— in the county of ———— in the said Kingdom with remainder to the heirs male of his body. *Draft. There is in Entry Book* 5, *p.* 76, *a marginal entry: "Warrant for a Bill creating ———— Earl of ———— in the Kingdom of England, dated Urbino,* 10 *March,* 1718."

James III to Cardinal Gualterio.

1718, March 11.—"Je profite de mon premier loisir pour vous envoyer les deux papiers cy joints, qui vous mettront au fait de l'affaire en question. Comme il est fort possible que vous en entendiéz parler, j'ay crû me devoir a moy meme de vous en instruire a fond, vous priant cependant de ne prevenir personne sur ce sujet, mais, en cas qu'on vous en parle, de repondre selon que votre prudence et les lumieres que je vous donne vous suggereront. En cas que le Pape vous en parle, je ne vous defend pas de luy montrer le memoire, pourvû que vous ne le luy laissiés pas entre les mains. Vous scavés combien delicat il est pour moy ou pour ceux qui m'appartiennent de parler sur certains chefs sans blesser ou la politique ou la conscience, et de la maniere qu'on a poussé cette affaire je vous avoue que j'ay eté très embarrassé, mais je me flatte d'avoir evité tous les eceüils, et d'avoir satisfait a mon devoir en meme tems. Je vous prie cependant de me faire le plaisir de m'en dire sans flatterie votre sentiment.

"J'ay encore a vous notifier ici que pour des bonnes et solides raisons j'ay absolument eloigné Mr. Inese de mes affaires, je ne doute pas que cela ne soit un nouveau sujet de scandal, puisqu'on est sur le pied d'en prendre si aisement par les fausses consequences qu'on tire, ou les fausses gloses qu'on donne a mes actions ou intentions. Il est certain que ni la religion ni les religionaires n'ont eu aucune part a cette affaire, qui m'a parû si necessaire que je l'ay fait sans demander

conseil contre ma regle ordinaire, mais qui est sans consequence dans des cas ou personne n'aime a dire son sentiment, et quand il s'agit de faits qui parlent d'eux memes. Du reste je connois, Dieu mercy, et les obligations et la dignité de ma religion, et c'est peut-etre par ce que je distingue dans ma conduitte l'essentiel de ce qui ne l'est pas, que je me vois le but de certains Catholiques ambitieux et mondains, tandis que je souffre encore de la part des Protestans par la profession ouverte que j'en fais. Je vous avoue que j'ay asséz de vanité pour trouver cette situation encore plus honorable que penible, et qu'avec le temoignage d'une bonne conscience, et en suivant les regles sures que je me suis prescrittes, et ce que j'ay entendu dire au Pape lui meme je me mets tres peu en peine des discours des factieux. L'unique chose qui m'afflige est, que par bien de manœuvres quelques Catholiques prennent le grand chemin d'augmenter l'injuste haine conceüe contre eux et de me rendre moins capable de les servir dans la suitte par une conduitte trop outrée et violente a present.

"Il n'est plus question, Dieu mercy, de ma religion personelle, on a perdû toute esperance de changement, et par une conduitte sage et prudente on pourroit dans la suitte avec l'aide de Dieu emousser la prevention qu'on a contre les Catholiques, et c'est ce qui me perce encore plus le coeur de voir qu'au lieu de menager et de cultiver certaines dispositions et la grande sagesse et moderation des Protestans, qui sont auprés de moy, on fait tant de pas pour les aneantir et detruire. Mais en voici assés pour votre information. C'étoit une justice que je me devois de vous expliquer mes veritables sentimens, et je suis bien sure que vous en ferez l'usage discret et prudent qu'il conviendra en tems et lieu." *Nearly 3 pages. Holograph and copy. Enclosed,*

MEMOIR.

When the late King was vice-roy in Scotland, an Act of Counsel was passed in his presence to confirm to that church the right mentioned in the translation of the annexed letter. Since by the proceedings of the Elector of Hanover, he appears to wish to dispute this right of the English Church, and as nothing is dearer to the English people than their privileges and above all those of the Church, the famous minister Leslie proposed to the King as a popular thing to show by some writing that he would maintain that contested right. But, as what had been done in Scotland has no weight in England and consequently it would not be sufficient merely to confirm that Act of Council, it was found expedient that the King should write to Leslie a letter to be shown, in which without mentioning the said Act he would confirm that right to the English Church. Whatever repugnance the King had to meddle in certain details of religion or to use school terms, he foresaw that his refusal to write such a letter or to change certain words in it might have very bad results for his interests,

besides that, as he was born to live in a Protestant country and among Protestant subjects, he will often be necessarily obliged to employ terms in use among them, without believing his Catholicity is concerned therein, provided that he does not put forward any proposition as his own, which may be either heretical or contrary to the Catholic faith. On these reflections and with these precautions he has written the annexed letter, where it is clear that what is said of the power of the keys is a proposition which is quoted and not enunciated by himself and all the assurances and promises that follow relate to the rights of members of the English Church and not to that Church itself or its doctrine, the whole being only a fuller explanation of the preceding declarations or manifestoes, which had all been revised and corrected by learned theologians.

Notwithstanding whatever rightness of intention or clearness of expression may be observed in that paper, on which I know of no Protestant who has made the least gloss, it has given a great shock at St. Germains, where it has been pretended that the preamble might be taken in a bad sense, and there is no doubt that it is or might be, since a Catholic of that Court by a mutilated copy has appropriated the power of the keys to the King, who, to obviate the inconveniences that might be caused by such malice, has ordered the Queen on suitable opportunities to make known the true meaning of the letter, and not content therewith he has written to the Duke of Ormonde and to two considerable persons in England, where after informing them in general terms of the trick that has been played him he has found means to add naturally " que la vraie et unique intention de cette lettre etoit pour montrer que sa propre religion ne l'empechoit pas d'accorder toute protection et faveur aux Protestans." *Draft in James' hand and copy. French. Nearly* 3 *pages.* (*A translation of the letter calendared in the last volume, p.* 244, *was also enclosed.*)

The Duke of Mar to William Gordon.

1718, March 11.—Concerning the destination of various packets and letters enclosed to him and informing him of the removal of Mr. Inese, so that, if he has occasion to speak about the King's affairs, he is to do so to Mr. Dillon. *Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Mr. Gough.

1718, March 11. Urbino.—Expressing his disapproval of Ogilvie's trip to England and enclosing a packet for him with directions as to what is to be done with it, if it arrives before Ogilvie's return.

The Duke of Mar to the Duke of Ormonde.

1718, March 11.—I enclose one from *the King*, which, I suppose, gives you an account of what he lately ordered as to *Inese*, which, I imagine, will at first be some surprise to you, as it was to me. (About Inese's removal, and the arrangements for Dillon to be corresponded with in his place and the additional assistance for Dillon as in other letters.) We hear nothing more as yet of *Dillon's* being to leave *Paris*, by which I suppose it is not to happen at this time.

(Recapitulation of the news in Mr. Cæsar's letter as in his letter to Dillon of the 10th.) That man of *the King's*, who was with the King of Sweden, must have been very long on his way to *Ormonde* that we have not yet any account of it from him, but we conclude that is on the way, and that we shall now have it very soon, and we long for it, as we do also to hear from him of *the Czar's* being returned and how the affair of *marriage* is like to go. *The King of Sweden's* factor desires *Cæsar* to send thither some goods, which he says it is hard for him to find credit for them, but he will leave no stone unturned. He does not explain what goods they are, so this is all I know of it. By all our letters from where *Cæsar* is they seem in concern that they hear nothing from *Ormonde* of any thing of trade, though he had wrote there about his private affairs, and add that till they do or hear some satisfactory account of him, it is needless for them to set about the affair of the *collection of money*. It was by *Sir H. Paterson's* canal that *Cæsar's* letter went to the above factor as it was that the return to it came. *Sir H. Paterson* tells me he hears sometimes from *Ormonde* and I suppose he writes to him, so I need say nothing of what he writes me from his parts.

I saw a gentleman to-day who came from Rome some days ago, and there, he says, they look on the Spaniards coming into Italy as certain and that very soon, orders having been given above three weeks ago for the embarcation of 12,000 men at Barcelona, where ships were ready for them, and that there was no appearance of any Germans coming into Italy to oppose them.

(Recapitulation of the news from Vienna of the Turkish preparations and about the intended treaty between the Czar and the King of Sweden.)

We have been at Fano, where we were very well entertained with two very good operas &c., in which there were three or four very good singers, all eunuchs, no women being allowed on the stage there, but some of the eunuchs acted the women's parts very well. Our friend is come to be a mighty liker of the Italian music, and we are soon to have one or two of the best eunuchs who were there here with us, though I hope we shall not have time to be long entertained here that way. I had lately a letter from your acquaintance Nicolini with

some music, in which he makes you a very high compliment. (About his intended visit to Rome as in other letters.)

I had some days ago a comical letter enough from *Mr. Wogan* with an account of his journey so far as Augsburg, and I believe he will be with us in a few days. What he had seen there will not, I believe, please or be thought fit, but I hope *the Czar's daughter* will make his journey pretty useless. *Copy.* 4 *pages.*

The Duke of Mar to Anne Oglethorpe.

1718, March 11.—I am obliged to you for yours of 8 January, which I had t'other day with one of the 20th from *Mr. Cæsar* for which I beg you to give him my thanks. *The King* desires me to make his kind compliments to you and him. We have not yet heard of that gentleman whom *the King of Sweden's* factor mentions to have been there and dispatched with his answer, but we expect a particular account of him every day. I would hope *Mr. Cæsar* will find some ways of getting and sending those goods that the factor says are so much wanting, and I know no pains will be wanting in *Mr. Cæsar* to do it. As to the point he recommends of getting more partners, he may be sure we are doing all in our power to bring it about.

The accounts you and others give us of the good prospect of trade with you give us great consolation ; it is no less with us, and I hope time will bring all soon to answer our wishes, but we must not flatter ourselves too much on those appearances, but labour to make the favourable conjuncture answer the end we propose.

I wrote to you 12 February, and I wish it may not have lain long on the road by *Capt. Ogilvie's* taking a fancy to visit *England*, for which I am not pleased with him. It is strange that such folks with their good meaning should be so overwise in things not immediately their own concern, but I hope he is returned long ere now.

I have very little to add to what I then sent you, only my humble service to *Lord Orrery*, whose making the visit you mention is not at all mistaken by *the King*, though we had heard of it, before we had yours.

In a letter I sent to *Menzies*, though perhaps this and a duplicate I now send him may come as soon, I desired him to tell you that ten days before we had yours *the King* was wrote to for the letter you propose from him for that lady in relation to *the Regent's* factor and by the very person who, *Cæsar* says, the factor cared not to have any dealing with, which *the King* accordingly wrote and sent him as desired, and since the same desire is come to him from another, by which you may see her ladyship has not observed perfectly what she said to you nor has not trusted this affair to a few, by which I cannot help thinking nothing will come of it, but pray give not me for the author of this. I hope you were well-diverted

in the country with them, and I very well believe you, when you say, provided the thing be done, you are indifferent through whose hands it pass.

(Concerning Inese's removal and the behaviour of Menzies as in other letters.)

The King does not expect that what he has done as to *Inese* should make others fall out with him, but only that they should correspond no more with him about his affairs, so *Menzies* being still his friend and writing to him of their own concerns will be far from any offence to *the King* and as little to *Mar*, who has had no quarrel with *Inese*.

Since I wrote last, Jamie *Oglethorpe* has been with us, who is really a very pretty youth, and the gentleman he came to see is really very well pleased with him, as I believe Jamie is with him. Last summer you wrote to me of a certain thing for Jamie's brother and *Madame de Mezières* also spoke of it to me. I lost no time after coming here to speak to my friend of it in the most favourable way I could, and it was an easy matter to persuade him to a thing of that kind when it was to be so placed on many accounts existing both now and in former days, and on *Anne Oglethorpe's* none of the last. *Madame de Mezières* wrote of it also to him, but, before the letter came, he had done the thing, so far as his present circumstances would allow, the particulars of which *Monsr.* and *Madame de Mezières* are fully informed of, only Jamie is not forgot in it, which I thought was but reasonable. My friend told Jamie in general that there had been a thing asked from him on his brother's account, in which he had done as I have told you, but he did not mention the thing itself in particular nor did I explain it to him. He told him also he might tell his brother what he had said to him on it, and I have since had thanks from the brother. The keeping this thing secret is of importance to those concerned on both sides, which made my friend enjoin it as such to all who know it. 4 *pages*. *Copy*.

Richard Butler to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, March 11.—Just now *Ormonde* received a letter from *Sir H. Stirling* giving an account that *the Czar's* affair is as good as finished; I mean *the treaty* with *the King of Sweden*. He had an account from *Sir H. Paterson* that *Jerningham* was arrived at *Lübeck* in order to come to *Ormonde*. *Sir H. Paterson* also gave *Ormonde* this account by the last post, and we don't doubt that *Jerningham* has writ to you on this more fully. *Noted* as received at Urbino 30 April.

The Comte de Castelblanco to [? David Nairne].

1718, March 11. Bologna.—Expressing his satisfaction at hearing of the perfect health of the King, whom he begs him to assure of his profound respect, and informing him that he

is leaving for Piacenza the next day, and going thence next Monday to Genoa, to which place he requests that any letters for him may be forwarded. *French.*

James Hamilton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Feb. 28[–March 11]. London.—My two last, wherein *Lady Mar's* were enclosed, would be long before coming to hand. The reason is we had a great frost for several weeks. By *Holland* is the only way for sending those kind of goods. I have settled matters so that it cannot well fail. The occasion is once a week. That by *France* seldom misses being attended with trouble. Your two last coming that way were opened and examined at the Custom House and occasioned *Hamilton* no small care to get free.

In your last you signified you had written to *Lady Mar* in favour of the Squire (Hamilton himself), but he does not find it has had any impression. There's of your friends believe 'tis in her power to make that easy, if she was only resolved to apply heartily, nor is the Squire the only one that looks on *Lady Mar's* honour as somewhat interested therein, but some infears (*sic*) much on account of *Mar*, but sure I am with the greatest pleasure the Squire would embrace any opportunity of being subservient to either of them.

His absconding from his creditors makes him incapable of acting as he otherwise would, nor has he one farthing to subsist on but what he gets from *Menzies*, and matters are hard enough there. I am grieved to find how things have grown between *Menzies* and *Mar*, for sure I am *Menzies* is and has been all along most zealous in that lady's interest.

If *Mar* thinks it can be of any use, the Squire is willing to attend *Lady Mar* into the country, so that he may return, by reason he thinks he cannot be of such use any where as with *London*, but even in this case 'tis absolutely necessary first to make up matters with his creditors.

The Commons have put off the trade to Sweden for a month. In this Walpole voted with the Court, and some think he soon will be in favour. 'Tis said the Prince has owned all that has been said to him during the difference, which some say is shortly to be patched up. Argyle gives out he will go to Scotland when the Parliament rises. The last post I wrote fully to *Inese*, which I hope you have seen, and nothing since remarkable has offered. 2 *pages.*

Colin Campbell of Glendarule to the *Duke of Mar.*

1718, March 12. Bordeaux.—At the same time you ordered *Tullibardine* and others to apply to *Mr. Dillon* in relation to *swords* and *targes* you desired that might not hinder your being acquainted from time to time of the state of that affair, which now makes me transmit you a double of *Brigadier Campbell's* last letter to *Tullibardine*, wherein you

will find doubles of *Mr. Dillon's* and *William Gordon's* letters to him and his answer.

Tullibardine and I are both of opinion and have writ so to *Brigadier Campbell* that it is best he should set men at work to make up the cargo the moment the 5,000 *livres* are sent him, and the less time lost, the better, for it will take some time to make those goods fit for the market, and, as to the recommendations he insists on to *the King of Spain's* servants, they may come in due time; that we think, if money is sent him, he may venture on making his bargains, seeing that it was not to be doubted that *Mar* on his first orders to buy up those goods foresaw that without permission from *the King of Spain* such a quantity could never be made up there, at least without his connivance, so we judged him sufficiently authorized to proceed, if the money was sent.

I wrote this post to *W. Gordon Tullibardine's* sentiments as well as mine on this subject, and earnestly beg he may give orders for advancing the 5,000 *livres* without losing time, unless he has reasons that we know not, and this advancement is rendered very easy by *R. Gordon*, who will instantly find the money here, if he is allowed to draw on *W. Gordon*. If *Tullibardine* and I have judged right in this, it might have been done a fortnight sooner, had *Dillon* writ to *Tullibardine* at the time he wrote to *Brigadier Campbell*, for, as soon as *Tullibardine* received *Brigadier Campbell's* letter, which was the first intimation he had of this affair being again set on foot, I came here to advise with *R. Gordon* how the 5,000 *livres* could be raised, till *the King's* own money could answer, so that *Brigadier Campbell* might have had the 5,000 *livres* very near as soon as *Dillon's* letters, had *Dillon* writ but two lines to *Tullibardine* at the same time he wrote to *Brigadier Campbell*, for neither *Tullibardine* nor *Glendarule* has ever had any return to their frequent letters to him on this subject, yet that does not make me forbear troubling him, for I writ to him this post on this affair and particularly about advancing the 5,000 *livres*, how easy it may be done and how necessary it should, and I press this with the greater assurance that I have received a letter from *Clanranald* telling me that a person proposed that evening to *Brigadier Campbell* to provide a good deal of *swords* and therefore wishes money may be sent. Enclosed is a note by *R. Gordon* to satisfy you how soon the 5,000 *livres* may be had, if orders are sent about it, a double of which I also send to *Dillon* and *W. Gordon*.

Last night I received a letter from *W. Gordon* telling me that *the King* had ordered Mr. Fox (? W. Dicconson) to remit me 500 *livres* and that he had writ to *R. Gordon* to pay it me. I was surprised, as no mention is made to what use it is to be applied. I thought it might be for *Brigadier Campbell*, but I am put by that thought seeing you desired he should apply to *Mr. Dillon*, and this comes by *the King's* immediate

orders. If it be for my use, I never asked for it under the present situation and never meant to put my master to any additional charge by what was done for me at Av[ignon], till his affairs could well admit of it, so I beg you to let me know how this is, for, notwithstanding several little journeys since *Tullibardine* came to these parts, and being obliged to come in sometimes here, and though my way of living is no less chargeable than it has been, yet 100 *livres* will pay all my debts. *Over* 2 *pages. Enclosed,*

Memorandum by Robert Gordon.

Concerning the best method of remitting the 5,000 *livres to Bayonne.*

Robert Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 12.—Glendarule let me know your goodness to me in representing to the King my care about what I have charge of in his affairs, for which I return my most hearty thanks.

The ship I had of David George arrived here the 9th from St. Domingo, and would have made a great and a short voyage, if M. de Chateau Moran, Governor of St. Domingo, had not sent her to cruise against the pirates, which occasions a loss of at least eight or ten thousand *livres*, for he has not allowed a farthing for all the time she was abroad, and I must pay the 11 seamen that served and maintain the rest of the crew ashore, and also pay them their wages. She has been 10 months on the voyage which might have been done in 5 or 6 at most, and all the sails and running rigging are spent and the standing rigging and cables much damnified. It will take a great deal of money to fit her out, which I will do and send her back again, except the King have use for her otherwise, (particulars of her intended cargo) so that for the most part it will be as fit for Scotland as St. Domingo and will proceed there, if need be. I will use all discreet means to get reason of M. de Chateau Moran.

The Duke of Mar to the Marquess of Seaforth.

1718, March 12.—My being with the King at Fano when your letter of 28 January came and being pretty throng of business ever since, will, I hope, excuse me for not answering sooner. His Majesty read both it and the enclosed papers, as he had before done the other paper, and I enclose a letter from him which I hope will fully convince you there was no ground for your thinking he was not satisfied with you. (Concerning the removal of Inese as in other letters.)

I can tell you nothing in particular in relation to the King's business, but in general it has now a better face than it has had for some time past. He is perfectly well and was much pleased with the operas and other entertainments at Fano.

I am told the Dowager Lady Seaforth and your lady are coming to visit you, and I suppose they will not leave your son behind. If so, I wish you joy of your meeting and beg you to make my compliments to them.

The reason of Sir John Mackenzie's being behind in his subsistence which you wrote to me about was want of money by the great arrear then of what the King used to get, and it was the same with several others of his people nor was it in the King's or Queen's power to help it, but I hope money is come in since and that these gentlemen are better paid now. 2 *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to C. Forman.

1718, March 12. Urbino.—I have had very little spare time since I received yours of 12 February, so this is my first opportunity of acknowledging it. The King had your letters of 22 December and 12 February, and I have likewise seen Mr. Gordon's to Paterson in relation to you with the copies of the letters you mention enclosed. The King and I are both persuaded that these gentlemen who write from t'other side about you do you no more than justice in their letters, and his Majesty had never any bad opinion of you but quite otherwise, which I think you deserve very well at his hands.

You did very well in sending us an account of what passed betwixt Mr. Pulteney and you, in which your part was very honest and dutiful, and I desire you'll write me as often as anything occurs to you which you can judge to have any relation to the King's service. I wish indeed you had found him in a better disposition with regard to the King, but, whatever other people might have imagined, I expected no other of him at this time. I hope though that a little more time will open his and other people's eyes and that he may yet find the King's interest not so low or chimerical as he fancies, if he was in earnest in what he said to you. Did he but know the King, I am sure he would wish for his restoration. I should be very glad of his being our way upon his account particularly as well as ours, for I have always had a very good opinion of him as being both a man of honour and good sense. As for his speaking with respect of the King personally, which you say very well you were bound in justice to him to let us know, I doubt nothing of it, and believe him too much of a gentleman to do otherwise. *Draft.* 2 *pages.*

Capt. Alexander McDonald to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 13. Paris.—Requesting him to use his interest with the King for his letter to the Maréchal de Villars to endeavour to get him made a captain remormed (? reformed) in Nugent's horse, as the fund on which he depended is now almost exhausted.

CAPT. ALEXANDER MCDONALD to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 13. Paris.—Our friend William Gordon read me a letter of yours saying you [were] going, in order not to forget your friends, in a [bowl of] punch, though horrid liquor, not having the proper materials. I condole with you, but must be of opinion that some of us, that are where good liquor is to be had and the funds low, are more to be pitied. I desire you will present the enclosed to his Grace of Mar. *Torn.*

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 13.—The three packets I mentioned in my last of the 9th were delivered to *Capt. Ogilvie* the day following, last Thursday. *Capt. Ogilvie* writes this to me in a letter of the 10th received yesternight. As the man I entrusted with that commission has frequently occasions to go over, being employed to carry there what packets are sent here for the gentleman I named in my former letter (Abbé Dubois), whom I shall call henceforth Mr. Beagle, I fancy you cannot choose a readier or surer method of corresponding with your friends on t'other side than to make use of him, but, though I have put him once to the trial without orders, I should be sorry to do it again, for I am sensible that the prudentest measures in such affairs being liable to a thousand cross accidents, it was the height of imprudence to act as I did without having any commission. I am positively resolved never more to make any step of consequence either officiously without having your orders or presumptuously without asking your advice, so I hope you'll honour me with both as often as you think fit to employ me. One article in *Capt. Ogilvie's* letter surprises me very much and grieves me yet more, which is that you are angry with me for having done something contrary to my instructions. However, as he does not explain what you lay to my charge, I cannot vindicate myself till I know something more, and therefore beg you not to condemn me without hearing me, for, if I but know what I am accused of, I shall have no difficulty to make my innocence appear.

Capt. Ogilvie says he'll be with me as soon as possible, but fixes no time, which vexes me, because it will be impossible for me to keep people much longer in the dark anent his voyage, if he does not appear here soon.

The King of Sweden has recalled all his privateers and our friends with *England* are daily expectation of *the King's* arrival. *Capt. Ogilvie* told you, in his letter before he parted that Dil[lo]n had sent certain packets to *England* by the Jew's canal, but I have good grounds to believe the contrary. The Jew indeed boasted of having sent over two expresses, and would make the world believe it was with packets of consequence, whereas it was only to gain some little money by advising merchants to insure some ships

that were at that time cast away on this coast. I begin to think the Jew a very dangerous fellow, for, besides that he spreads about the town every word of news he gets from t'other side and tells a thousand lies to boot, I saw a letter he had from Lord Sunderland inviting him to go over to England and assuring him his fortune should be made, provided he performed what he had promised. I desired him to send that letter to his correspondent at Paris, but he sent it back to the writer, if any faith can be given to his words. Dil[lo]n ordered him to pay Fli[n]t 50 *livres* a month, but he so monopolizes on that poor devil and his wife that he not only pays them by crowns and half-crowns at a time, which can do them no good, but even refuses to pay them two guineas I gave him for their use. 4 *pages*.

Richard Butler to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, March 13.—My last of the 11th was written in so much haste that I believe you could make nothing of it, and that I might have mistaken *Sir H. Stirling's* meaning. That you may be as fully informed as we are, enclosed is a copy of his letter received the 11th.

By this day's post *Daniel O'Brien* received *John O'Brien's* of 23rd January, with three enclosed you mentioned in yours to me of the 28th. It is pretty unaccountable why that packet was delayed so long and the other of a fresher date received the 4th. I hope you received my answer of the 6th. *Ormonde* had no other letters this post, and consequently no further account of *Jerningham*. All he knows relating to him is that *Sir H. Paterson* gave him an account of his arrival at *Lübeck* and that he believed he would soon be with *Ormonde*. (Giving the dates at which Ormonde and the writer wrote to Dillon since 1 January.) Mr. Grant is very uneasy that he hears nothing from his family nor does he know how he stands in his master's favour.

L. Inese to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Monday, March 14.—Last post brought me *Mar's* of the 18th with two for *Menzies*, a copy of one of his to the Squire (Hamilton), and a note of the *money* accounts. By what I have seen and heard from *England* I have no doubt *Mar* must have had such complaints from thence as have given him just occasion of writing with so much severity to *Menzies*, and indeed his putting off so long to give a clear account of the *money* in a great measure deserves that severity, but the question is whether he can bear it and whether by the sharp, though deserved, reflections, that *Mar* makes, not only on what relates to the *money* affair, but even on *Menzies'* whole conduct, he may not think himself entirely discredited and lost with *the King* and *Mar*, and in that case what a temptation must it be to a man who

may think he has no resource left but either to starve or play the knave, and, though I dare say and cannot doubt that *Menzies* would actually starve rather than betray his trust, yet I cannot think it advisable to put him or any man on the hard necessity of making that choice. *Mar* sees by what *the Bishop of Rochester* writes that he was afraid to push *Menzies*, finding himself in his hands and fearing what might happen if he were drove too far, and I find *the Bishop of Rochester* expressed his apprehensions much more plainly to some friends than what he writes in his letter to *Mar*. Though I am persuaded *the Bishop of Rochester* does not justice to *Menzies* in suspecting him to that degree, yet it is plain that *the Bishop of Rochester* (as much courage as he is said to have) would tremble, if he knew that *Menzies* were pushed so far as he would be by *Mar's* letter, and it is most probable that *the Bishop of Rochester* would know it, for, he having promised *Menzies* that no further enquiry should be made into that matter, *Menzies* would naturally complain to him of his breach of promise, suspecting him to have given occasion for *Mar's* letter.

On all these considerations I was much inclined to stop that letter, and was confirmed in my opinion, when I found *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* were both of my mind. But what determined me yet more was that on examination of the *money* account I found plainly that *Mar* supposes that *Menzies* had sent over only 2,856*l.* whereas he sent certainly 3,856*l.* which 1,000*l.* difference makes up *Menzies'* account. It was indeed no wonder that *Mar* should rely on *Dicconson's* written account more than on *Inese's* memory, and yet *Inese* was right when he said that *Menzies* had sent over 3,856*l.* and *Dicconson's* compt book agrees exactly with this as appears by the enclosed extract from it, and he agreed it was right and he was sure the written account *Mar* mentions is or ought to be conform to it, which being so, it appears that *Menzies* remitted the 1,000*l.* which *Mar's* letter charges him to be yet owing. This mistake confirmed me not to forward that letter, which I have no doubt *Mar* will approve of. *Mar's* other letter to *Menzies* shall be sent to-morrow's post, for, though *the Duke of Shrewsbury* be dead, *Portmore* may still be applied to. But, after what is past, I did not expect that *Mar* should so soon again put *Menzies* in the way of meddling in the *money* affair, for it will be very natural for those who advance *money* to put it or bills for it into the hands of those on whose solicitation they give it, since they will not think it safe for them to appear in that matter themselves and that was the occasion of the last *money's* being put into *Menzies'* hands without any order or even the knowledge of any on this side.

I am extremely pleased, as I hope everybody will be, with *the King's* choice of *James Murray* to succeed *Dillon* in that branch which relates to *England* and *Scotland*. As to the other

branch which relates to *the Regent*, it will be no easy matter to find a fit person, but, if Dillon had once got the extraordinary *money* for *the King*, which he is now soliciting, little or nothing more will be to be expected of *the Regent*, whilst he continues in his present situation. If, indeed, he should fall out with his friend *King George*, as some think he will and must, if this last breaks openly with *the King of Spain*, of which there is great appearance, in that case *the Regent* will be fond enough of any that *the King* should employ, and then *M. de Torcy* would be the fittest for many obvious reasons, but you will have that point fully discussed from *Dillon* as *the King* will from *Queen Mary*. *Enclosed,*

Extract from Mr. Dicconson's Compt Book.

	livres.	*sols.*
Feb. 4, 1717.—*For two bills remitted to M. Inese, one of* 1,856*l.*, *the other of* 1,000*l.* ..	42,692	10
For the value of 1,000*l. remitted also to M. Inese by bills on Mr. Gordon*	15,000	0

[J. Menzies] to [L. Inese].

[1718,] Monday, March 3 [-14].—I now have yours of the 5th and find my letters had come safe. Whether it is the goodness or the indolence of our great men and of our Post Office, I shall not determine. But it is a cold fit or a treacherous calm, which is not to be too much relied on, nor do you and I deal in dangerous points, which is the reason I do not send you of the new ballads which swarm everywhere in great abundance again. One to the tune of Chevy Chace and on the christening is reckoned extraordinary humour and wit. There must be some very industrious enemies who underhand promote that engine against the Government.

The last newspapers enclosed will show you how little news we have, except the first article of the St. James' *Evening Post* of Saturday last, which is a thing that has been very much suspected and talked of of late. It is much said to-day that an express arrived last night from Lord Stair with a certainty of the same news from the Regent.

The bill for the Commissioners of forfeited estates was read a first time to-day in the House of Lords. People judge variously what will be its fate there, and it is impossible yet to prophesy either as to that, or whether some critical points may not yet be broached in the House, *Habeas Corpus*, Test Acts &c. But, it it be true they are to rise next Monday or Tuesday, there is not time nor any such design at present.

In ten days or so after the Parliament is up, his Majesty sets out for Hanover, *coute qui coute*. As to the son, there are various whispers, which I shall not at present mention, but the most public is his being to submit, and that Walpole, who effects it, is to be restored to the Treasury, where a bold

man is necessary, now that his Majesty has occasion to touch deeply, Stanhope to be Master of Horse and Townshend, Ireland. The two last would be kicking upstairs.

SIR H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, *March 3* [*–14*]. *Petersburg.*—I had a letter last post from *Dr. Erskine's secretary at* his desire, telling me "that *the Czar* is of opinion *that the Duke of Ormonde* should positively *go to Sweden*, since he is of opinion that *Jerningham* either has not taken the proper method *to get the King of Sweden* [to] *enter into the King's* measures *or* that *the Swedish ministry* wants to have the proposition come *from one of* greater weight and authority, since *all the* instances *the Czar has made and* which, *I am* assured, *have been* very *pressing have had no* effect with *the King of Sweden to make him relish the project* you know of, which *the Czar* has extremely at heart, *or they* would not at least discover their inclinations, lest perhaps *the Czar* might have claimed a share *of this merit*, which they want to have entirely to themselves. Whatever is in it, I do really think the reasons for *the King's* measures the strongest, and that the same arguments which determined *the Swedish ministry to that side will* still stand *good.*

"I wish you may soon have accounts from *Jerningham* which will probably give light into that matter and at the same time free *the Czar* from the uneasiness he now lies under on account of *the Duke of Ormonde staying* where *he is now*, for *he had letters* from *England*, which demand either *that he will remove the Duke of Ormonde or that they will* look on *it as an open breach and that they* would act accordingly, *if the Duke of Ormonde were any longer protected*, though *the Czar* has *no* further regard to this, *than that he* would willingly carry fair and give *as little umbrage as is* possible, *till matters were fully prepared*, yet *he* shows a more than ordinary uneasiness *to have that* gentleman *gone*, which must be attended with several inconveniencies, should *it happen before* there come some advices *from Jerningham.* What *you* desired to be informed of concerning *the Princess will not now be* necessary since *the Czar* says *he cannot* think any more of *it*, till he sees what appearances there are like to be of success or at least *the event of the treaty of* which there is no certainty nor no accounts.

"*The Czar is* likely *to stay* yet some time in *Moscow*, *but* there is no going there without *passes under his hand* and likewise from *Prince Menschikoff and the senators nor can any one stir* five *miles* from this place *without passes* of the same nature, lest any concerned *in the plot against the Czar* should *make their escape*, amongst which last *Prince Dolgorouky*, your acquaintance, is said to be *one*, since *he* was of the number of *those who were sent to Moscow in irons.*" $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pages. Copy. The words in italics are in cipher, but deciphered. Enclosed in Ormonde's letter of* 24 *March. Also another copy thereof.*

W. Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 15. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters, payments and other business.—The Master of Stormont is come to Rouen. I am this minute 5,200 *livres* in advance for Mr. Dicconson's account, which with a Lord Wharton, a Mr. Leslie and others not to be named are pretty hard for me to bear. 2 *pages*.

Colin Campbell of Glendarule to *the Duke of Mar.*

1718, March 15. *Bordeaux*.—After concerting matters with *R. Gordon* as I wrote last post, I considered it might not be amiss to wait till Monday, a post day from *Bayonne*, in case any letters might come from *Brigadier Campbell* or *Clanranald* and so it happened, for I received one from *Clanranald*. I transmit an exact double of what he wrote relating to that notorious villain *Barry*. You'll see how happy it is that he has been incapitated from doing further mischief. Poor *Brigadier Campbell* has been so out of humour at this strange story that it seems he could not get himself in a temper to write so soon.

I wrote you some time ago that *Gen. Gordon* was come to these parts to see his sister that lives very near this, but he soon found he could not be there so retired as he could wish, so he is now removed, but, before he went, several of those he left at *Toulouse* followed him down, so that most of our folk are hereabouts. Its most certain *the Elector of Hanover* wants not *spies* at *Bordeaux*, *Bayonne*, &c.; therefore, if you have not business soon with *the Highlanders* and others, you may consider whether it's not proper they should be at least 40 leagues from such places, except such as *Brigadier Campbell* and *Clanranald* that will be necessarily employed, for no doubt *the Elector of Hanover* will always have his *spies* at work, therefore it were to be wished that none of *the King's* traders or servants appeared till the markets required it, lest it should raise the prices of goods and give advantage to competing traders. Till your orders to *Tullibardine* come, we shall advise all to live as quietly as possible.

Postscript.—I am since told by *R. Gordon*, whom I desired to inquire after *Barry*, that some of *Barry's* countrymen here give out he is at Madrid. I shall enquire about him and will inform you of all I hear, but, be where he will, those letters from Stanhope and Carpenter denote him a rogue, and, if he be at Madrid, you are best judge how he should be treated. *Clanranald* wrote me some time ago that, when he absconded, he was judged a man in tolerable circumstances, but was soon found to be in debt much beyond the value of his effects, so it seems he has fallen on those extraordinary ways to make up his wants. I say nothing of this last story to Mr. *Dillon*, lest it should make him uneasy. *Enclosed*,

Clanranald to Glendarule.

Last week Mr. Machar (Meagher), that was suspected to be of Barry's *complices and accordingly prosecuted, being cleared and set at liberty, came here. I am acquainted with him by means of* Brigadier Campbell, *to whom he declared first and to us both afterwards, that, while* Barry *was in the convent and he himself in prison, a packet of letters came to him addressed to* Barry *and sent him from* Bayonne *by his orders. Machar, imagining there might be something in it that might do himself a disfavour in his then situation, opened it, and amongst the rest found two letters written in June or July last to* Barry, *one by General Stanhope, the other by Carpenter, by which it appeared there had been a correspondence between them and* Barry *for some time. Stanhope's mentioned a swift sailing ship which* Barry *capitulated, or at least would capitulate for, in his proposals to Stanhope. What they were, or whether* Barry *of himself made the first advances to those gentlemen or they to him, the devil and they know best, but* Barry *stole out of the convent some time ago and embarked on an English ship for London, where I believe he may be by this, if the water has not rived the woodie. One Sullivan, that was here with Machar, saw him on board. He told him he hoped to be soon back and might have occasion for his service and that of others of his calling, i.e. seamen and shipmasters.*

Machar says there was in that packet a letter from Mar *and one from* Tullibardine *to* Barry, *and a copy of one from* Brigadier Campbell. *I do not mind if any from you were mentioned, but I think there was one from* Dillon. *However, it's very like he'll regale his friends in England at those gentlemen's expense, for he has brought the whole cargo with him.* The King's *nephew near that place is also in for cakes and ale, for there's a letter from him to* Barry, *but of an old date, concerning* Barry's *project of a portable or flying m*[*i*]*nt.*

I would have sent you this account last post, if Brigadier Campbell *had not then undertaken to give* Mar *an account of it, but something intervened that has hitherto hindered him, and he is not yet in any humour to write, which makes me delay no longer, it being fit to be imparted to* Mar *with expedition.* 1718, *March* 12. *Bayonne. Copy.*

James III to the Duke of Lorraine.

1718, March 15.—Having written to you some time before receiving yours of 2 January, I did not wish to trouble you again so soon. My health is very good and my affairs have every day a better appearance, though there is always some obscurity

about them. I hope to be able in a very little time to inform you of my decision about a personal matter, and you will be assuredly among the first to know, what your friendship for me makes you desire so much. I take all the interest I ought in your journey to Paris, and rejoice with Madame in the pleasure she feels in seeing again her family and her country, and in enjoying there every thing great and agreeable they have. I wish with all my heart that the main object of that journey corresponds with appearances, and that you have every ground for being satisfied with it.

We, too, have not been wanting in amusements here. "J'ay vû un opera a Fano, qui surpasse de beaucoup celuy de Paris, des scenes magnifiques, des voix ecclattantes, et un theatre superbe, mais qui sans compliment cede au votre a Nancy. Nous avons eu encore des comedies ici, et ce qu'on appelle ici gioci di forze, qui sont aussi surprenans que singuliers, et au bout de tout cela nous avons un printemps charmant, qui a succedé aux neiges. Et cependant tant de charmes ne m'enchantent pas, et je meurs d'envie d'en etre quitte. Vous voyés mon mauvais gout." *French. Copy in Nairne's hand.* 2½ *pages.*

James III to Cardinal de Noailles.

1718, March 15.—"Pour ne pas rendre ma correspondence importune, j'ay differé de repondre a votre lettre de 24 Jan., jusqu'a aujourdhuy, que *Card. Gualterio* m'envoye celle du 21 Fev. On ne scauroit etre plus sensible que je le suis a l'amitié dont elles sont toutes deux remplis, et je n'ay pas attendu jusqu'a present a prendre toute la part possible a ce qui est arrivé a *le Duc de Noailles*. Le changement de situation ne le rendra pas, je suis sur, moins de mes amis ; celle ou il est le rendant autant a portée de parler en ma faveur sur des affaires encore grandes, qu'il l'etoit auparavant. En attendant, vos bons offices en faveur d'*argent* ne scauroient que donner un nouveau poids aux solicitations de *la Reine* qui ne neglige rien de son cote dans le besoin etonnant ou nous sommes a cet egard.

"Les petits disagreemens que je puis avoir du coté de *le Pape* ne me touchent guere ; habitué a ma destinée, mes chagrins ont des objets plus solides, mais qui ne m'abattent pas, Dieu mercy. La consolation d'avoir fait son devoir dans les essentiels et la resolution avec la grace de Dieu de continuer avec un abandon de soy meme a la Providence n'empechent pas de certaines choses, mais rendent tout en quelque façon doux et aisé. Du reste, je n'ay rien de nouveau a vous mander de *le Roi* (*i.e.* James himself), mais vous pouvéz conter d'etre des premiers informé de l'affaire personelle dont la decision ne scauroit, je crois, beaucoup tarder."

(Concerning the removal of *Inese* as in other letters.)

My health has been very good since the little journey I made. I earnestly desire the assistance of your prayers and the continuance of your friendship and confidence. *Copy in Nairne's hand.* 2½ *pages.*

JAMES III to the WIFE OF THE CONSTABLE DE COLONNA.

1718, March 15.—A little remembrance like that of my picture certainly does not deserve the compliments in your letter of the 12th. These with your civilities to me in Rome will never depart from my memory. I beg you to embrace il Signor Contestabele on my behalf, without forgetting his amiable daughter or Don Hieronimo, my friend. *Italian. Copy in Nairne's hand.*

JAMES III to the COUNTESS OF NITHSDALE.

1718, March 16. Urbino.—My knowledge of your personal worth and the just sense I ever retain of your own, your father's and your husband's personal merits and sufferings makes me have the greatest regret in not being able to comply with what I take to be the intent of yours of 19 January.

The supposition you go on is not yet come to pass, though I hope it will ere long, but, when it does, the same rules I have laid to myself as to places &c. I shall observe. As to my wife, whenever I have one, the number of persons of quality and merit now banished on my account and the uncertainty of my abode and all that relates to me, which will continue as long as I am abroad, have made me long since abolish fixed waiting, and resolve to take no persons into my family, as what was most suitable to my circumstances and would be generally most agreeable by avoiding all apparent preference and partiality. 'Twas on this resolution I refused several persons of distinction the places about me they asked, as Earl Panmure and others, and you may be sure, if this had been a time for such things, your husband's merit had not been forgot. After this, if it be convenient for Earl Nithsdale's and your circumstances to live where my future wife and I may happen to be, you may be sure to be very welcome, and that I shall endeavour to make your stay as agreeable as I have endeavoured to make it to your husband, whose singular merit with me I can never forget no more than the particular care the late Duchess of Powis had of me when a child. *Two copies.*

The DUKE OF MAR to GENERAL BROWN.

1718, March 16. Urbino.—Recommending the bearer, Mr. O'Hara, a fellow-countryman of the General's, whose family have always been dutiful and zealous for the King, and who has himself suffered in the King's service, and who is desirous to get into some service to avoid being burdensome to the King.—There was lately with us a young gentleman

(Mr. O[glethor]p) who served last year as a volunteer in your regiment, who made your compliments to the King in the best manner and did you otherwise justice at his Majesty's hands. 1½ *page. Copy.*

M. Stiernhock to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 16. Vienna.—I am informed by a sure hand that Secretary Schaub is the bearer of points for a settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy agreed on as *ultimata* between the Regent and the Elector of Hanover not only as mediators but as arbiters of that settlement which they claim to arrange as they think fit. I have not yet had certain advice of these points, but the following are spoken of:—That the Emperor renounces the Crown of Spain for himself and his descendants and obliges himself to guarantee the King of Spain's renunciation of the Crown of France and the succession of the Regent and his descendents to that Crown; that the succession of Tuscany and Parma be settled in favour of the eldest son of the King of Spain by his second marriage; that the Duke of Savoy cedes Sicily to the Emperor as having been always united to the kingdom of Naples in consideration of an equivalent in the Milanese, retaining for himself and his descendents the royal title; that the Emperor remains in possession *in statu quo* of Mantua and Comachio, till the differences about these places and the territory belonging to them be amicably settled, that the differences between the Emperor and the Pope both about the Pope's conduct to the King of Spain and the kingdom of Naples be amicably adjusted, and that as regards trade and naval armaments on the Adriatic his Imperial Majesty should confine himself within a just moderation. The said Secretary presses strongly for positive and final decision of the Emperor on these points, that he may convey it immediately to the Court of France and thence to that of London, these two Courts acting, as it is said, in accord with regard to the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy. The issue of this great Spanish and Italian scene is apparently at hand in one way or another. It is certain that the greater part of the ministry and the peoples of the Emperor wish it may be by a speedy settlement. But this does not hinder it being still uncertain if the Emperor will take that decision. People here are not without apprehension that notwithstanding this negotiation and the Regent's demonstrations of friendship towards the Emperor, the former may have a secret understanding with the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy and other Italian princes with a view of dislodging the Emperor from Italy and may throw off the mask when everything shall be in readiness for the execution of this project. But the Regent assures the Emperor strongly of the integrity of his intentions towards him, provided he reciprocates them, and seriously

and without delay decides on the settlement proposed to him. In case this agreement between the House of Austria and that of Bourbon, reigning both in France and Spain, is confirmed, it must be seen if it will not turn sooner or later to the prejudice of the Elector of Hanover, notwithstanding that Prince be the instrument of it, joined with the Regent, who draws him into it, tottering as he is on his throne, and avails himself of him to attain his object of making the Emperor renounce Spain and guarantee his pretensions to the crown of France. Should the Emperor do so, and the affairs of the North should take such a course that the friendship of the Elector should become useless to him, I do not see what could engage his Imperial Majesty to have a great regard for that Prince except the ties of marriage and blood between the Houses of Austria and Brunswick, ties which indeed cause favour enough here towards that Elector, but which may notwithstanding in course of time not prove very solid unless supported by interests. I say the same thing of the Regent, if after this settlement circumstances take such a course as to make that Elector's friendship no longer necessary for his personal interest.

(Argument from the Spanish partition treaty between Louis XIV and the Prince of Orange that sometimes in treaties there are secret views contrary to those that appear on the surface.)

Mr. Schaub gives himself great airs on his gracious reception by the Regent and the conversations between that Prince and himself on the affairs of Europe in general. I imagine to myself that the Regent will have been playing a comedy with that little Swiss baboon (*magot*) metamorphosed into an English minister, as I also imagine to myself he is doing with the Elector and his whole ministry. It is curious that the Court of London employs at that of Vienna two Swiss, namely Messrs. St. Saphorin and Schaub, as instruments for this great work, without Messrs. Stanian and Sutton, the ministers, who are English by birth, having any commission on this subject, and knowing no more of it than what these Swiss think proper to tell them. St. Saphorin has been long a great favourite and confidant of Bernstein and Bothmar and Schaub is his pupil. The latter was recommended by the former as secretary to Mr. Stanian when minister to Switzerland. Since Queen Anne's death, he came here in the same capacity with Mr. (Lord) Cobham, the English minister, and after his departure has remained here, partly alone and partly with Messrs. Stanian and St. Saphorin. At present his regular employment is that of one of the chief secretaries in the Foreign Office in London.

The departure of the Swedish and Russian plenipotentiaries for Abo for the peace conferences is confirmed from everywhere. The Swedish are said to be Baron Lillienstett, Minister of State, and Count Gyllenborg, formerly minister to London, and

the Russian, General Bruss, and Counsellor Osterman. It is added, though not for certain, that there may be no other congress between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties but that of Abo, and that peace is considered certain between them, though its formal conclusion and publication may be delayed a little. It is believed that the Czar has given way about Reval and that the guaranty by the King of Sweden of the succession of the son of the Czar by his second marriage, after the renunciation already made by the eldest son, is to be one of the articles of the peace. There is also advice that his Swedish Majesty was on the point of invading Norway with an army of 30,000 men. Count de la Mark has written this last news with others from Lund, 8 February, to M. Poussin, the French envoy to Hamburg, from which they have been communicated hither. I am not surprised at being still without letters from Sweden, a profound silence usually prevailing at my Court under similar circumstances. When Count Reventlow, Minister of State of Holstein, was here, he used to receive some sometimes from his friend, Baron Görtz, but that is another matter, as this Baron is one of the chief Swedish ministers and the Count is his great friend and relation. It is not yet known for certain if the other allies of the North will be included in the peace, and if so, who they will be, though up to the present King Augustus and the King of Prussia have been spoken of. But what is certain is that they are all eager for peace, and the Elector of Hanover, at least according to appearances, is as strong for it or even more so than any of them, after they see the Czar has made the beginning, and that the King of Sweden is at the head of 70,000 fighting men full of ardour to avenge themselves on those who shall be the last, and to make them pay for his losses.

I humbly repeat my entreaty that you will have the kindness to inform me if you have secret intelligence with any of the Swedish Court and, if so, with whom, in order that, if you have it with any minister, I may address myself confidentially to him on what concerns his Britannic Majesty. You are too intelligent not to perceive that I wish to have this information only for my security in such delicate circumstances and to be better able to serve his Majesty at my Court. I have remarked as well by the letters of Baron Sparre (whose niece I have already informed you a brother of mine in Sweden married) as by what he said to me in 1714, when passing through this place from the Court of Berlin to the congress of Baden, that he is well-affected to his Majesty, but I do not know the state of affairs at my court well enough to be able to judge if the Baron can at present make insinuations in favour of his Majesty, and without knowing this I should not wish to expose my friend to the opposite party. I know from other sources that on his return to Sweden from his

embassy to France he was very graciously received by the King and that he stands very well with him, though I do not know exactly, if and in what manner he takes part in public affairs and on what footing he is with those who are at the helm of those affairs, nor do I at present carry on a regular correspondence with him, and he begged me when embarking at Lübeck for Sweden not to write to him at all on public affairs of a delicate nature, as the letters might by accident fall into wrong hands. Towards the king I have acted as a man of good will for just causes, and one attentive to answer to the confidence placed in me. I have thus used the confidence Mr. Walkingshaw showed to me, and that with which your Excellency has honoured me.

Postscript.—March 19.—The enclosed pieces have just been communicated to me. Though they do not speak of the peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar and those of the allies of the latter, who it is believed will be included in it, namely King Augustus and the King of Prussia, as certain and close at hand, it appears from other sources that it will be made between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties, whatever may happen to the other allies of the North, and I am assured that both the French ambassador in Sweden and the Imperial Resident and the Prussian Envoy at Petersburg have sent word that they are of that opinion, and that, if the King and the Czar agree on another congress, besides that of Abo, it will be only to solemnize the conclusion of the peace and on the part of the Czar to try to have King Augustus and the King of Prussia included in it and to save appearances with regard to his two other allies, the King of Denmark and the Elector of Hanover. After M. Fabrice, the bearer of proposals for peace, set out for Sweden, M. Ducker, a Swedish general formerly Governor of Stralsund, a Danish prisoner, who had the King of Denmark's permission to reside at Hamburg, has just set out suddenly from that place with an English passport, which was given without the knowledge and against the wish of the said king, and, according to what is added, entrusted by the English Resident at Hamburg with proposals for peace later than those of which M. Fabrice is the bearer. This is a step which joined to the mission of M. Fabrice and that of M. Haldan, makes one see how much the Elector finds it his interest to try to thwart the peace between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties, and at the same time the little confidence the allies of the North can have in one another. I am as yet ignorant what these proposals may be, but I hope they come too late to hinder the peace between the King and the Czar to the exclusion of the Elector. I believe it right to inform you of the measures taken by that Prince with this object, and to say that, though they may make some impression on a party in the Swedish Court, yet it appears to me that the serious intention of the Elector is not to restore the Duchies of Bremen and Verden but rather

to gain time, in order to make the King of Sweden lose a favourable and precious opportunity of closing with the Czar, and that it will be very difficult to make the said Prince and his chief minister, Bernsdorf, give up their plan both of establishing by the conquest of the Duchy of Bremen direct communication between Germany and England and of aggrandising himself in Germany and of making himself head of the Protestants there while weakening the Crown of Sweden in that country, which would be the case, even if the Elector should cede Saxe Lauenburg, the Hanoverian district between Mecklenburg and Pomerania, as an equivalent for Bremen, a plan of exchange, which it is said Bernsdorf is intending to suggest to his Swedish Majesty, adding a plan of a union with regard to religion under the pretext of anticipating the consequences which may hereafter result to the prejudice of the Protestant religion from the perpetual establishment of the Catholic religion and of the throne of Poland in the House of Saxony, which is so closely connected by marriage and interests with that of Austria. I have, however, no certain information about these projects.

People continue to say that besides the three foot regiments intended as reinforcements for Naples, for which, it is added, the transports are at last arrived at Fiume and these regiments have sailed or are just sailing from that port (of whom scarcely 5,000 will arrive in that kingdom), the Emperor will soon send to Italy as many troops as he thinks will enable him to act on the defensive till he finds himself in a condition to take the offensive, or till he sees the course the affairs of Europe in general will take, that he may conform his proceedings there to the part to be taken about the affairs of Spain and Italy, whether it be that of war or peace. Considering the Emperor's temper, it is thought most likely he will take that of war, although that is not agreeable to the sentiments and views of the majority of his ministers and peoples, and it is believed that in that case General Guy Staremberg will be commander-in-chief. As he is the declared enemy of both Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy, his choice, if he is chosen, is taken as a sign of the Emperor's resolution to compel, sword in hand, that Prince to submit to him, after he has finished with the Turks. One of the Imperial Court, who is apparently worthy of credit, told me that the Elector of Hanover is meddling in that arrangement in a way which seems but little suitable to his engagements with the Regent, he having lately strongly recommended to the Emperor to endeavour to make that Duke his real friend, adding that he, the Elector, was of opinion that the Emperor's interest demanded it, and that the Duke was inclined to it, provided he found his advantage in it, on which the Emperor is said to have answered in a haughty tone that, when the Duke should first have given substantial proof of his inclination

to attach himself to him and should have restored what he does not legitimately possess, he would then restore him his friendship, but not sooner. The Duke of Lorraine is not neglecting this opportunity of renewing here his claim on Monferrat, which the Emperor maintains the Duke of Savoy has forfeited as well as the part of the Milanese ceded to him on account of his breaches of the treaty made with the Emperor Leopold, and of appealing to his Imperial Majesty upon the promises he has given him after the breaches by the Duke of Savoy of the treaty by which Monferrat was ceded to him, though it belonged by right to the Duke of Lorraine. Notwithstanding the attempts of those who endeavour to bring about an agreement between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, it appears to me they will find it very difficult to succeed, or at least it will be necessary first that the Emperor shall see himself more pressed and shall see before his eyes the storm with which he is threatened. It also appears to me with regard to the Emperor's affairs in general that, notwithstanding the timidity of a part of his ministry under present circumstances, he does not imagine them to be so dangerous as yet, that he may not for a time suspend his decision as to what line he will take. I know not if I am wrong in imagining that, notwithstanding the character the Elector is openly playing with the Regent, he may be playing a different one underhand with the Emperor, that is, he may be trying to keep up the Spanish ideas of the Emperor and to give him hopes of his support, sooner or later, for carrying them out on condition of the Emperor's favouring him in return in his great design of appropriating the Duchies of Bremen and Verden. But it is certain that to that design he finds and will find strong opposition in the Emperor's German ministry and that ministry, far from being inclined to favour him, would gladly see the King of Sweden in a position to oblige him as well as the King of Prussia to restore what both of them have usurped from him, provided that, when making peace with the Czar, he would be willing to make it with King Augustus also and to become the Emperor's good friend. As to the personal ideas of the Emperor as regards the Elector, I imagine they are almost the same as those about the King of Sweden, because it is evidently for his interest with regard to the North. However, I do not believe them the same with regard to the South, and I do not answer that with regard to this last his Imperial Majesty does not continue to imagine that sooner or later he may make use of the Elector, and that this object of temptation, if not soon withdrawn from him, may not at last prevail over the consideration of his interest with regard to the balance of power in the North and over justice.

Mr. Stanian left yesterday to take up his post as ambassador at the Ottoman Court. Mr. Palmer is named to succeed him here, but will not arrive for some months.

Mr. Sutton remains here till the opening of a peace congress between the Roman and the Ottoman Emperors, which depends on the decision of the Porte after Prince Eugene's letter to the Grand Vizier. Meanwhile it is certain that the campaign will be opened by the Imperialists by the main army's marching on Widdin and Nisch in order to fight a pitched battle, should an opportunity present itself, and, if the Imperialists win it, then to march into Macedonia and Albania, and on another side by a detachment to attack the only two strong places which the Turks still have near Hungary, namely, Wihatsch and Zwornik, in order to drive out of the Turks their stiffness since the last campaign and to force them to make peace on the Emperor's terms.

The Cardinal of Saxe Zeitz and Count Wackerbart are arrived here to join Count Lagnasco in pressing the Emperor about the decision to be taken about a marriage between the Electoral Prince of Saxony and an Archduchess. I have notwithstanding reason to believe the Emperor will delay his decision for some time, although the inclination towards that Prince appears to increase among a large party of the Court and that it is probable that he will have at last an Archduchess for his wife. Count Wackerbart has orders to offer the Emperor two foot regiments on the Imperial footing, namely, of 2,300 men each, to be employed in Italy, which it is believed the Emperor will accept.

The Imperial Court persists in asking troops from the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, but that Prince excuses himself since the vexatious decision the Emperor has given him in the affair of Rheinfels, though General Major Boinebourg at his departure from here after that decision had given reason to hope that his Highness would give some. It is, however, not yet certain that he will not give some. People continue to speak of Palatine troops to be employed in the Emperor's service in Italy as also those of the Bishop of Wurzburg. When the Emperor is able and willing to oblige the other Princes of the Empire, he will doubtless have troops in considerable numbers, unless a change of circumstances supervening in the North and in Germany of such a nature, that those Princes partly should believe themselves able to employ their troops elsewhere more to their convenience, and partly should find it necessary for their safety not to deprive themselves of them, should hinder it.

Second Postscript.—Your Excellency may form exact ideas enough of everything known to me about the present situation of the general affairs of Europe. I believe it no longer necessary to write to you except occasionally, leaving the regular correspondence to M. Busi. *French.* 48 *pages. Probably enclosed,*

The Czar to *Prince Dolgorouki, his Ambassador in Poland.*

You are on receipt hereof to represent to the King and his ministers that, as by virtue of our alliance we have always communicated to him all that has passed and has been proposed to us on the part of our enemy, so we promise most faithfully to communicate in future to him every thing that shall come to our knowledge. We therefore order you to inform the King of Poland that Baron Görtz has written from Lund to our minister 29 Nov. last, that, when he arrived, he gave his master an account of our good will and inclination for peace and of his interviews at Loo with Prince Kourakin, our ambassador, that on these representations the King of Sweden had resolved to send ministers to Danzig, as soon as he knew that we accepted that city as the place of congress; which city the Kings of Poland and Prussia had proposed. Thereupon we caused the Baron to be informed that we could not enter on an open negotiation without being assured of his master's sincere intentions for peace by the settlement of the preliminaries, and the King of Sweden, to give proofs of his inclination and good will, having resolved to charge some of his ministers to have an interview in Finland or in the neighbourhood of that province with ours to settle these preliminaries and to give explanations about the reciprocal intentions of their masters, we have therefore granted a commission to James de Bruss, our general of artillery and chancellor, who was already intended to go to Finland to make preparations for the next campaign, to hear the proposals that should be made by the Swedish ministers without entering into any negotiation or treaty with them, but only to report to us in writing. We promise to communicate to the King of Poland all that he shall inform us of, and you are to declare on our part, that we shall never enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace without that king's participation and consent. However, if by the propositions of the Swedish Ministers we shall see a real desire and inclination of their master for peace and that he has determined to send his plenipotentiaries to the appointed place to treat there about a general peace, we shall also name ours for that purpose, and we are persuaded the King of Poland will send his, and, in case the Swedes should wish to go on formally with the general treaty in Finland with us and our allies, we shall inform the King of Poland thereof, not wishing to agree to any treaty with Sweden if his Polish Majesty is not included in it. 1718, *Jan.* 5[–16]. *Moscow. Copy. French.*

Baron de Görtz to *the Comte de Fleming.*

Having reported to the King that, when I saw your Excellency on my journey, you informed me your master would accept

Danzig as one of the places proposed by his Swedish Majesty for a congress for a general peace, and that Baron d'Ilguen had told me as much on the King of Prussia's part, and having added that I had every reason to believe his Czarish Majesty would make no difficulty in agreeing to the said city, his Majesty answered that that method of the negotiation of peace would have no more hindrances and that he was ready on his part to send ministers to Danzig, as soon as the necessary arrangements were made for the security of the ministers on their journey and for that of the city itself. 1717, 29 *Nov. Lund. Copy. French.*

Reply of the Comte de Fleming *to the last.*

I received yesterday yours of 29 *Nov., but have not received those that should have preceded it, and have had no news of your Excellency save what General Major Baron de Besenval has given me.*

I am delighted to find your Excellency continues in our old sentiments regarding the general peace, and still more at what you write on the part of his Swedish Majesty, and should have been able to answer at once on the part of my master, were he in the same situation as the King of Sweden, but you know he has allies, with whom he must communicate. I do not doubt you have informed the mediators of the dispositions of his Swedish Majesty. My master will neglect nothing that may contribute to advance so salutary a work as the general peace. 1718, *Feb.* 23. *Dresden. Copy. French.*

Fanny Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 17. From the country.—I received yours of 19 Feb. and one by the same post from my brother to tell us how favourably and graciously he has been received by our master. He never found himself so happy and so pleased in his life. I wish it does not turn his head with loyalty.

The neighbour (Sparre) has been very kindly received by his master. He is made general of all his foot and is to be plenipotentiary, which, I suppose, you'll not dislike. There's proposals of a peace, which is like to be concluded, if not entirely finished, between the Czar, Sweden, Poland and Prussia, by which England and Denmark will find themselves the dupe. The neighbour ran several risks before he arrived and, to finish all, both his children fell ill of smallpox. He is made up with Görtz.

As for the Doctor (Ilay) your orders shall be obeyed. He shall not be pressed : you misunderstood me entirely when you thought he had a mind to draw secrets from you. It was from ourselves I took the liberty to tell you, when you had something to employ him in, to send us word ; we would put him to the

test. It's true, I believe, he expected to hear from you all this while, but it was in case your affairs were in a condition to give a final stroke. It was owing to what was told him that he perhaps founded that opinion. Some people have made it their study to betray their master. Though he's shy of promising, he's capable of no villainy, and is not of that number. The *Gazettes* will show you how he acts. He could easily have kept well with *King George*, had he had a mind, and is still in their power to do it. You say much more ought to be expected from him before he's trusted. You know no occasions have happened. If your friends entirely disapprove of his being amongst you, it's easy leaving him there. When you think him of use to you, you'll send us word. I wish he may be in the same humour he's in now.

There has been a promotion of Lieut.-Generals and *Maréchals du Camp*. M. de Belle-isle, the son, is one. They say there will not be one of Maréchals de France, which all the ancient Lieut.-Generals are sorry for. *Two pages.*

Sir H. Paterson to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 17.—I wrote to you 10 and 22 of last month, acknowledging the receipt of two of yours. I sent these two by the same route. That through Ger[man]y is certainly by much the nearest, if it's a sure direction. You have had, I hope, a full account from *Jerningham* of what he has done where he was. That affair seems now entirely to depend on the bargain betwixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*. *Jerningham* arrived here last night and is to be to-night with *Prince Kurakin* and some others at *the Hague*, so by next post you shall have an account on what foot things are like to go. The enclosed being this morning sent me from *London* I would not delay forwarding it by this post. It is expected the Parliament will be up this week, and I suppose the Court will endeavour to get rid of them as soon as they can. The Mutiny Bill has passed the House of Lords though with a good deal of opposition, there being 81 to 77 on the main question, which is but a small majority. Those that opposed the bill have entered a protest, they say in very high terms. I hope to send it you in my next. There has not been such a hot debate nor such freedom of speech in that House this great while, and the Court did not pretend to answer the arguments of the opposition. They only said that it was the necessities of the government that required it, and called for the question. We are told letters are all now opened at the posthouse, and they are everywhere on the catch to see what handle they can find, for indeed they very much want something of that kind at present. We make no great haste here with our fleet, though very much pressed to it by the E[nglish] minister, and it's still believed by many that no ships will go out from these parts at present. The English fleet are getting ready, but they say are designed chiefly

for the Mediterranean, and only a few to be sent to the Baltic. 1½ *page.*

The Duke of Mar to Sir H. Paterson.

1718, March 17.—Since I wrote to you the 5th and 6th by way of Germany and the 11th by way of France, I have very little to say further than the enclosed will tell you. After perusal, seal and deliver it.

We are longing much to hear from *Ormonde.* The last news I had from *Vienna* of *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* was very good, but I long for the certainty of those and other matters from *Ormonde.* Your friend *the King* is very well and desires me to make his compliments to you and other friends with you. *Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Stewart of Innernity.

1718, March 17.—Last night Sir Peter arrived and gave me yours with the roll of drafts. I owe you a great many thanks for all your trouble about this commission. I do not doubt of your having taken the best information you could get about the architect, and to speak of his performances there must be a free Parliament and liberty of speech. I never was so disappointed in any thing of the kind. With a good deal of pain and not without muttering some curses I brought myself to look over the drafts and examine them for an hour attentively. All I can say of them is that he has made a goose pie of my plan and on it raised a modern Gothick superstructure of an order of his own, impracticable in a great many things and drawn without care or exactness. He has lost the spirit of the whole thing, and it cannot but make one regret the degeneracy of the present Romans from the old in their architecture, as well as in other things, though they have so many living monuments still in being to copy after, but they will be originals forsooth, and leave the example, which 'tis impossible to better, and all its noble simplicity for trifling gimcrack insignificant ornaments, worthy of nobody but Vanbruge, and, when a bungler of a Scotch architect, who has in a manner seen nor read nothing in that way, finds it so, what must one of a right taste do? I beg you to let me know the fellow's name, that I may put a mark on him, to be avoided by all our acquaintances. It looks as if he were conscious of his own insufficiency by his not putting his name on the drafts. It is likely they have been done by some of his scholars, but, had he a good manner, so would they. I have been told formerly of one at Rome, who endeavours to pass for a great architect and has not been without his admirers, who affects all singularities and making things the reverse of all that went before him. I have a strong fancy this blade is he. It is no wonder that Italian said to you that any body was more capable to do the elevations than he who had them, but I will have done with scolding at this scrub great architect and come next to what you have

paid him, which I really think too small, considering how many drawings there are, and bad designs take as much trouble and time as good. You will hardly though, after what I have said, give him any more. I shall repay you at meeting, or, if you want it sooner, you may give a bill on the man Sir William E[llis] deals with there on me. You must not take any share to yourself in what I said of the architect, you could do nothing but by the information you had, and, since he was employed by the College of Cardinals &c., it was reasonable for you to have a good opinion of him.

I thought to have been with you at Rome before this, but some business we are expecting still detains me here, and 'tis likely it will do so till the end of this month or the beginning of next, when I intend certainly to see Rome. Should better business happen in the meantime to call *Mar* elsewhere, I believe both he and you would dispense with your seeing him then, but I fear that will scarce be so soon, and it would be a grating thing to be so long near Rome and not to see it.

Pray tell Lord Southesk that ere long he will hear of a convincing proof of those people he used not to like having much meddling, having less than ever, and next to none at all, which is all I can say of it now, and this only to yourselves. It is not the worse either that they have brought this on themselves.

Sir Peter is to leave this in a few days and Mr. Sheldon goes with him to look after some of his affairs in France on the death of Flanagan, his correspondent or money man ; and Lord Edward goes soon after. Nobody knows yet of my going to Rome nor do I intend they should till I be just going.

We were very well entertained at Fano, where the operas were excellent, and our master is become a great liker of the Italian music. There were three very good voices there, and two more not bad. One of the first is now here with us and another is to come soon, and we have got a good deal of music wrote out. There's to be a toping opera at Bologna in May, where I believe the King may go, if better business do not happen sooner.

I had finished my elevations of the house I wrote you of much like or almost the same with this, before I had your drafts. You shall see them when we meet and I venture to say they can bide the test, having the Maison Carrée for my pattern. 4½ *pages. Copy.*

J. Menzies to L. Inese.

1718, Thursday, March 6[–17].—Five Dutch mails are due to-morrow so we have but scraps of your Paris news. Your *Gazette* has never anything new, and your written letter is precarious at best and is often also altered here.

I send you this night's *Evening Post*, because of a remarkable story in it of the trial of Shepherd. The relation is so near the truth that I need make no alteration. He is but 17, which is very young to be fond of martyrdom in this corrupted country.

The Court carries everything in Parliament. This day they have passed the bill in the House of Peers by 7 majority and as it came from the Commons in relation to the Commissioners for forfeited estates &c. Sir David Dalrymple rails now at the Union he was so sanguine for, and says that the Lords of Session may now shut up their doors. They were on it from 1 to 9, warm debates and high words. But words are but wind, and the various circumstances are not worthy of your knowledge.

Of the Commons most of the Tories are gone out of town and even some of the Whigs. As to the Prince's submission and the changes to be we have abundance of reports but no certainty yet.

Most people talk of the Parliament's rising next week, but there are several of another opinion and that there are new fish to fry.

Sixteen men-of-war that were ready are to go immediately to the Baltic. We rely on the Regent's word, to be as vigorous as we to bring the King of Spain to reason.

JAMES *MURRAY* to *LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.*

1718, March 6[–17]. London.—I had yours of the 9th. N.S. and am in some measure pleased that *the Jacobites have* so long delayed *their* coming to town, whatever may be *their* reasons, because the agreement, which I suppose may be a part of *their* business, is already universally known. Whether *King George* has received the same accounts or in what manner it comes to be so, I will not take on me to determine. *The King's* projects for carrying on the trade gain at this time the approbation of a greater number of new people than at any time I ever remember. This proceeds from many different causes, one of which is that *the Prince of Wales*, who opposed him, is now utterly despised by almost everybody.

It is the universal opinion that his Majesty will go for Hanover as soon as the Parliament is up, but whither the Prince will submit so far as to go along with him is still a question. It is talked that Lord Sunderland is to be at the head of the Treasury, and Lord Stanhope to return to the Secretary's office in order to accompany the King to Germany and to wait on him during his stay there.

Pray let *Mar* know that the two gentlemen I formerly mentioned to him are now very near ripe for his project, if they could see their way through it. They have entirely detached themselves from the last company they were engaged in, and are in everything proposed to *the Parliament* by *the King's* friends strongly and entirely with them. The eldest goes soon to his estate in the North, and one can hardly believe that a man of his temper goes there for nothing. I have told by such hands as I can't well tell either how to believe or disbelieve that *the King* is by this time at his old habitation in the country. This report too, whether true or false, has got into too many hands. 1½ *page.*

Lord Orrery to *James III.*

1718, March 6[–17].—Upon the same subjects as are discussed more at length in his following letter to Mar.

Lord Orrery to *the Duke of Mar.*

1718, March 6[–17].—I have yours of 11 Feb. with one enclosed from *the King*, whose affairs since my last letter, as far as I can judge, are at least in as good a posture as they were. "*King George* continues to do him great service by his vile ways of acting and *the Prince of Wales*, if I am not much mistaken, by some late steps he has taken has ruined his credit to that degree that the merchants here care as little to have any dealings with him as with *King George* himself. The hopes you express of getting two substantial merchants to join with you may probably by this time be turned into a certainty, and, if right measures are taken, they two alone may be able to carry on the trade successfully, but it were to be wished that *the Regent* could be brought into it. That would make everything sure, and I should think all sorts of methods should be used to prevail upon him. He may perhaps have some diffidence of that good inclination towards the trade that is reported to be pretty general here, or rather I think he must have some scruple upon that account, for, however his domestic affairs may be yet unsettled, if he did not doubt whether the merchants in general were so well-disposed as is pretended, he could not hesitate one moment whether he should vigorously assist them, his own interest would be visible in it and he could not but see that no other project could in probability so easily and so certainly establish him and put him almost beyond a possibility of ever failing in any other project he shall ever form hereafter. To open his eyes in this matter, could it not be contrived that some merchant from hence might go to him and lay before him the condition of affairs here? if that were resolved upon it must be done with great caution, it must be a merchant of good reputation and great knowledge in the present circumstances of business here, one that *the Regent* can have a confidence in as well as one that can have some confidence in *the Regent*, for it will not only be troublesome but may be hazardous to the person that undertakes it, I mention this only as what were to be wished. I have but little hopes that a person willing and qualified for such an enterprise can easily be found, besides it might draw the affair into great length, which in my opinion is with the utmost care to be avoided, for there is so much corruption here amongst the merchants of all kinds, that it is to be apprehended, if there is not a near prospect of *the King's* success, several may soon be induced for profit to fall in with *King George*, who are not at present well inclined to him. I am sensible it is not in *the King's* power to push his business as fast perhaps as he himself must think it necessary, but I hint this, that there may at least

be no remissness in forwarding it as much as possible, and I cannot but believe that it would be right to try to open the trade with the assistance of those two substantial merchants you mention, even though *the Regent* could not be brought into the scheme of doing it. Measures well concerted here would, I am persuaded, carry the point, if a little French wine (troops) could once be safely set on shore here, though I do agree that to make the matter sure the more of that commodity can be landed here the better. There cannot be too much said nor done, indeed, to give satisfaction about *the King's religion.* That is an engine that his enemies make great use of against him and that his friends too have some uneasiness about. His alliance with *the Czar's* family, which we hope here is near concluded, may be an argument on his behalf upon this head. I wonder, if it be so forward, that neither you nor *the King* mention one word of it to me.

" You may depend, I think upon the good disposition of *the Duke of Argyle* and his friend. The last has of late spoken to me with more frankness than ever upon the subject and thinks that he has more than ordinary reason to detach himself from *King George* and *the Prince of Wales*, but I find he is concerned lest more assistance should be expected from him than is really consistent with his own security, or indeed necessary for the promoting the trade. I believe this uneasiness proceeds from a style of talking used to him by *James Murray*, but I am glad you have already taken care in this affair, for certainly it is of consequence that people should not think too much would be expected from them, and I could wish that I might have authority from *the King* to say to *the Duke of Argyle* and his friend particularly (and indeed to any other person where I should think it proper), that they might choose to promote the trade in their own way, and that *the King* would expect nothing from them against their inclinations or interest, and that they might be assured of a grateful acknowledgement from him of all their services in whatever way they should choose to serve him. I should be glad to receive some commission of that kind soon, as I should to be acquainted with more particulars concerning the trade than are either in *the King's* letter or yours, because nothing will induce people more to come into it than to see a probability of its success and nothing can show that but the particulars of the scheme and the manner of carrying it on. I wish too you would let me know what you mean by saying that *the Duke of Argyle* and his friend have it in their power to do more good than they are aware of. *The Parliament* will now in a few days be dismissed. It has done a great many vile things which will disgust many and probably be for the service of the trade. I am much concerned that *the King* and you reside at such a distance; it occasions such a slowness of correspondence as is of infinite disadvantage. I know you will remedy it as soon as you can and therefore I need say no more upon it." 4 *pages.*

JAMES III to the GOVERNOR OF FANO.

1718, March 17. Urbino.—Thanking him for his letter with the airs of the operas of Milan, and availing himself of the opportunity to thank him also for all the marks of his zeal and affection towards him during his short stay in his government, and asking to express his sentiments to the Gonfalonier and all the rest of the noblesse of Fano for their behaviour to him. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 232.

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1718, March 17. Urbino.—Nominating to the vacant see of Elphin Carbery O'Kelly, D.D., Dean and formerly Vicar-General of Elphin, who is strongly recommended by the whole chapter and by the gentry of the diocese and also by the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel. *Latin. Ibid. p.* 233.

JAMES III to CARDINAL IMPERIALI.

1718, March 17. Urbino.—Enclosing the above letter of nomination and requesting him to support it. *French. Ibid.*

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 18. Montargis.—Since your letter which I acknowledged as also one from Card.Gualterio very gracious but nothing to the purpose, you may believe me I was not born to beg. Possibly, when my case is publicly known, the merciless usurper may have that passive compassion to let me breathe in my native air. If he destroys me, I shall have less reason to complain than of the merciless country I am in that, after the services we have rendered them, allow us to starve and refuse us protection. I saw our circumstance ever since they sent us to Ireland to blow our fingers. I was twice wounded in their service at Maestricht and at Philipsburg. At Maestricht I was taken prisoner but by the Duke of Monmouth's interest released, in whose regiment I was captain. Had not the late King, my master, projected me for his service in England, I had been as well posted in France as either Gen. Dorrington or Sheldon, who was a cornet in Sir Henry Jones' regiment when I was a captain. I was early sacrificed to our present master in his minority by him who steered his interest as well as he did his father's, when he deserted him at Salisbury, because he would not obey his orders to furnish Portsmouth &c. with all necessaries alleging it was too late. I had this from the late king's own mouth. Oppression will make any man complain, but after two years suffering misery forced for bread to sell the necessaries I had, though the conjuncture was rude, I am sure her Majesty would never have thought to have put me on the footman's pension, had not my enemy done me this favour, and the many sharp provocations he has procured me since the late King's death have never furnished him with any thing to charge me with.

My last suit was, till my pension should be paid, to be protected from my debts.—Refused. Without some succour I must perish and perhaps in a gaol or quit the country. Since the June before the King parted for Scotland, when by Sir T. Higgons what my friends proposed was laid before his Majesty being rebutted, I made the answer that was given me.

By a late letter I have an account of the Northern late alliances against George. He further tells me that the difference between the father and supposed son is irreconcilable and both make parties and divide the Whigs, but that there are great endeavours to unite for a commonwealth, that the war with Spain will be a subject for enquiry into the secret negotiations with the Emperor, on which handle the Parliament will find George has broke faith with them and the conditions on which he usurped the crown. He adds that without a foreign force the King's friends will never unite or venture, which in England they doubt not will be brought to pass, that the commonwealth party will suffer no raising of troops on any pretext whatever. A house thus divided cannot long subsist. 3 *pages.*

T. Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 19.—Lord Southesk sets out for Naples to-morrow having a passport and letters of recommendation to the Vice-King. I hope to go there next week with my brother. (Recommending a Frenchman, Monsr. Defeau, who is at present the Pope's surgeon but designs to leave.) There is great talk here of the Spanish fleet, but nothing positive.

Fanny Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 19.—We have to-day received a letter—but, as he speaks only of his own affairs, it's needless to send it. It's not wonderful he has not sent the little book (cipher) he spoke of, since his time and thoughts have been entirely taken up with a very sensible trouble. His wife has made her escape from his mother and is arrived at London and has sworn the peace against him and her. He has been forced to give in 18,000*l.* bail to commit no violence against her. She is pursuing him in Doctors' Commons for a separate maintenance. All his enemies assist her. You may imagine how thoroughly he's vexed to be linked to such a woman and so used, but why did he take her, or why did he not keep her with him? It is a pitiful revenge in his enemies to increase their division. The same post tells us that *Bolingbroke* and *Berwick* is making up with *the King*. The Wh[ig]s endeavour to spread the story. The *Prince of Wales* has sold the Duke of Beaufort's house and bought the poor Duke of Ormonde's at Richmond of Lord Grantham. They talk of the Parliament's being up and George's going to Hanover immediately after.

The divisions between the father and son are more increased than ever. I hope you are entirely recovered. Methinks bad wine has a worse effect on you than bad water. We go next week to Paris.

The Duke of Mar to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, March 19.—The day after my writing to you by Freebairn I had yours of 21 Feb., and to-day I have yours of 28 Feb., but what was enclosed are not yet all deciphered, therefore this is only to acknowledge it.

(Rectifying a mistake of Dillon's about a paragraph in Mar's of 5 Feb. where he had thought Elmore *i.e.* the Emperor was written and not Aylmer *i.e.* Argyle.) *Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Ogilvie of Boyne

1718, March 19.—Apologizing for his delay in answering his letter of 4 Jan., thanking him for his New Year's good wishes and condoling with him on the loss of his son and his lady, on which the King also sends his condolence.

You certainly had a very honest meaning in giving me an account of that idle story about Mr. Arbuthnot. His character is better established and of an older date than to be called in question on any such trifling story. *Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Fotheringham of Powrie.

1718, March 19.—Concerning his letter of 15 Feb. enclosing one from Albarr (Auldbar, *i.e.* Young of Auldbar), to whom had been ordered 60 *livres* a month, which is what is given to other gentlemen of his rank.

If those who have pensions be not punctually paid, it is occasioned only by the want of money, what the King and Queen used to get, having been for some time very ill-paid and a great arrear of it owing.

I am sorry of your account of your own affair and do not at all doubt the people you mention doing all they can to stop anything that can make any of the King's people easy. We see in the news one of your name taken up in London. I hope it is not my friend David. *Two pages. Copy.*

T. Bruce to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 19. [Received at Urbino.] Brussels.—Yours of 15 Jan. was very welcome. It relieved us of our fears on a second report of *the King's* illness and likewise of some of your being indisposed. As to the former report of *the King's* illness, we had been undeceived long ago, and, observing that our accounts of it were very positive and after all without the least foundation, I had some jealousy that it was spread industriously. I judged that *King George's* friends, imagining that *the King's* credit might be in some measure a midcoupling in a bargain betwixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, thought this might make a seasonable demur in that affair at a critical juncture, for

which reason I wrote to *Sir H. Paterson* to signify the truth to *the Czar's* and *the King of Sweden's* factors, which he accordingly did, and they made the proper use of it, in acquainting their friends. As to Charles [Kinnaird] he bid me not write to him till he should send me a direction, but I have never heard from or of him but that he is in Scotland.

The use of the paper you left with *Mr. Inese* I believe is over, because I suppose the merchants for whom it was calculated have taken their plies. By what Col. Gi[bs]on told me of those two gentlemen in *the Emperor's* family and also of *Walkingshaw* I judged they opened themselves pretty much to him. His character is none of the most firm, but his uncle and he are not on speaking terms.

Mr. Ca[mpio]n has been at Charleville for six weeks He goes for Paris in ten days. I have given him your compliments. What *Mar* has said to *the King* touching *T. Bruce* himself is amongst the many obligations he can never forget.

Mr. Falconbridge will be taken up about his affairs hereabouts for some time but, if any extraordinary occasion offers, he will be ready to make a visit to his friend, from whom he had a letter, telling him he will in a short time come up on purpose to make him a visit.

I suppose you have news from better hands. The unfortunate divisions at our Court still increase and it seems too plain that the accident touching the Duke of Newcastle was not the cause of a new quarrel but only a symptom of an old one, and the demands of reparation being so vastly beyond the proportion of the fault or rather entirely foreign to the nature of the injury, the last excepted, it is to be feared there is no disposition to have it made up. We are now told that the 12 judges, except Pryce and Eyres, have given their opinion that the King has by law a right to take the grandchildren into his care, as also that the King sent to the Prince, desiring he would waive his claim to the Regency in case himself was obliged to go abroad, which being rejected, the opinion of the same judges was asked, but all gave it that by the law and custom of England the heir apparent, if of age, must be Regent. These seem to be very odd steps and, if you join this last proposition to the four I last wrote of, one would think that by the first two demands the King looks on the Prince as an innocent not able to govern his own family, by the third that he must make himself infamous by betraying his friends and by this last that he designs either to be a Jacobite or an Usurper.

It seems now uncertain if the King goes this year to Hanover. He is chosen Governor of the South Sea Company. Some limitations or other legal impediments lay in the way and therefore a bill is brought in to qualify him. The Prince was put in the list with his father, but, so soon as he was informed of it, he excused himself to the company. The Duke of Shrewsbury is dead.

The Emperor has actually got 130,000*l.* in name of arrears owing in England, but as to the other matters of executing the Defensive Alliance of May, 1716, it is believed the Parliament will make difficulty in it. They talk of a squadron for the Baltic under the command of Sir G. Byng, and another to the Mediterranean under Sir John Jennings, and for that purpose to propose an augmentation to the 10,000 seamen already appointed, but nothing of that kind has yet been offered to the Parliament, though the King was in the House the other day, where he passed some bills without making any speech.

I believe you will find some difficulty from the public prints to make an uniform conjecture touching the resolutions of the Dutch on their naval equipments. The resolution is taken but first some of the deputies still stand out against it, and the Amsterdammers talk of making up the quotas, and in the next place the intention of this equipment as well as the number of ships and time of sailing is somewhat in the dark. Generally speaking they give out that it is to protect their commerce in the Baltic, and, if so, it's much to be feared that our friends, the Danes, may be as much if not more straitened by that squadron as our enemies, the Swedes, especially considering that of late the Swedes have offered a free trade in the Baltic to all neutrals, provided the Danes do the same, and there have been some conferences on that head of late betwixt the Pensionary and the Swedish and Danish ministers. We are told also that Mr. Chateauneuf has asked the States whether they are to employ that squadron against the Swedes, and they avoided giving a positive answer, till they should have their Resident, Rumph, re-admitted to the Court of Sweden, an obstacle which can be easily taken off. This seems to agree with what I wrote before to you 30 Dec. and 4 Jan. The former post we had the Czar sick and dead, but the last shows there was no sort of ground for it, and says this report appears to have been spread on purpose to disorder some negotiations the Czar had on foot. This paragraph is in the *Amsterdam Gazette* and they write from Holland that Prince Kurakin, who was then at Amsterdam, caused it to be so inserted. 3 *pages*.

CHARLES FORBES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 20. Paris.—I delayed answering your letter till I should get the return of a letter to Scotland which is not yet come. I render you my humble thanks for my commission. I only spoke to Mr. Innes as a friend anent my subsistence, before I had your letter, and never spoke to any before or since. My law process has cost me a great deal of trouble and charges and is not yet ended. As soon as it is, I shall acquaint you and be ready to reimburse what I owe. I desired Maurice Murray to write to his brother about the horse.

All those who daily come from England agree that the nation was never more ready to favour any design for the

King than now and several here complain of your Grace's staying in Italy, when you could be of more use here. Others say they will suspend saying anything till May pass and then they'll speak freely. But I find at bottom few of them are your real friends, not Dillon himself. Lord Panmure and Dr. Blair came here last night.

Postscript.—As I was closing this, Barrowfield came in and desired me plainly to tell you that Gen. Dillon never could be got at home and will plainly by his negligence and want of sense lose the King's interest.

C. Forman Macmahon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 20. Versailles. About the middle of last month I acquainted the King and your Grace with my visit to Mr. Pulteney. I now beg to trouble you on my own account. My circumstances through the unfair usage I met with from some people with whom I trusted part of the little fortune I had left do not permit me to remain any longer with my family, so I am under an absolute necessity of separating from them to endeavour to get a subsistence in some foreign service, while I leave the pension their Majesties allow me towards the support of my wife and two daughters in some convent. I must leave my three sons to the courtesy of some relations in Ireland. I entreat your favour and assistance and that you will move his Majesty to confirm the pension of 45 *livres* a month to my wife in my absence. My thoughts are at present turned towards Spain, which, I believe, is likely to afford the greatest scene of action. Could I dare ask his Majesty's recommendation to that Court, the Queen, I believe, would make no difficulty to second it by a letter to the Queen of Spain. If recommendations cannot be granted, the continuing the pension to those I leave behind will be a very great favour and relief to them. 4 *pages.*

Monsignor Ercole Marliani to [David Nairne].

1718, March 20. Fano.—Desiring that the King would recommend him to Cardinal d'Adda and Cardinal Gualterio for the governorship of Ancona. *Italian.*

The Duke of Ormonde to [Lieut.-General Dillon].

1718, March 20.—I received yours of 4 Feb. last post. *Ormonde* is very glad that *Queen Mary* approves of what he has done concerning *Sir H. Stirling* and hopes it will have the desired effect. *Ormonde* received a letter from *Sir H. Stirling* of 10 Feb., of which I sent a copy to *Dillon* in mine of the 27th. This is all I have heard concerning *Dr. Erskine.* I wish *Sir H. Stirling* may give a satisfactory account of the young gentleman (*i.e.* the Czar's daughter).

I expect *Jerningham's* comrade every day. I believe before this that *Jerningham* is with *Queen Mary* or that he has informed her of his arrival at Lübeck with an account of what

he has done in settling the trade. *Ormonde* knows nothing of his transactions, nor should he, till he saw Jerningham's companion.

I have received a letter from *the King* enclosed in *Dillon's*. The subject is indeed new to *Ormonde*. What *Dillon* answered for *Ormonde* was very right and I am sure that *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* have had not the least thought of what seems to be suspected. I am sure *the Bishop* will clear this matter and the messenger that is thought to be in fault.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 20.—"My last letters from Paris brought me an account of Jerningham's negotiation, which I think he has performed extremely well on his side. I own I am not much surprised with the success he has met with, and, to judge impartially on the matter, I must needs say I think the King of Suedland has acted the only prudent part for him, considering his present circumstances, and one cannot call it an unkind part towards me, since it is manifest he can never effectually help me without being previously made up with the Czar and his frank and open way of proceeding with me does sufficiently show that it is the power and not the will that he wants to befriend me. But enough on this, since Jerningham will have been with you before this and have informed you of all. The point now is to compass the so much desired union and for that end I think nothing ought to be neglected, and I so much approve what the Queen acquaints me she was to write to you in relation to money that I send you here enclosed a letter for Dr. Erskine to re-inforce yet more the powers you already have and which makes it useless for me to condescend upon any particular sum, since that must be determined by you according as you find convenient or necessary. I am sure you will neglect nothing on your side to bring about this happy union and I cannot think of any thing that ought to be refused or ought not to be promised for to bring it about. I hope in God there will be no question of money for the present. Cardinal Albani gives still some hopes of getting some from the Pope, but I own sincerely to you, I despair of it myself. From Spain I have had the following answer '*Nondum advenit plenitudo temporis*, a little time more and it will be seen that proper measures will be taken to serve him.' This is, you see, a little upon the oracle style, though it cannot be taken in a bad sense, and authorizes me to continue to use my most pressing solicitations on that side.

"The person I sent a wife-hunting into Germany is not yet returned, though I expect him daily, and with more impatience a return from you about *the Czar's* daughter, since I find by *Dillon* that you had received my letter on that subject. That affair is not yet come such a length as that I could mention it to the Doctor, and besides, if the young Princess in question

be so very young, why might not some of the Czar's nieces be thought of ? I have heard a very good character in all respects of one and I wish you would have all of them enquired about, for, considering that, whether with the one or the other, the alliance would be of equal advantage and that the great disproportion of age betwixt the daughter and me would make the preference of a niece no slight, I see no politic reason can hinder me from making the character and person of one or the other determine my choice. I leave it to your prudence to manage these matters either with the Doctor or elsewhere as you think fit, and to your zeal the losing of no time towards enabling me to conclude what in general all my friends so much desire. The great advantages of an alliance with the Czar are very visible and there never could be any objection against it but in respect to Suedland, and that now ceases, since the last declares that his befriending me depends on an union with the other, which, considering its present circumstances, must totally destroy whatever jealousy might before have been taken on such an alliance.

" Pray let Sheridan know how pleased I am with his behaviour in his last journey, and deliver the enclosed to Jerningham, which he well deserves of me.

" Sheldon is gone to Paris for a few months to look after his affairs on poor Flanagan's death, and Duke of Mar is going to Rome for two or three weeks. We are in daily expectation of the Spanish fleet's coming on our opposite coast, which is all the news I can send you from hence." I reve on a merry meeting at Petersburg and do often please myself with the thoughts of being there soon with you. *Copy.*

Postscript in James' hand.—" Jerningham will be sure to mention to you what passed in relation to money, but as to that in the first place I have none now to offer, and in the second, though we had, on the footing things are now in as to Sweden, I think it would be improper and useless to make any offer of that kind, till Sweden is determined to assist me, and then new conjunctures must determine what is fit to be done, and in the meantime I am doing my best with Spain to get it in my power to offer or grant any thing of that nature." $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pages.*

James III to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, March 20. Urbino.—This is only to enclose the power I thought necessary to leave dormant in your hands. The bearer wants not a long letter, being informed of most of my affairs except *the Czar marriage* (*i.e.* the Russian marriage). He promises to join me as soon as his affairs allow him and I shall be always glad to have him about me. Pray take care this order by any accident may not fall into other hands. God grant you may be long without the want of producing it. *At foot,*

It is my intention that in case of the Queen's death (whom God long preserve), that Lieut.-General Dillon and Mr. Dicconson shall be witnesses to the sealing up of all her papers and see them consigned in a proper place till my further order, notwithstanding any previous contrary order to that effect.

It is also my intention that in the above-mentioned case Lieut.-General Dillon should open my letters to the Queen, all except such as have written on them To the Queen alone, and these to keep till my furhter order.

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON.

1718, March 20.—As for seeing the King of Sicily in your passage, I think you should by no means avoid it nor officiously seek it. If you see him, you can alone judge of what to say to him, that depending on his discourse. He will certainly speak of marriage. You may tell him in general you know I am about it and intent on it, and say also in general on my affairs what occurs, but nothing of what I was saying to you about *the King's* having hopes of going to *the Czar's* house.

You must not forget to speak of the great esteem &c. I have of him, but I believe he'll like it better to have no direct compliment made from me, and you must be sure to take no notice of what he said to Booth and yet less of his having begun a correspondence with me, though 'tis fit you should know it. If you see the Queen, you may make her compliments from me.

You'll take no notice to *Dillon* of my letters to *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Ormonde* about himself, but you cannot say too much of my kindness and confidence, and, if he has any uneasiness on that score or *Mar's*, you will endeavour to remove it, knowing as you do our behaviour towards him. Say nothing to *Inese* of details as to himself, but, as I don't desire his removal from business should be thought a disgrace, so I am far from hindering you from using all the civilities to him you think fit.

I am in some apprehension that some late letters of mine may not prove very agreeable to *Queen Mary*, and that *she* may be under some uneasiness whether in relation to my religion or as to *Mar's* doing *Queen Mary* or Catholics hurt with me. You know best what to say as to my own particular, and I believe *she* doth not want your word to be satisfied as to my duty to *her*, but as to *Mar* I must say I never yet found a Protestant so reasonable as to religious matters nor anybody more unwilling to hurt anybody with me, or who has a truer duty for *Queen Mary*, of all which I have had instances which prove them sufficiently. If it comes in your way to do either *Mar* or me, if needful, justice, I am sure you will do it, but you must be sure to take no notice of my having mentioned any of these matters to you, and therefore only speak on those heads as *Queen Mary* gives you way for it.

I shall be glad to hear directly from yourself and shall not fail to acquaint you with my motions. I hope your health will allow of your soon joining me again.

I believe your leaving Italy at this time will give to some a handle of different discourse, but I think neither of us need much regard it. 3 *pages*. *Holograph*.

W. Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 21. Paris.—About the receipt and dispatch of letters.—The Duke of Gordon has procured privy seals for Lesendrum, Drum and John Gordon Cluny, and the first is already gone for London.

Mr. Dalmahoy to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 21. Brussels.—I had your Grace's with the melancholy account of the death of my poor cousin, which goes very near me, losing so good a friend, so kind a relation and the King so good a subject, yet nothing shall ever make me do any thing contrary to his Majesty's commands or prejudicial to his interest, so I beg he will do in it as he in his wisdom thinks fit. That misfortunate gentleman shall make no honourable advances to me, but what shall be acceptable.

Count J. H. de Gazola to David Nairne.

1718, March 21. Piacenza.—By your letter of the 6th and by the Count of Castelblanco, who passed by here a few days ago on his way to France, I was delighted to hear of the King's good health and that he had enjoyed his little journey to Fano.

By my last letter I told you that his Serene Highness, my master, had offered Mr. Butler a cadet's place in his Irish Guards, which he declined, but having spoken again to his Serene Highness, he has given him a supernumerary place of reformed officer in this garrison, and, when there shall be any opening for his advancement, I shall not forget him.

As to English news you have doubtless heard of the deaths of the young Prince George William and of the Duke of Shrewsbury. The quarrel between the father and son always continues. In the lower chamber the party against the Court increases every day, and it is believed the Parliament is going to be dissolved.

In three or four days another detachment of Imperial infantry will pass through this state, marching from the Milanese into the Luneggiana.

Hitherto there is little appearance of a peace or truce with the Turk and the Court of Vienna is preparing for the campaign.

As regards our Italy you see the crisis is imminent. In a few weeks we shall be in a position to judge of our lot, either for war or peace. The result of the extraordinary missions from

the Courts of France and England to Vienna and Madrid with plans for an agreement will soon be known. I do not expect a result favourable to peace. *French.*

MEMORANDUM for SIR PETER REDMOND.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—At Paris you are to discourse with Mr. Dillon of the affair recommended to you about purchasing those goods in Spain. In your way to Spain you are to endeavour to see Lord Tullibardine and Glendarule, if they be near your road, and deliver Lord Tullibardine's letter to him, who will be able to give you some accounts of the steps already taken as to those goods. You must of necessity see Brigadier Campbell and Clanranald at Bayonne or wherever they are thereabouts, and, after delivering the letter to the Brigadier, you are to discourse with them about the goods, see the patterns they have, and get all the other information about them and the steps already taken by them in that business, and concert with them what is further to be done in it. From Madrid you are to correspond with Brigadier Campbell about the further procedure in this affair, in which you are to act in concert and to let me know what advance is made in it, and inform Mr. Dillon of the same, that he may get the money for purchasing the goods remitted to you.

The DUKE OF MAR to the MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—Referring him to what has been written to Brigadier Campbell and hoping that Sir Peter will be very useful in that affair. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to BRIGADIER CAMPBELL.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—The bearer, Sir Peter Redmond, the King has confidence in. His ordinary residence is at Lisbon, but he is now going to Spain about some of his own affairs, and the King, thinking he will be able, as it were on his own account, to get an allowance or connivance for purchasing those goods which were recommended to your care, more easily than if it were known to be on his Majesty's, has thought fit to employ him in it. He is to go by Paris and Bayonne so will have occasion to see you and Clanranald as he passes and perhaps *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule.* You are therefore to show him the pattern and give him an account of all the steps *Barry* and you took about them and after his being at Madrid you are to keep a correspondence with him and act in concert as you and he find will conduce most to the affair in question. *Copy.*

MEMORANDUM.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—Of a payment for a large port papier to keep the Duke's drafts in.

JAMES III to ANTOINE DAVID, painter in Rome.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—Appointing him to be one of his painters. *Two drafts. There is also a copy in Entry Book* 5, *p.* 77.

JAMES III to the GONFALONIER and PRIORS OF FANO.

1718, March 21.—Thanking them for their letter of the 18th and for all the demonstrations of zeal and affection he had received from them and all the noblesse of Fano during his stay there, of which he had informed the Pope through Cardinal Gualterio. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 234.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 22. Paris.—Above I send a copy of what you wrote me about the allowance of a servant for taking care of his Majesty's letters. I may say 800 *livres* a year is the least that such a servant can be maintained for. What Mr. Dicconson says in his letter to Sir W. Ellis is in some sense very true that I have had a good deal of trouble. It wants a little explanation, so I hope you will allow me to tell you what that gentleman ought to have advised. I never to this minute charged his account with one *sol* for my trouble of receiving and paying out any money for the King's account neither for my friends at Rotterdam, Brussels, Liége, Charleville, Bordeaux, Rouen, &c., except at Lyons for a small sum paid by a Frenchman, which is but a trifle for his commission and loss of exchange.

I have received and paid out before the end of December last upwards of 180,000 *livres*, which nobody would have done under 2 *per cent.*, having been obliged to keep accounts with all those places and correspond with them and be answerable to Mr. Dicconson for the whole. I have been constantly in advance 2, 3, 4 and sometimes upwards of 5,000 *livres* at a time, and never had any of the King's money but as I was to pay it out again, so you may easily find my task was neither profitable or agreeable, but, had it been quite otherwise, I am sure nobody will think I ought to have had less than 1 *per cent.* for paying and receiving money at the said places, and in that case my commission would be upwards of 1,800 *livres* instead of 1,200 *livres* that's placed for a servant's 1½ year's entertainment. The postages of letters and loss of exchange 'twixt Bordeaux and this and the other postages of my correspondents from Brussels, &c., which is no great sum, I charged to the King's account by Mr. Dicconson's allowance and the loss of exchange was only from Bordeaux when there was no money to remit, so I was by Mr. Dicconson's orders advised to allow them to draw, and I could not be obliged to be at the loss of the exchange, which could have been saved, had there been money to be remitted, but there was none, nor is there at this minute to pay February's and this month's subsistence, till it be got from the French Court, which is a very uncertain fund, and you will easily

believe I can't be much at peace, having every day letters from all quarters full of complaints forced by the necessities of poor gentlemen more than by their inclinations.

I can be very positive I never had a view of getting a *sol* nor never will as long as I have bread, till his Majesty can afford it without a grudge. I have given and lost a good deal on that score, but, having had no orders for so doing, I can't complain.

Lord Wharton has not yet paid me a penny, nor do I know what to expect about Mr. Leslie, as to which I hope you will send the King's orders, for I am sure Mr. Leslie laid out more on the King's account than he is resting me, which is about 5,000 *livres*.

I have placed to Mr. Dicconson according to your order the 335 *livres* 4 *sols* and the 300 *livres* drawn by Sir H. Paterson, so you may count to Sir W. Ellis for it. Lord Panmure and Dr. Blair came here on Sunday night, the 19th, both in very good health. *Prefixed,*

The Duke of Mar to *William* Gordon.

The King approves of your having a servant on purpose to look after our letters, therefore you would see to have a discreet faithful one, and let me know what must be allowed him.—1716, 19 *June. Avignon.*

Robert Freebairn to John Paterson.

1718, March 22. Paris.—Describing how he delivered various packets and letters there and at St. Germains, and, as he understands that a letter from Scotland was sent to Urbino for him, requesting him to return it to him the very first post.

Laurence Bernardi to John Paterson.

1718, March 22.—Receipt for the balance of an account for his board wages and for various payments for washing &c. with two other bills, one headed "Expenses for the month 22 December, 1717, and endorsed, from 22 December, 1717, to 22 March, 1718," and another from 22 December to 22 Jan., 1718, probably portions of the above account.

Receipt.

[1718, March 22.]—For board wages from 22 November to 22 March, 1718, and for Lord Southesk's servant.

Mr. Law to James III.

1718, March 23. Paris.—I did not hope that the small occasion I had to show my zeal for the Queen's service should have procured me the honour of a line from your Majesty. I shall embrace with pleasure every opportunity of showing my attachment and profound respect.

Mr. Law to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 23. Paris.—Acknowledging his letter with the enclosure from the King, and expressing how sensible he is of the honour his Majesty does him.

Lord Pitsligo to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 23. Leyden.—I am perhaps too slow in answering your kind letter of 15 January, but I was a little undetermined as to my quarters for this summer, so I delayed writing till I could tell you where I was likely to settle.

About the time I returned here everybody was looking for the indemnity, and it was natural to wait for a sight of it. When the exceptions of it were known, which are not a few, some were of opinion that the Parliament would make it better, either from good nature or contradiction to the Sovereign, and that the banishment would only continue against such as are attainted, but that has proved a mistake.

I then resolved to venture over to London, but was put off by information that the Duke of G[ordon] (without any application to him, God knows) was to get a privy seal for ten or twelve persons, whereof a friend of mine was one, and this friend and I being pretty closely linked together I could not pursue my resolution till I saw what became of the privy seal. At last I found the Duke was obliged to restrict his list to young Drum and Mr. Bisset of Lessendrum. Cluny is indeed included in the list, but would have got one by himself without the Duke's endeavours.

Though I found myself excluded from this particular grace as well as the universal, I had still a great mind to be in Britain, and was just packing up, when I heard of the proclamation against all that returned to Scotland and had a letter from London dissuading me absolutely from that resolution. I then thought it best to have patience, at least to endeavour it.

I made acquaintance with a very honest man, who is going in a few days to Germany. He has the language perfectly as he has the French and Italian and assures me I can live agreeably enough in several towns and in Vienna itself much cheaper than here. He proposes to settle at Vienna for some time, and I believe the best way I can pass this summer is to take a ramble with him, having very little to do here, and the garrison being strong enough besides. I've often thought that Scotsmen, when out of their own kingdom, are better in small companies than when many of them are together.

Only one thing vexes me, that my travelling should be at another's expense. I am struck indeed with his generosity in inviting me again to take the liberty I had given over. One great motive of my going to Britain was that my living there would have been no trouble to him, but 'tis scarce practicable on this side by the remittances I have had from home, and affairs there are not in the best state. On the other hand, I

believe our friend, as you call him, has uses enough for his money and I must own a thing that has a little of the old man in it. I reckoned being on such an establishment does not want abundance of censure, especially from some that will readily value themselves on living wholly at their own charge. Nothing is so much despised in this age as poverty or a small fortune, though it made sometimes the glory of former ages. I am angry with myself that I should ever trouble my head at anything others may think or say at random, but such a true liberty of spirit is not easily acquired. If you will be so good then as to tell W. G[ordon] to remit me 4 or 500 *livres* to any place I may call for it this summer, I should like it well to be done in that method, and I am writing to him to allow me credit on a merchant here for 250.

You said your quarters inspired people with dulness, which, I think, reigns as much here, only now and then some scandal comes over concerning a certain family at London, their quarrels among themselves and the disgust they give to others. Some comical pamphlets are every day coming out, which I suppose you get. The protestation of the Lords with relation to the Military Bill is pretty remarkable.

When I heard last from home, they were pretty well. I acquainted Dr. A[bercromb]y's lady of what you wrote, and give you hearty thanks for minding Mr. Hay. 3 *pages*.

Alessandro Litta, Bishop of Cremona, to [? David Nairne].

1718, March 23. Rome.—About the dispatch of letters.—I cannot yet tell you of my departure from Rome, as I have not yet received permission from his Imperial Majesty, my master, to take possession of my bishopric. In case I shall be obliged to leave Rome, I will inform you to whom you may have your letters sent here. *French*.

Charles François de Busi to John Paterson.

1718, March 23. Vienna.—I hope you have received several packets. The Swedish Resident and myself impatiently expect news of them, especially as all the gazettes say that his Majesty was on the point of leaving Urbino. You can believe how necessary it is I should be informed either of his stay at or his departure from Urbino, that I may know where to direct to. Monr. Stiernhock has informed the Duke of Mar of the system of affairs at this Court, how they are very closely related to all the others in Europe. There is a prevalent report here that King James is going to marry the Princess Dowager of Courland. The English ministers make a great noise about it without producing much effect.

Yesterday there was a great conference here about the answer to be given to the English Court on the proposals brought by Secretary Caup (Schaub), but there is little appearance of an agreement with the Court of Madrid. On the contrary

people speak as a certainty of an army being formed in Italy. The Emperor's plenipotentiaries for treating with the Turks have not yet started from here, but General Virmond, who is intended as the Emperor's minister at the congress, is expected here to-morrow, and is immediately to proceed to the place of the congress with my brother-in-law, who was formerly secretary of the embassy at the Court of France and is to attend those conferences in the same capacity. Time will show, but there is but little appearance of this peace with the Turks being made. *French, partly in cipher.*

James III to George Jerningham.

1718, March 23.—Mr. Dillon sent me your long letter from Lübeck with an account of your late negotiation, and I am so satisfied with your performance in it that I cannot but take notice of it myself. The Duke of Ormonde's orders must be henceforth your rule. *Copy. Endorsed as sent to the Duke of Ormonde.*

James III to Dr. Erskine.

1718, March 23.—You will have with this, if not before, an account of the King of Swedland's good dispositions towards me and of the impossibility of their taking effect without his agreement with the Czar. "I am very sensible that that union is not without its difficulties, but I cannot but be of opinion that its failure will be attended with yet greater in process of time even to the Czar, since the King of Sweden's making up with the Elector of Hanover is become the alternative of his not doing it with the Czar, whose great wisdom and penetration cannot but foresee the consequences of such an union, considering especially the present situation of Europe and the present system of politics of its different princes. In fine in two words the case is now whether the Czar had rather have an implacable enemy on the throne of England and the same on that of Swedland or see both those powers united in his alliance by the strongest bonds of interest in Swedland and gratitude as well as interest in me. The great sense I have of the kindness the Czar has already expressed for me makes me offer these matters to his consideration as much on his own account as mine. I do not indeed pretend to enter into the detail of the obstacles there may be towards his union with the King of Swedland, but heartily offer my assistance towards the removing of them. If my personal help or attendance can be of any use, they are at his service as the only thing that depends on me at present, but, if any future promise on a restoration, which I look upon to be the necessary as well as natural consequence of the so much desired union, can any way facilitate matters, Duke Ormonde has the amplest powers for that effect, and to him I must refer you for all details. He has not let me be ignorant of my having in you a true friend with the Czar, whose alliance and friendship I so much covet and value, and I hope in God

you will be now the happy instrument of an union betwixt us, so glorious for your master and so beneficial for your country. I depend entirely on your zeal and prudence on this occasion and that you will lay the whole before the Czar in the properest and strongest manner. He being a Prince who looks, I know, more to essentials than forms make me choose rather to write to yourself in our native language than to himself in one unknown to him." If this letter has the desired effect, I hope to have it soon in my power to give you the most convincing proofs of my true regard for you. *Copy. Endorsed, as sent to the Duke of Ormonde.*

The Duke of Ormonde to James III.

1718, March 24.—*Ormonde* has received *the King's* of 7 January with an enclosed copy of *the King's* to *the Bishop of Rochester. Ormonde* does not doubt that *the Bishop* in his answer will clear what may have been mistaken and show that neither he nor his friends had the least thought of doing any thing that might choke (? shock) *Mar*, much less of thinking that it might be for *the King's* service *to have him removed. Ormonde* had a letter from *Sir H. Paterson* of 21 February, informing him that *Jerningham* was arrived at *Lübeck*, and had writ to him to know whether *I* was still in the same place *I* had directed him to write to. *Sir H. Paterson* supposed that *Jerningham* would soon be with *me. Ormonde* had since a letter from *Danzig* of the 11th that *Sheridan*, who goes *by the name of Brunet*, was expected there that night in his way hither and no mention of *Jerningham. Ormonde* will be ignorant of *his message* until he sees him.

I received last post a letter from *Sir H. Stirling.* Enclosed is the copy. I am sorry the accounts it gives are so different from what *was expected* and *wished for.* As soon as *Ormonde* has seen *Sheridan*, he will be able to judge *what measures to take* and acquaint *the King* with his resolution. 3 *pages.*

The Duke of Ormonde to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 24.—I suppose you will have heard of *Jerningham's* being arrived at *Lübeck.* I expect to see him or his companion every hour, but have not received any letter from either, so I am ignorant of their dealings. I refer you to *Ormonde's* letter to *the King.* What *Sir H. Stirling* writes is quite contrary to our *expectations. Sir H. Paterson* continues to send me letters and is a very punctual correspondent. I am sorry there should have been any mistakes, but am sure all will be set in a true light. You will see by *Sir H. Stirling's* an account of strange doings in *the Czar's Court.*

James Paterson to John Paterson.

1718, March 24. Palermo.—I received the 14th instant yours of 28 December, letting me know the Duke of Mar's sincerity

to serve me, and his denying the letter of recommendation I desired to our Vice-roy. I am sure, had he done it, it would have been the only service he has done to any of our family since that misfortunate marriage. Had I not trusted to his recommendation in England, I had friends whose recommendation would have been sufficient to have got me provided, but I am not the only one in the family he has given fair promises to without any thought of performing.

We are here as out of the world, not hearing sometimes once in two months what they are doing on the mainland. We have repeated news of the Spaniards' great preparations by sea, so the Vice-roy is taking the necessary precautions by repairing the fortifications and disposing the troops to the best advantage. We are to sail in four or five days for Villa Franca, where we are to embark some recruits for this place.

James III to Cardinal Aquaviva.

1718, March 24. Urbino.—I received your letter of the 16th with pleasure and with joy the answer of which you informed me word for word. I recognize in it the great genius of the author, and perfectly understand the goodness of it, but, without penetrating more into an oracle, which can be taken only in a favourable sense, I beg you, when giving my sincerest thanks to the author, to inform him that I have just received advices from Sweden, that that King is waiting only for peace with the Czar to join with him in my favour. They are actually engaged on that agreement, and there is every reason to believe it will not be delayed, and it is certain that the demand of the sum in question will follow closely on it. Without repeating what is said in the memoir, I leave it to you to picture the immense importance of having that sum ready, without which the best dispositions and the strongest alliances will become useless to me. 'Tis therefore to obtain for me what is so essential that I beg you to renew on every occasion your strongest instances. It is the greatest mark you can give me of your friendship and certainly one of the greatest services you could render to your master.

The good intelligence between us obliges me to inform you of the following fact. The great need we had in the last expedition to Scotland of arms proper for those Highlanders made me wish to anticipate a similar inconvenience, in case of a new attempt there. Since it is impossible to find such arms except in Spain without making much noise, I began some time ago to take steps for the purpose, but these having failed and observing in Sir Peter Redmond, whom you saw at Rome, much honesty and activity, I told him my idea and he undertook the execution of it with pleasure, and flatters himself he will be able to complete it without its being known, but he believes it will be proper at all hazards to inform the court of Spain, in order to anticipate any obstacle he might meet with

on that side. I told him that, having no correspondence with that court and knowing its present system, I clearly foresaw that such a step would do more harm than good, and that he had only to take his measures to do the thing as secretly as possible and to inform me of the difficulties he might meet with, which I would try to provide for. He has started for Madrid by Paris and Bayonne, where he is to stay to begin the execution of my orders, and where, after the arms are purchased, they are to be kept in a secret warehouse till required. I believe it will be necessary to inform our friend of this, that he may not through ignorance interpose any obstacle, and that in case of any complaint he may behave in a manner favourable to me, without any prejudice to his master's interests, which may be easily done, as the purchase is to be made under other plausible pretexts and without my appearing in it at all. I flatter myself our friend will be pleased at the way I have behaved in this matter, and, if you have any advice for me in it, I shall follow it with pleasure. 2½ *pages. French. Draft in Nairne's hand with corrections by James.*

James III to Cardinal Gualterio.

1718, March 24. Urbino.—I have now to answer your two letters of the 16th and 19th. In reply to the first I have only to send you the enclosed, which you will read, seal and deliver. I am really edified and filled with admiration at your conduct to Cardinal Imperiali, and, if the affair in question should not succeed, it will certainly not be your fault. Whatever Cardinal Albani may say, I confess I expect no good of it.

I have always believed you to be one of my best friends but I have been more convinced of it than ever by your frankness on the occasion of my letter to Mr. Leslie. I beg you, however, to read those papers over again, for I am persuaded that weighing every word attentively you will not find the letter can be taken in a bad sense and what I have written to the Duke of Ormonde fully explains the object of that letter. "Je suis toujours persuadé que les Protestans n'en abuseront pas, mais, s'ils le font, je me croirai obligé de m'expliquer plus amplement, et cela, joint au pouvoir que j'ay donné a la Reine d'en faire de meme en tems et lieu, sera, je crois, une explication et une reparation suffisante. Le Pere Brown est de cet avis et ce n'est que par ce qui pourra arriver dans la suitte que je pourrai regler ma conduite future a cet egard. En attendant le silence est le seul parti que nous avons a prendre, mais, si le Pape vous en parloit, je ne vois nul inconvenient a luy decouvrir que vous etes au fait de la chose, que vous scaves la pureté de mes intentions, qui n'ont jamais eté autres que de confirmer un droit, que je ne scaurois oter et qui ne regarde point ma propre religion ni la doctrine Catholique, que j'ay deja pris des mesures pour empecher que les Protestans ne prennent la lettre en mauvais sens, et que, si elles ne suffisent

pas, j'en prendrai encore d'autres, car jusqu' a present je n'en ay point trouvé qui ait fait la moindre attention au preambule de la lettre mais uniquement a la confirmation du droit, qui est etabli par les loix et que je ne pretens point authoriser autrement. Aussi je ne trouve point encore que les plus scrupuleux ou les plus scavans a St. Germain me croient obligé de faire un plus grande explication ou reparation que celle que j'ay faite."

Mr. Sheldon left lately for St. Germains to attend for some months there to his private affairs.

The Duke of Mar will be in Rome next week. As he wishes to be there not only incognito but unknown, you will excuse his not staying with you. He could not resist the fine weather and the present sluggishness of business and I have not wished to prevent him from satisfying so just a curiosity for 3 weeks or a month. I doubt not he will request you to conduct him to his Holiness, who may perhaps be alarmed at his journey, but you can easily reassure him on that point. I doubt not he will show him his usual civilities, and that you will do justice to his merit, which increases every day by the new trials he continually undergoes, which serve only to increase his constancy and his attachment to me. I ought further to do him the justice to tell you that of all the Protestants I have known, I never met one less prejudiced against our religion nor more favourable to the Catholics. You will also soon see Lord Linton, Lord Nithsdale's nephew, who is here at present incognito. He comes of a Catholic family, whose zeal for me is well known.

I did not intend to write such a long letter, having been much depressed both in body and mind for some days, but I find myself much better at present.

I expect every moment answers on the different projects I have about marriage.

Nairne is sending you Cardinal Albani's letter of the 19th. You will acknowledge its arrival to him, for, till I receive the new letter he promises, I have nothing new to tell him. *French. Over 3 pages. In Nairne's hand with corrections and postscript by the King.*

The Duke of Mar to Cardinal Gualterio.

1718, March 24. Urbino.—I believe I shall set out for Rome the beginning of next week but, intending to go by Loretto, it will be the end of it before I come to my journey's end. I think the more privately and unknown I be there, the better, my design being more to see things than people, and his Majesty is of the same opinion, so I will say nothing to anybody here till I actually set out, and I have not nor will let any know there of my coming but Mr. Steuart. I am very much obliged for your kind offer of lodging at your house, but, in the way I propose to be, that would not be so proper. Therefore I hope you will excuse me and advise with Mr. Steuart what will be the best and most private way for me, that he may have a lodging and what else I may want ready for me.

Besides my curiosity of seeing Rome, it will be a very sensible pleasure to me to have the opportunity of your more particular acquaintance. By what I hear of the Pope's temper and ways perhaps even this journey of mine might give him some uneasiness at this juncture, which makes me choose his not being acquainted with it, till I be there or so near that he cannot easily stop it, but I leave you to do in this as you think fit. Were I once there, he would see there's nothing further intended but what I have told you. I must desire you to introduce me to his Holiness, but I must beg your advice as to the time of your doing so, and perhaps it may be as well not to be till just before my departure, though I believe it will be but fit that you let him know of my being there and the way I propose to be in, as soon at least as I arrive, and that the last is my reason of not desiring to be introduced to him immediately.

Recommending Mr. Panton, who travels with Lord Linton. *Over* 2 *pages. English draft and French translation.*

The Duke of Mar to Steuart of Invernytty.

1718, March 24. Urbino.—Requesting him to deliver the enclosed to Cardinal Gualterio and about his intended visit to Rome, getting him a lodging and other arrangements.—No one is to be with me but Will. Erskine and two servants. *Over* 2 *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to *Lord Tullibardine.*

1718, March 24.—I heard last post from Mr. *Inese* of his not thinking fit of an oversman in a certain affair to be filled up by him or any with *St. Germains* and that the papers were sent you to keep, till *the King* should send you directions about them. He has ordered me to let you know that, after you have informed yourself who will be the proper person for oversman, you should fill up his name in the blank of the paper sent you by *Inese*, it being impossible for him here to determine it, but you must first be sure that the person you pitch upon will accept and, as soon as you have filled it up, you are to forward them to the persons concerned. You will take care to choose one, who will act fairly betwixt the parties concerned and who has some knowledge in these matters.

R. Gordon would certainly be a very fit person for this, but there was some difference between him and the blind captain, who is the principal party, which makes him absolutely unfit. Were *Brigadier Campbell* there, he might do well, but he is not. By a letter I had lately from *General Gordon* I fancy he is thereabout and perhaps he might not be improper for it, but it is left entirely to you to make what choice you think fittest.

I wrote to you three days ago and to *Brigadier Campbell* with a gentleman going your way to *the King of Spain's* habitation, who, I thought, might see you, but by your being to remove

that is not certain, however he is certainly to meet *Brigadier Campbell*, whom I have told it was designed this man should be assisting about the goods recommended to his care, and that I hoped he might be able to procure the allowance wanting for purchasing those goods as if they were on his own account and that *the King* had no concern in them. His name is *Sir Peter Redmond*. He is gone for *Paris* with your old friend Sh[eldo]n, who is gone there about his private affairs, where he is to make but a short stay. (About Mar's intended visit to Rome.)

I had lately a peevish letter from the old laird (Malcolm of Grange) about his foolish affair, but he is particularly so, I find, at *Glendarule*. His friends with *Scotland* have heard of his being sent from *Bordeaux*, which makes them fancy there must be some odd thing in it, and that vexes him. I have told you my thoughts about it already, so I only suggest that anything those old stagers and particularly so staunch a one as the laird, say of folks amongst our friends at home has weight. Therefore I really think it would be for *Tullibardine's* and *Glendarule's* service to have him put in good humour again, as well as for its being agreeable to friends there to think there are no differences amongst any of us on this side.

I have not yet answered the letter, but, before I got it, I wrote to *Dillon* to let the laird know I had wrote to you upon it, to whom he ought to apply. 3 *pages*. *Copy*.

The Duke of Mar to Sir Hugh Paterson.

1718, March 24.—I had yours of 20 February on the 19th and at the same time we had letters by *Dillon's* canal from *Jerningham*, which give us a good deal of satisfaction. However, much will depend on the present affair betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar*. *Jerningham* has done his part very well. *Queen Mary* or *Dillon* by *her* orders has some time ago wrote to *Jerningham* to go immediately on his receipt of it to *Ormonde*, which I reckon he would not wait for, but go straight and immediately to him on your letting him know where he was, so I do not write to him by you, but have done it the direct way by which we correspond with *Ormonde*, though, in case of its miscarriage, it is not amiss you let him know of my having now wrote so to him and also to *Ormonde* and to make all sure I am to send duplicates to *Dillon* to send his way.

You forgot to name the place from whence you wrote, but I suppose it was from *the Hague* or *Rotterdam*, whither I am very glad you are gone about the affair you mention, and I wish you may be successful.

Who do you mean by Crammond ? There is no such surname in our list and that was never a Christian name ? though I believe you mean Charles [Kinnaird].

I long to hear from *Sir H. Stirling*, though the reason he gives you of his not writing was a good one, for then he could

have little to say. I hope that reason has ceased some time ago and that we shall hear something agreeable from him soon. When you write to him, let him know this.

(About his intended visit to Rome.) *Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to *the Duke of Ormonde.*

1718, March 24.—Having seen the enclosed, I find there is little left for me to add to it of business. We long extremely to hear from you, which I hope will open a new scene. (About his intended visit to Rome, as in other letters.)

As the enclosed leaves me little to say to you, so does what is enclosed in it leave me little to say to that gentleman, but not being yet certain of his being in your parts I have wrote to him more fully by another canal, which may perhaps come sooner to him. I long to know of your hearing again from *Sir H. Stirling*, he being able to say but little in that you had from him and sent to *Dillon* in yours of 4 February. *Jerningham* would be with you long ago, whom, I fancy, you would soon dispatch again to the meeting betwixt *the Czar's* and *the King of Sweden's* people. The disappointment *the King* is like to meet with in what he expected of the affair of the *money* both from *the Pope* and *Francia* is lamentable. He is doing all he can to have it supplied elsewhere, though I see little prospect of his succeeding in that so soon as it is likely there may be occasion for it. *The Bishop of Rochester* and other friends there are doing what they can to help, but I fear that may take a long while doing and not be sufficient after all. This is no agreeable news, but it is necessary you should know the true state of that matter. By what *Jerningham* writes, there seems not to be so great occasion or necessity for it where he was at this time, as things stand, as we expected and indeed as is to be wished, but, if things go as we would have them, there certainly will be, before anything effectual can be done. The less you can promise now, must be made up, I think, with promising the more on *the restoration's* taking place, and I heartily wish that may supply the want as well as to serve to make the agreement betwixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* easy, but it is almost needless for us at this distance to speak of those things, and you, who are so much nearer, can see much more clearly.

By what *Jerningham* writes, I see his fellow traveller has been of good use to him. If you have occasion of sending any body to us, I still wish he may be the man, unless the one you be to send be one who is to give us an account of the fine things you sent him to see. 2 *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to *George Jerningham.*

1718, March 24.—I have seen what you have wrote to *the King* by *Dillon's* canal, and, he himself telling you how well he is pleased with all your part of it, 'tis needless for me to

repeat it. I see your fellow traveller has been of very good use to you, and, though unknown to one another, I beg you may make him my compliments. *The King* and I having both wrote to *Ormonde* of what business occurred to us, I need not repeat anything of it here.

I had a letter last post from *Sir H. Paterson*, who told me of your being arrived, but by what *Dillon* tells me of his or *Queen Mary's* having wrote to you about going immediately to *Ormonde*, which I suppose you would have however done, as soon as you knew where he was, I do not write to you by *Sir H. Paterson*.

Pray what is become of poor (literal) O'Burn? I fear he is not in a good way where he is. *Copy*.

The Duke of Mar to Dr. Erskine.

1718, March 24.—This is only to cover the enclosed from our friend (the King), which is so full that it leaves me little to say, and besides I have wrote to you to-day by another canal, which may perhaps come sooner. It is by a servant of *the Czar's*, who is at *the Emperor's* habitation, though he knows nothing of the letters being from me, and it is in the old cipher of our friend, *Sir J. Erskine*, which I gave you, when we were together, and which I hope you have not lost. I tell you of this, that, if the letter should not come soon, you may cause enquire at the servant for it, who, I should think, will not venture to neglect sending it, when he knows it is for you, and I thought it the surest way to make it come soon and safe to your hands. I believe it is one *Mr. Busi* or *Stiernhock*, who is to give him the letter. I suppose *Sir H. Stirling* is with you. My compliments to him and to good Capt. Thomas [? Gordon], who, I am sorry to hear, has been ill. I long to hear from *Sir H. Stirling*, and ten to one but there may be an occasion for his making another journey to us, but that will depend much on you, and, if it could be of any use, I hope he will not be against it. Our friend *Ormonde* being so near you, with whom I hope you may have adjusted all before this come to you, I need say no more. *Copy*.

The Duke of Mar to *Dr. Erskine*.

1718, March 24.—Though *the King* has wrote to you to-day by another canal all I have to say, yet I could not keep myself from giving you some account of it by this, which may perhaps reach you sooner, being uncertain where you now are, and perhaps any letter from you may come sooner and as safe the same way. I have a correspondent or two at *the Emperor's* habitation, to one of whom I send this and desired him to give it to a servant of *the Czar*, who is there and, I believe an acquaintance of yours, to forward safely to you. I have let none of them know from whom it is, only a relation of yours in general, and, if you write that way, you may address it to

Monsr. Gerard and send it to that servant with orders to give it to the person who gave him this, and it will come safe to me.

I should let you know who these correspondents are, by which you'll know if they are to be trusted, and I must also beg of you to let me know what character you have of them. One is *Stiernhock*, a servant of *the King of Sweden*, but, I believe, in no great credit with him or much employed for some time past, though I am informed his wishes are as yours and mine. The other is one *Busi*, who is very intimate with the other and was of some use to a friend of ours we sent last year to those parts, and he wrote to me that he was expecting to be some way employed by *the Czar* and, I think, spoke as if he knew you. They inform me sometimes of what passes in those parts, but I have never trusted either of them with anything of consequence.

The King has told you of the answer he got from *the King of Sweden* by the Beaux your acquaintance, whom he had sent to him, and who has behaved better than perhaps you would have expected. In a word *the King of Sweden* shows a great deal of good will towards *the King* and inclinations enough to serve him, but tells fairly and plainly that it is not in his power till he make up his accounts with *the Czar*, his chief creditor, which he was then going about, and, if that failed, that he would be obliged to make up with his other creditors, especially *King George*, who had made him offers which I know to be true by other accounts, but that, if *the Czar* and he could agree and he would enter into measures with him for serving *the King*, he (*the King of Sweden*) would do it with all his heart. This is really all I have expected of him for some time, and now that it so entirely depends on *the Czar* I have better hopes of it than ever, and I hope *Dr. Erskine* will get it managed so that I may not be disappointed. This is all I need say, since *the King* himself has wrote so fully by the other canal, and I hope *Ormonde* and you will have talked fully of it all, and in a good measure adjusted it before this reach you.

I cannot omit mentioning another article again, though I did so in my letter to you of 24 December. It is concerning *the Czar's daughter*, the proposal of whom I told you was so much to *the King's* liking. We are told since she is but 11, for which I am heartily sorry, but in that case might not one of *the nieces* be thought of? There are two of them, I am told, who are both of a good age and handsome. I should think it would be much the same thing as to *the Czar*, and, if he agrees, there need be no delay, and it would answer all our purposes. I confess I am so full of an alliance betwixt *the Czar* and *the King*, and that there should be no delay in it, that I could not but suggest this to you, who, I believe, has as great a mind to it as I can.

It may not be impossible, I think and hope, that we may meet in your parts ere long, which would be great consolation

to some of us, particularly to *the King* and your humble servant, and I hope would not be disagreeable to *the Czar* or you.

I much apprehend *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* being very stiff on some of the articles betwixt them and it would be a pity that things should fail upon that. Could not *the King's* engaging on his carrying his suit at law to make up in some measure the loss to one or t'other of what he cedes by some of his (*the King's*) *money* facilitate matters being accommodated betwixt them? Sure in that case he could be of more use to them than all the difference betwixt them, when they cast up their accounts, would be, and I hope *the Czar* will consider of this and, rather than the accommodation should fail, take the expedient himself. 3¼ *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Monsr. Stiernhock.

1718, March 24. Ur[bino].—Apologizing for not having answered his letter of 16 February sooner and thanking him for the particular, universal and distinct accounts he gave in that and in those of 23 and 26 February.—By accounts from other places I believe the informations you give of things now in agitation throughout Europe are very good, and, if you will continue to do so sometimes, I'll look on it as a very great obligation, and, as you and I take our masters' interests to be pretty much the same, I hope it may be of some use. If I do not write to you often or do not give you account of things of much consequence, it is occasioned only by my situation here, where we know nothing but by letters, and those are so long by the way that any accounts I could give you from them would be too old and but a repetition of what you will have otherwise heard. This is not the least of our misfortunes in being obliged to reside here, which makes me the more earnestly wish that some thing may soon happen to open a door to our going elsewhere more in the way of business.

By your accounts and by what I have from other hands, there are so many projects on foot just now, as I believe have been in Europe for many years. What regard this country, on which a great many of them hinge, have so very many different powers and interests concerned, that in the ordinary course of business they cannot be brought in all appearance to a conclusion very soon, and some, who are engaged, have already been at so great charge and seem now to have so far got the start of others, whose hands are yet full elsewhere, that it is not likely they will stop in expectation of the conclusion of those schemes projected for them by others, who do not either seem to be in a condition to put an immediate stop to their present designs and some of them as little likely to support and preserve the schemes they now propose, if finished, so I am far from looking on the mediation of the powers you name as sure of taking place or having the effect they propose.

Both by what you say and accounts I have otherwise, I should think that the negotiations betwixt your master and him, who has been his most powerful enemy, are now pretty well advanced, if not concluded. It is a great pleasure to us here to see that your master finds it for his interest to endeavour an accommodation there rather than with those of the other side, who, I believe, have made some offers to him, and indeed, considering the usage he has so lately met with from them, besides his own interest, it is no more than was to be expected of so gallant a gentleman. I see very well we have little to expect from your master as things have turned, till the accommodation betwixt him and his antagonist I name above be finished, so you may be sure we do all in our power to facilitate that to him, and, without overvaluing ourselves, I may say we have contributed a good deal towards it. Whatever may be given out otherwise, I am sure there are good dispositions towards accommodating with him. I am only afraid he may be too unwilling and hard to be brought to cede some things, which the other thinks absolutely necessary for securing to him what your master, I presume, will make little difficulty in yielding, and even in this there are some measures taken to get that made as easy and advantageous to your master as possible, which I wish may have the desired effect.

Were the accommodation betwixt them once finished, I should have very good hopes of your master's being soon in as good a condition as ever as well as of justice being done to my master, and in my opinion it might give a turn to most of the affairs of Europe.

I hope and doubt not but the principal points betwixt your master and him, with whom the accommodation is now proposed, will be adjusted, before the general meeting at the place you name. I must desire you to explain one thing to me which I am informed of as to that general meeting, which a little surprises me, that is, the King of Portugal's being to have a minister there. Sure that can be of no advantage to your master and he will be only a spy on him as well as others for Hanover and the Dutch. I beg to hear from you from time to time what accounts you get of all relating to this business, and what are the dates of your last letters from your country, and, when I can give you any informations which can be of use to you and which I think you may not have otherwise, I shall be sure to do it.

I have some ground to fear that our friend at your Court mentioned in our former letters does not stand quite so well there as we both would wish or his merit deserves. I wish I may be mistaken and you will do me a pleasure, if you can give me more agreeable news of him. (About the necessity of their using a cipher in future, about how letters are to be addressed and about Mar's intended visit to Rome.)

Pray let me know if Monsr. Stengins be at Vienna, who was Resident at London for the Elector Palatine before

Hanover came there, and if Mr. Wortley Montagu, who was at the Porte from England last year, be returned or returning home.

They talk in this country as if the Spanish fleet was to be expected on the coast every day.

I enclose a letter for Dr. Erskine, Physician and Counsellor to the Czar, which I want sent him and perhaps it may be of some service at this time. Your mentioning the Czar's minister with you makes me give you the trouble of it, that, if you think fit, you or Monsr. Busi may give it him as a letter from a relation of the Doctor's, which had accidentally come to your hands, and desire him to forward it by the first sure occasion, but it will be by no means fit to mention my name to him. The Doctor is wrote to by another canal, that this letter is sent this way, which perhaps it is not amiss may be some way thrown out in talking to the minister, which may make him the more careful. But I refer it to your discretion, whether to speak of it to the minister or not, for, if you suspect his inclining another way, it will be better to return it to me than to trust it with him. If you think fit he be trusted, pray let him be desired to give any letter that may come in return addressed to Monsr. Gerard to the person who gives him this, and I hope you will take care it be forwarded to me. 7 *pages*. *Draft in Mar's hand.*

Dr. Charles Leslie to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 25. Paris.—Last post brought me yours of 24 Feb. from Fano.

"*That excellent letter has been received with great pleasure and entire satisfaction in England, and it is printed there. I hear not of any one thing they would have added or subtracted or the expression altered, but remain perfectly satisfied with it *and the more since the Convocation has been prorogued the second time to June next, but they expect not to see it sit again while George reigns, but that the Church of England is to be modelled according to that of Hanover, and therefore that the Church of England has no security under God but the restoration of his Majesty, who has secured all their rights to them, even as far as they can ask, for which they are most thankful and rejoice in it, and, if their power were equal to their will, they would need no assistance to do the work themselves, so that his Majesty has great reason to be satisfied with what he has so graciously done, there being no ground to doubt it has had its full effect with those for whom it was designed, and great thanks are due to George for rivetting the nail by his second prorogation.

"All the English here to whom I showed his Majesty's letter were in rapture upon it. Among others, I showed it to a member of the House of Commons, where it was mentioned on the debate of the Mutiny Bill. Some objecting danger

from the Pretender, another answered that he was far off and that he heard of nothing he was doing but settling Convocations with Mr. L[eslie], to which no reply was made. This I saw in a letter from him since he went to England, and he will satisfy others where he thinks it proper, that he saw the original in the King's own hand. I have the ill news that a lawsuit is commenced in Ireland against the only fortune I have left to give bread to my family there and I have none there to defend it." 2 *pages. The passage between asterisks is printed in* the Stuart Papers, *p.* 37, *note.*

George Jerningham to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 25. The Hague.—When I wrote to *the King* from *Lübeck* I would have troubled *Mar*, had not I then thought he had been in some other part. You have undoubtedly seen the particulars *Jerningham* has already given of the *affairs* of *Sweden*, and I shall remain very desirous to know what resolutions you judge fit to be taken thereon. *Jerningham* lay under some difficulties when he arrived, and everybody knowing from what parts our *ship* came, I apprehended that my stay, although but for a few days, might be attended with some inconvenience at *Lübeck*. I removed thereon to these parts to find here in what situation affairs stood, which I thought more to the purpose than to make a long expensive journey on the uncertainty which everything appeared in then. I have since been frequently in conference with *Prince Curakin* and *the Swedish minister at the Hague*, who are both well-wishers to that *agreement*. I am informed by the first that *the Czar* has sent *ministers* already to *Finland* to expect *Görtz* or someone else from those parts, but to-day *Prince Curakin's* letters give him an account that *Görtz* had writ to one of those ministers to desire they would give him a rendezvous at Thorn, a place higher up in that country, but they answered that Thorn was not fit for such a *meeting*, because *the country* thereabouts was not inhabited nor the place provided with common necessaries. Here that affair now sticks, and I wish *the King of Sweden* by these delays and chicanes does not provoke *the Czar* to renounce all commerce with him. This turn of *the King of Sweden* I take to be grounded on the new scheme lately offered them from *England*. The bearers of this new plan went from *Lübeck* to *Sweden* whilst *I* was there, which project has made me very uneasy, for some do not stick to say that *the Elector of Hanover* offers *the King of Sweden* to restore him all he is in possession of. If this be true, *Görtz* will have new difficulties to surmount, for many of the *ministry* will advise strongly for accepting these last offers, preferably to any other agreement, and this I take to be the reason *Görtz* wrote to the others in *Finland* to desire their removal, which is only a pretence to gain time. *The Czar's* minister at *Berlin* by his master's orders acquainted *the King of Prussia* that

he had sent persons to *Abo* in order to adjust preliminaries for a *peace*, which *the King of Prussia* was well satisfied with.

Letters from England relate that the Spanish ambassador has delivered a memoir to George, demanding by orders from his master to know whether England designs to send a fleet this season to the Mediterranean, which that King will look on as a just cause for a rupture and thereupon take his measures. We have not yet heard what answer is given, yet 'tis confidently said that orders are given to equip 16 men-of-war for the Mediterranean and 10 for the Baltic. The States equip their fleet but slowly and have not agreed whether they shall set forth 20 or 30. They have agreed this week to raise 6,000 seamen.

The promoters of this armament propose three ends therein, 1st, to secure the trade of the Baltic, in case things advance to a general rupture, 2ly, to prevent all the designs which *Görtz* may have in the North, and lastly to be in a position of defence, when others are preparing for war.

I do not apprehend I can as yet be of any service in *Finland* but, as soon as I have letters from those parts inviting me that way, I shall lose no time in performing the journey. I beg *the King* will give me orders to take Mr. Sheri[dan] with me, because I shall find him of service. 3 *pages*.

Pope Clement XI. to James III.

1718, March 26. Santa Maria Maggiore.—After reciting that by a brief of that date he had appointed Dr. Carbritius O'Kelly, Archdeacon of Elphin, to the vacant bishopric of Elphin, who had been nominated by his Majesty, but that no mention of such nomination had been made in the brief for reasons, which he will easily understand, declaring that by such omission no infringement was intended of his right of nomination, which is declared to be saved and preserved as if it had been expressly mentioned. *Latin. On parchment.*

Lieut.-General Dillon to James III.

1718, March 26. Paris.—The great union and uncommon friendship that appears of late 'twixt *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Regent* is attributed by the latter's chief people to *Dubois'* industrious management, who, they say, ingratiates himself to *the Elector of Hanover* for a particular view of recompense and prefers his private interest to the good of this *kingdom*. They add, and some of the most distinguished among 'em told me so, that, if they could get *Dubois* laid aside, they would not then question being able to change *the Regent's* present opinion in regard to *the Elector of Hanover* and convince him that his own true *interest* and that of the *uation* require his supporting *the King of Spain*, *the King of Sicily* and the *Princes* in *Italy against the Emperor* and *adherents*. They can't, however, disagree but *Dubois'* great ascendant

over *the Regent* supported by his friend, *the Elector of Hanover*, are great difficulties to overcome. I wish they may succeed, which would prove of great consequence to *the King*. Those very people don't scruple to say at present that, if the *Pretender* were with *England* at the *head* of *six thousand men*, *the Elector of Hanover and family* would be soon *chased out* of that *country*, and by that means *France* and *Spain* well settled without any apprehension of future disturbance.

This is their way of reasoning now, which I shall improve as much as depends on me, and am extremely pleased to see so great a change in their opinion in a month's time.

By what is mentioned of *Dubois*, which I have good reasons to believe, I presume *the King* will not think it proper he should be trusted by friends with *England*. I already gave *James Murray* and *Sir R. Everard* a hint on this score, without informing them of the above facts, and prayed them not to name me as author, for fear the matter should come back to *the Regent*, whose access I should certainly lose. I did not tell them this last reason and only desired not to be cited for the advertisement.

The King of Spain sent late orders to *Monteleon* to depart from *England* the moment *the Elector of Hanover* would send *a fleet* to the *Straits*. I don't hear *the Emperor's* answer to any of the proposals made in relation to *the King of Spain* is yet come.

Lieut.-General Dillon to James III.

1718, Saturday, March 26. Paris.—" I am informed by a sure hand that there have been *additional proposals* made in order to *facilitate the Emperor's* and *the King of Spain's agreement*, viz. that the *inheritance* of the *Dutchys* of *Tuscany* and *Parma* should come to *the King of Spain* and *heirs*, that *the King of Sicily* should have *Sardinia* and remit *Sicily* to *the Emperor*. *The Regent's* chief managers disapprove this scheme, but *the Regent* is so far plunged in *the Elector of Hanover's* measures, that 'tis not practicable to gain upon him to act contrary to them. There is no appearance, however, that this project can please *the King of Spain* and much less *the King of Sicily*, since the effecting of it would secure *Italy* to *the Emperor* and leave him master to dispute the proposed *inheritance*, when occasion requires his so doing. You'll easily see by *the Regent's* present disposition that it would not be reasonable or prudent to confide anything to him about *the King's* interest, till some plausible event happens that may engage him to espouse it, such as a *general revolution* with *England* in *the King's* favour, a *rupture* 'twixt *England* and *Spain* or a settled and fixed *alliance* 'twixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* with sure hopes from both those *Princes* to be assisting to *the King* in the recovery of his own right. In any of these cases *the Regent's* clear *interest* for the *succession*

he has so much at heart will take place preferable to all other things, and in my humble opinion there is no depending otherwise on any material *succour* from him. Being well informed of the state of affairs here, I venture to speak my mind affirmatively and do think it necessary that *the King* should be fully apprized on this head, in order to avoid false computations and that he may not be deceived in his expectations from *the Regent*.

"I said nothing to friends with *England* of my little hopes of any immediate *succour* from *the Regent*, for fear of discouraging them, neither do I intend to do it without particular directions from *the King*."

Brigadier Campbell to *the Duke of Mar*.

1718, March 26. *Bayonne*.—I had not troubled you, but that I think it necessary in relation to the affair about which I went to *Spain* and have since attended here. I never had a word of distinct return as to the requisite recommendations nor the least encouragement of any money till of 5,000 *livres per* last post, nor as much as a positive order who should be employed in place of *Barry*, nor a power of chosing one, which was very necessary. I do not blame *Tullibardine* nor *Glendarule* for this, only Mr. *Dillon*, from whom I never had but a line of compliment, for he does not own the receipt of my letters, much less answer them.

It's very good that Providence has ordered things no worse. You'll perceive this by the enclosed duplicates, which were sent me from *Spain* and came the same minute with *W. Gordon's* about the money. I do not think they want a comment. The impatience of staying in a convent made him advance things and demand extravagantly. But it's obvious he has had a criminal correspondence from the first time *Mar* wrote him, and that he will tell ten times more than he or any other knows. He has several letters with him from *Mar*, and perhaps from *Dillon* (for the person who gave me an account of their contents was not positive as to him), one from *the Duke of Berwick*, one or two from *Tullibardine* and one 'tis said from *Brigadier Campbell*. His fellow sufferer, Meagher, and he have fallen out, and he has now discovered me this. Had I known of his double dealing sooner, it's likely he had not so easily escaped, for the clergy there are all well-inclined. I believe Meagher the same stuff with the other, but I cannot be positive he is a rogue or has sinister ends till we are better acquainted. I shall take care to give him no ground of jealousy. Another, who pretends to adore *the King* and who knew me from *Barry* and who read and transmitted *Barry Gen. Carpenter's* answers, has not discovered the least thing to me, though we see one another frequently. I thought till of late there was one honest man of our country here, and him I judged the person. In short, I never was among such a nest of ——.

The happy discovery of *Barry's* coining with the slow answers to our too pressing letters has spoiled *Gen. Carpenter's* plot and his. The design, as appears evident to me, was in the first place "*Quocumque modo rem*"; then to reflect on *the King's* honour by buying those goods with false gold, and to have had them kidnapped by the way, and so to have continued doing for several years.

I have wrote fully of all this to *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule*, also to Mr. *Dillon*. I sent the former copies and to the latter an authentic duplicate, that he may not think I am imposed on in this. *Clanranald* has also wrote to the former two, and I believe they will all have patience till we hear from you. If *Dillon* or *Tullibardine* be of a different sentiment from *Clanranald's* and mine and plainly order otherwise, they shall be obeyed with all the caution imaginable, but I am hopeful they will not venture to give *Stair* such a handle against *Queen Mary* for things which may be had in several places without such a risk and even hereabouts, if we wait a fit time. I have insisted on this sufficiently fully to them, but with entire submission to their better judgements.

Though it's most convenient to write your pleasure to Mr. *Dillon* or *Tullibardine*, yet pray honour *Clanranald* or me with a line from yourself, which *W. Gordon* will safely convey to my hands considerably sooner than if it comes through theirs.

In the duplicate I send Mr. *Dillon* he positively requires a frigate to be sent him as being worth the while &c. In another I retain he requires young *Carpenter* himself to come in all haste to him. I cannot imagine what he has to say to them. He is good at invention and has been bloody afraid at the time. Had he got over in the middle of winter, we had infallibly had another Swedish or Popish plot, but I know not how far they may find him useful in this season. We shall soon hear more of him and his reception.

My circumstances have been uneasy these seven months, from the necessary extraordinary expenses. Pray order *W. Gordon* about them. *Enclosed,*

Richard Barry to *Col. Stanhope, Envoy Extraordinary at Madrid.*

I was very sorry not to have been at Bayonne, when you passed, and am glad my son rendered you what service he could.

I have been in correspondence with Lord Stanhope and Gen. Carpenter these 12 *months, specially with Gen. Carpenter, who wrote me not long since from my Lord and himself. In consequence I continued to execute their orders with a design to go, when I had finished, to London to give them an account of their commission, but, as matters were pretty well advanced, an unlucky accident happened here, through the fault of some seamen of a ship of mine, which rendered me suspected and obliged*

me to take refuge in a Franciscan convent about a cannon shot from this city, whence I cannot part for fear of being taken nor dare I put myself into their hands, knowing their tedious proceeding and cruel long imprisonment, from which Mr. John Meagher's innocence could not preserve him, who was cast into a horrible dungeon loaden with irons, where he is still and like to be, till he perishes.

This unhappy circumstance obliges me to pray you to send your secretary or other person of entire satisfaction, to whom I may communicate Gen. Carpenter's letters and other matters of consequence and consult what is to be done next in order to my getting for London, which is very necessary and will be very acceptable service to his lordship and his Excellency, having matters of the last consequence to impart to them.

It is of great consequence that nobody may know of any correspondence between us.

I presume it will be necessary that the person you send should have the King's pass, as if bound for Paris, and on arrival here he may send me his servant and call for Padre Joseph, who speaks English, who will bring me to speak to him. I must again recommend that none but the person you send should have any knowledge of my having writ to you, for there are in that Court several who will guess and draw consequences from our correspondence, whereof they will advise others, who will thereby suspect me and so prevent what is intended.

I cannot give you any address to write to me, for my letters are intercepted, so that nothing can convey your orders to me but one sent expressly. Since the foregoing I am assured you may safely give your answer to the party that will remit you this, by whose means it will be conveyed to me. If you could come yourself, it would be much better and well worth your journey. Pray forward the enclosed after sealing it. It would be of good service, if you would order one of the packet-boats that comes to the Groyne to touch here to receive your further orders. 1717, *Dec.* 4. *St. Sebastian.* 3½ *pages. Copy.*

Richard Barry to General George Carpenter, at London.

I wrote to you from hence in answer to your last, since which I have been disposing matters in order to wait on Lord Stanhope and you in a condition to render good service, which I am sure I can do, notwithstanding an accident that hinders much and obliged me to retire to a Franciscan convent, where I design to keep incognito, till I receive your orders in answer hereof, which is to pray you to communicate this to his lordship and obtain that a small frigate or one of the packet-boats that go from Falmouth

to the Groyne may be sent for me, either to this port or that of Passage, which is within half a league of this, and in it a person of capacity with whom I may concert and that he may have directions to come privately to said convent (directions how he is to be brought to the writer) in order to ship myself with him incognito and wait on his lordship and you with such a discovery as will prevent great troubles, and render the government very good service, the particulars whereof I dare not trust to paper.

The charges of a packet-boat touching here will not be considerable, and I can't go hence by land nor through France with any safety nor in my own ship as I designed; for both it and my goods are under a seizure without hopes of a main levée, *at least for a long time, and the circumstances are such as cannot be exposed in their true colours, which makes the commonalty and even those that call themselves the justice imagine one thing for another in an affair of very great consequence, which it is necessary should be kept very private, which I hope to explain by word of mouth to his lordship and you, it being unsafe, difficult and dangerous to do it by writing. The sooner it's done the better in order to prevent a great design of the last consequence. (Directions how letters are to be addressed to him.)*

I pray you to assure his lordship of the truth of what I write, which I can show in writing that can admit of no doubt.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 26. Vienna.—You will see by the enclosed relation the important news I have just received from the Court of Muscovy of the renunciation of that crown by the eldest Czarish prince in favour of his brother. Peace between Sweden and Muscovy is still talked of as certain, and people are only waiting for the Czar's return to Petersburg for the completion of that important affair.

Yesterday this Court received by a courier from London by no means agreeable news about the assistance they were hoping for from the Elector of Hanover. This ministry is in great agitation, seeing the danger at hand from the great preparations of King Philip. It is said that the Emperor is sending into Lombardy as soon as possible 10,000 men, who are to hold themselves on the defensive. The certain report continues of an agreement between this Court and the Duke of Savoy on the terms of a marriage between the first Archduchess and the Prince of Piedmont.

In a few days the Emperor's plenipotentiaries for treating of peace with the Turks will set out. My brother-in-law, formerly secretary of the Imperial Embassy to France, is to go in that capacity to the said congress, but meanwhile all the troops begin to put themselves on the march for the continuance of the war.

Here and elsewhere it is believed that King James is starting from Urbino on the way to Courland. If so, I beg to be favoured with an address to which my letters may be sent. 4 *pages. French. Partly in cipher deciphered. Enclosed,*

The Said Relation.

Giving an account of the renunciation at Moscow by the Czar's eldest son of his right of succession to the throne in favour of his younger brother. French.

Monsr. Stiernhoëk to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 26. Vienna.—I communicate the enclosed news judging them worthy of your curiosity. One of them is bad, which comes from the Emperor's Resident at Petersburg. I would hope it will have no consequences. I beg you "de bien menager ce que par le penchant pour la juste cause du roy, son maitre, et le motif de meriter l'honneur de la haute bienveillance de S. M. Britannique je communique avec tant de franchise a V.E., surtout ce qui regarde les affaires du Roy, mon maitre, ou il s'agit de ma fortune que mes avis soient menagés dans des conjunctures si delicates." *French. Enclosed,*

The Said News.

Giving an account of the intended movements of the Imperial forces against the Turks, of the reinforcements intended for Italy, and of the various negotiations for the settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy.

The Imperial Court has just heard from their Resident at Petersburg that, Baron Görtz having written to excuse the delay of the departure of the Swedish ministers for Abo for the conference there with the Russian ministers about the peace, the Czar has taken this excuse as a sign that the King of Sweden is thinking only of amusing him, has shown his annoyance thereat and has ordered 30,000 *men to march to invade Sweden. Those of the Court of Vienna, who fear the consequences of the peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar with the exclusion of King Augustus and of his return to Poland and Saxony and imagine that the Emperor will find his advantage rather in a peace between his Swedish Majesty and the Elector of Hanover, hoping that the peace of Poland may be included therein, let it be known that they are much pleased at this news. Others, however, let it be seen that it is indifferent to them with which of the two chiefs of the Northern League the King of Sweden should make peace, provided he be the Emperor's friend and his Imperial Majesty should have nothing to fear, should he return in arms to this side of the sea. We must see if the above news be confirmed and what the first letters from Sweden*

say about it. It appears, however, that a part of the Imperial Ministry begins to be of opinion that to whatever side his Swedish Majesty should turn to begin the peace of the North and whatever place of congress he may agree on with a part of his enemies, even if that place be outside Germany, the Emperor would do well not to go on making the difficulties he has hitherto made from a point of honour with regard to his Imperial dignity and authority about the place of congress and should resolve to delay no longer taking part therein as mediator and for that purpose should send a minister to the place of congress, when he should be formally requested by the parties to do so. Hitherto he has not been formally requested by any of the parties, since the new negotiations for peace have been set on foot, though their ministers here have always testified, as they do still, that his mediation will be agreeable to their masters.

Since writing the above I have heard that M. Weselowski, the Czar's Resident, who had disappeared from fear upon receiving the news of the Czar's resolution to send here to arrest him and bring him prisoner to Petersburg, returned the day before yesterday upon later intelligence that Prince Menzikow and the Chancellor Chapirow had found means to remove the bad impression received by the Czar from M. Tolstoy of M. Weselowski's conduct with regard to the Czarovitch, which was the sole cause of the Resident's retreat, what was said of his being accused of malversation not proving true. The latest news from that Court has been accompanied by the Czar's order to inform the Emperor of the Czarovitch's renunciation for himself, his son and all his descendants. It is easy to judge that the notification that the nephew of the Empress will be deprived of the succession cannot but be disagreeable to the Emperor, but he apparently will dissemble his annoyance. French. 8 *pages.*

The Duke of Mar to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, March 26.—The enclosed duplicates of what we sent two days ago to *Ormonde* the direct road answers all that was left for me to say in return to yours of Feb. 28 further than what I wrote you the 19th. *The King* desires they may be shown and explained to *Queen Mary*, and you may then seal and send them all to *Ormonde*, the way you used to write to him, in case the originals miscarry. You will see I have also wrote to *Dr. Erskine* another way, by which I am hopeful it will go safe and quick to him and that it may be of some use.

We long impatiently to hear from *Ormonde* of affairs betwixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, for sure they must be far advanced by this time one way or another.

I had letters t'other day from *the Emperor's* habitation by which I fear *the Emperor* will be prevailed on to give up *his* claim to *Spain*, which is not like to draw on these consequences we so much wish for, but there will still be many things required and to be adjusted in that, so it must take time, and it is not likely *Alberoni* will put a stop to his suit in expectation of it, when he has gone so far and has been at so great charge. *The Emperor*, I hear, makes now great court to *the King of Sicily* to engage him, but you will know more of all this where you are than we can.

My master has allowed me to go to see *Rome*, so I propose to set out on Monday. I shall be absent but about three weeks and heartily wish that some lucky thing may occasion my being called back sooner.

I wrote you a short note by *Sheldon*, who will, I suppose, be with you as soon as this.

I wrote to *Tullibardine* by *the King's* directions, to choose a right man for being oversman betwixt the captain and his crew at *Bordeaux* on *Inese's* having declined meddling any more in that, which I have as much mind to get free of as he can. The crew wrote me a recantation of what they had said of *Inese*, as I find they have done to himself. *Inese*, I see, is peevish at what I wrote him of a thing *James Murray* wrote to me had been wrote him from *Scotland*, but I wrote it as I had it, and where could I write of it else or from whence could it be supposed that such a message was said or thought to have come but from some with *St. Germains* or *Paris*, which I take in that case to be the same, and I was far from charging *Inese* with being the sender, and only desired him to try to find out from whom it had come, so the measure he complains he meets with on that is not so hard as he would turn it, but those who have a mind to be angry will be so.

I had a letter to-day of the 6th from Mr. *Wogan* from *Ohlau*, as I suppose you would also, and *the King* writes of it to *Queen Mary*.

I have just received yours of the 8th, but have had time yet to read what was enclosed and we are all going just now to a kind of holy opera. 2¼ *pages*. *Copy*.

James III.

1718, March 26. Urbino.—Warrant appointing Giovanni Pietro Sbraglia to be one of his musicians. *Latin*. *Entry Book* 5, *p.* 77.

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Sunday, March 27.—My health has been much out of order these 15 days, which hindered me from writing. Though it is now somewhat better, I can't brag of being yet in a condition to write at large, and therefore shall send only the heads of the most material facts. (List of letters sent and received.)

Yours of Feb. 18 requires no answer except the article concerning Mr. *Law*, who certainly has great access to *the Regent* and is looked on by everybody to be a favourite. He has also the reputation of a prudent judicious man and very fit for business, neither is his dexterity to be questioned in anything he undertakes. After all this my views in regard to him were about *money* affairs in case of certain occurrences, which, I believe, with good management he might be led into. I have not seen him since my sickness, but am told he is much pleased with the letters he received from *the King* and *Mar*.

For your further information I think myself obliged to tell you what I know and hear of him. He is in strict union and a fast friend to *Dubois*. Both are of the prevailing party near *the Regent*, which draws great envy upon them. *Dubois* has of late obtained his *pardon* from *the Elector of Hanover*, which is a new tie of friendship. *Stair* and *Law* were at great variance some time ago, but are now reconciled and frequently together. Both are very often shut up with *the Regent* for whole hours, which occasions great murmur among *the Regent's* chief people, who say openly that those two with *Dubois* govern all *foreign affairs*, and especially such as regard *England*.

You may depend on the truth of these facts, but I shall not determine what passes in private with *the Regent* nor the share *Law* may have in the direction of affairs, having no knowledge of it.

Your letter of Feb. 24 from Fano contains but one article that requires answer, wherein you say that you wrote your thoughts to *Inese* on a project he told you was offered to *the Regent* with regard to *the King*, and refer me to *Inese's* information. I have not been at St. Germains these 20 days, nor am I informed of that project, therefore can say nothing of it.

I am very glad *the King* and *Mar* took the diversion of an opera and that the champagne is arrived at Leghorn, which will spirit you up a little in the mountainy raw air you are in. I hope it has or will rid you of the pain in your stomach and that this will find your health perfectly recovered.

Tom Bruce to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 27. Brussels.—I had to-day the enclosed from Mr. *Jerningham*. By what he writes to me, I am sorry to understand that the bargain he was looking after is in so backward and uncertain a condition, so contrary to expectation and to all our former accounts, which to this hour continue in the same strain. *Sir H. Paterson* and he have both cautioned me not to take any notice of it, which puts me to some small difficulty, for on the late advices some of our copartnery were too forward and open and I endeavoured rather to make them reserved, by doubting the authority and not giving any credit on that head till we should be further advised, so these

insinuations I formerly made seem to be agreeable to *Jerningham's* advices, but somewhat contrary to his instructions to conceal them. However, I shall steer as equal a course as I can.

The discontents here continue as formerly, though every day we are told that the Emperor is to please them by allowing them to take the old oaths conform to their constitution and Magna Charta.

The last letters from London bear that the Spanish minister had told the English ministers that, if any ships were sent into the Mediterranean to meddle in the affairs of Italy, his master would look on it as an open breach, to which ours answered that his master had no reason to apprehend anything from England, and that no harm was designed him from thence. They write notwithstanding that the whole English equipment, most of which was formerly designed for the Baltic, is now to go to the Mediterranean, and that the King goes in the middle of April to Hanover and that the Parliament is to be prorogued this week.

The Dutch equipment is in the same state. I was told yesterday by one who passed from Paris to Holland that the Regent had given a very short answer to the Dutch minister, when he asked him why he sent so many troops to Dauphiny, namely, that it was the King's pleasure.

The Antwerp *Courant* of Friday says that the Pretender is to leave Urbino to go marry the Czar's niece, that of Amsterdam of yesterday, that he is going to leave Urbino in view of a marriage, and that of Leyden that he is going to leave Italy with all his retinue, if he has not left it already, towards making a new attempt on Britain.

JOHN PATERSON to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, March 27. Urbino.—The 24th I enclosed you a letter from the Duke of Mar to Mr. Stiernhock, to whom my Lord desires you will make his excuse that he has not now time to acknowledge his of the 8th and 9th and return his thanks to him.

There was enclosed in that letter of Lord Mar's one addressed for Dr. Erskine, the Czar's physician, which was proposed to be forwarded him by means of the Russian Envoy at your Court, but now that we understand by yours of the 9th that he had absented himself *a l'impreveu*, and, being afraid that the letter for Dr. Erskine might by that means miscarry, I am ordered to desire you'll speak to Monsieur Stiernhock of it, and, if either you or he knows of any sure and safe way of conveying it to Dr. Erskine, so that it cannot fail of coming safe to his hands, that you'll forward it to the Doctor without loss of time, but, if you cannot find any such sure canal, that you can depend on its going safe, in that case you'll return it under cover to me.

Postscript.—Requesting him to return the packet left for Monsr. Germain (Wogan), who was then expected to pass his way, but has taken another route. *Copy.*

The Earl of Oxford to James III.

1717[-8], March 16[-27]. Epsom. (? London).—"It is no small trouble that I cannot in these circumstances of distance and the course of our trade write to *the King* in the manner I ought to do nor express what my heart dictates. If it had been possible, I would have chose that *the King* should have first found my zeal by its effects rather than by any verbal professions, but, since *Anne Oglethorpe* has made known to you my intentions, I will omit nothing that is possible for me to do to promote the trade of *the King*. It is very true that our distance from *the King* is a very great hindrance to trade, but that must be borne until it can be conveniently altered. But I crave leave once for all to mention this. I hope *the King* will excuse his factors, if they act for the best and for fear of losing the market do not on all occasions wait for *the King's* particular directions as they ought and would do, were it not for the great distance we are at. You know that the woollen manufacture (the House of Stuart) is the ancient staple trade of the kingdom, and I can with much pleasure tell you that it grows every day more and more in fashion; and those new goods (the House of Brunswick) are run down every day, people are ashamed to wear them and I hope the old trade will quickly be restored and flourish. But, though everything tends to this and has so good a prospect, yet there will be a necessity of encouragement from foreign markets, and we expect to hear the current price of goods in your market, as soon as it can be settled. It is not possible for *the King's* factor here to write upon that subject, it would be but guess-work at best; but it is to be hoped that *the King* will take care by *Mar* to give such directions as he shall judge necessary from time to time, and the nearer it is to have the market begun the greater ought to be the care that the rival merchants do not find out what goods *the King* trades with.

"I find that several new traders are willing to come into the partnership, but they will take their own way of doing it, and in my poor opinion they should every one be encouraged to it, and to venture their cargo after their own fancy; *Lord Oxford* will encourage everyone therein, unless *the King* forbids him, and will assure them of fair dealing and let them take their own way of doing it.

"Our great fair or mart at Bristol is over (*i.e.* the Parliament is prorogued), there has been some confusion by the scarcity of coin, yet I cannot but say *the King's* credit is very much improved as you will find by particular accounts.

"*Lord Oxford* studies to keep well with *the Bishop of Rochester,* and *the King* may depend upon it that nothing shall

cool him in promoting *the King's* interest, and he can assure you that successful pains have been taken with several of the same rank and trade with *the Bishop of Rochester*, and, as soon as it is proper, *the King* shall know their names and cargoes. It is made plain to them and to others that the woollen manufacture is the only ancient staple trade, and that there is no dependence to be had on any other new inventions.

" I now come to acknowledge the favour of *the King's* letter of Dec. 16. It was long in its passage, but that is not to be wondered at, it makes such lasting impressions upon me that I must leave it to time to show that which is not proper to be expressed in writing at present.

" I shall take the particulars in order as they lie in that letter. As to *the King's* return, I desire it may be for good and all, but in the meantime how to settle a quicker correspondence is what I have turned my thoughts towards, and many objections occur to every method ; that which has fewest must be chosen. To have *the King* and *Mar* reside in different places may give some advantage in correspondence, but then it is attended with other great inconveniences : add to this that the spring brings on the best time for trade, and. until it is known here what channel trade will take, it is not possible to propose any tolerable method to remedy the distance.

" If it were possible to fix *the Regent* right in what is his own interest and that of all his partners in his own trade it would make everything easy to *the King* and to *the Regent* also.

" This leads me to the next point in the letter, wherein you are pleased to ask *Lord Oxford's* advice, which obliges him to give it plainly. He thinks, should that present (of the Cardinal's cap) be obtained for any of *the King's* countrymen, it would enrage *England* and in this juncture bankrupt that family which should have it, which are already too much pursued by their merciless creditors. On the other hand, I would not have *the King* drop that privilege ; cannot the actual giving it be suspended until *the King* can find a proper object for it, who may do him considerable service in return for it ? And cannot *the King* find one belonging to *France* who can effectually serve *the King* and fix *the Regent* ? I hope I have explained this particular sufficiently.

" The head which follows in the letter is that of marriage. The reasons for not pursuing the former were so good and so strong they give everyone full satisfaction. I hope that condition will be very happy to *the King*. This I am sure of, that *England* ought to receive it as a sacrifice to *its* interest and make suitable returns to it.

" The next that follows relates to the project of the interloper. I did some months since send my thoughts of the conduct observed upon that occasion, that it was prudent and just, and the conclusion was acted with great generosity.

Less could not be done, and the nature of the thing would not allow more. An odd thing has happened just now in *England's* family relating to *King George*, of which you will hear publicly. It may give *the King* occasion to declare his mind and to expose such unfair traders. I will advise with *the King's* friends here upon that subject and *the King* shall hear farther. *The King* has the goodness to take notice of honest *Capt. Ogilvie*. He has a great mind to be in *the King's* service, and pitches upon one of two things. I dare not presume to ask such a matter, but I will venture to say nobody can exceed him in diligence and fidelity. If *the King* should have the goodness to give it him, it will be very inconvenient to have him remove at present while this method of correspondence is necessary, and I wonder how *Lord Oxford* came formerly to be misunderstood, for he did not intend to make use of any other channel but *Capt. Ogilvie's*, and in the present circumstances the utmost care is requisite to prevent any accident happening to interrupt the going on of our trade. This makes *Lord Oxford* cautious of not entering into particulars, but in time *the King* shall know who his friends are. They daily increase, though at present some will deal only in one part of the woollen manufacture and some in another; yet by degrees and step by step there is reason to believe all will come into partnership.

"If I have omitted anything here I will supply it in that to *Mar*. *Lord Oxford* will endeavour to say what is proper from *the King* to particular people.

"I am but an apprentice and factor and therefore am not able to express sufficiently what I would do for so good a master, but I shall show that I serve him heartily faithfully with a single regard to his interest only." 4 *pages*.

William Gordon to John Paterson.

1718, March 28.—I had yours of the 10th by Mr. Freebairn and delivered the enclosed to the Earl of Panmure with your compliments to the Doctor.

Your three packets for my namesake at St. Germains Mr. Freebairn delivered himself. When I go there, which is very seldom, I will see my cousin, for the females of that name as well as those of her trade use not to be hard-hearted.

Your friend Clangun must drink, get money where he will, but what he does as to the other affair I know not, and his master never learnt him that occupation. I shall mind your address, and your father's answer when it comes, and shall make your compliments to your Scots friends, among them James Cuming, who no doubt knew your hand and the rather that I dropped something to him, when I sent your letter, whereby he would guess from whom it came. I wrote your brother Thomas several times about two letters I addressed to him for Mr. Rate or the Duke of Mar, but never had a word

of answer, though I caused speak to him and told him he would be in no great danger to write to me about business However, I hear he is very well, rolling about in his chariot and every thing of his house, wife and family conform, so he has got the start of you, though he be the younger brother.

I shall make your excuse to all your camerades that it's impossible for you to answer their expectations in writing to them, and I never expect to hear from you unless something of business obliges you. Your silence neither surprises nor disobliges me, for I know you have other fish to fry as to amuse yourself with writing letters of ceremony or civility.

Lieut.-General Dillon to James III.

1718, March 28. St. Germains.—I came here last night by *Queen Mary's* pressing commands, though my health is not yet in a condition to support any fatigue. I received during my sickness at *Paris* yours of Feb. 16 and 23 and of the 9th instant, and* had last night from *Queen Mary* yours of Feb. 25 with the order concerning *Inese*. I have executed your commands as to the last point and can affirm with truth that *Inese* received them in the most dutiful and submissive manner. By what you write to me I don't question your having sufficient grounds, but I can't help saying that in all my dealings with *Inese* I found him a most upright man, extremely zealous and of a clear digested good judgment. I think myself obliged by principle of justice and honour to give this testimony, which is all I know of the matter. I presume *the King* will be informed of what *Inese* writes to *Mar* on this account.*

'Tis not in my power to express my great acknowledgement for your good opinion of me, as also for your bounty towards me. My duty and zeal for your person and service shall never be wanting, and I wish I could be able to answer for my capacity and judgment to go through all the business you charge me with. I shall use my utmost endeavours, but am too sincerely attached to your interest to undertake more than I can perform; therefore, when I find the burthen too great, I hope you will allow me to inform you of it that you may then name whom you think proper for corresponding with those *Inese* had to do with. I am persuaded *the King* won't disapprove this plain and natural manner of proceeding.

I expect *James Murray* will be here very soon, and hope to be able to write at large by him, which I am not in a condition to do at present. *The part between asterisks is printed in the Stuart Papers, p.* 24, *note.* 3½ *pages.*

[Lieut.-General Dillon] to [the Duke of Mar].

1718, Monday, March 28. St. Germains.—This is in answer to yours of the 10th. You were right to say that what you wrote about *Inese* would surprise me and indeed it did

extremely. God prosper *the King*. I presume he has reasons for what he does. (Testimony in favour of Inese as in the last letter.)

All your directions as to *Inese* and other matters shall be punctually observed. I have no hopes of *Francia's* affair turning to good account. He prevaricated with us from the beginning to the end. However, if you can find means to apply to him, I think it would not be amiss. In my first conference with him I proposed to carry him to *Ormonde* and *Mar*, then in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. He answered he had no commission to speak to either of them, and that he did not think it proper without having directions from his club, as he called the friends who employed him. I gave an immediate account of this to *Queen Mary*, who, I am morally sure, never spoke to *Francia* of *Ormonde* or *Mar*. This is the real fact, by which you'll easily see that either the good friar has mistook *Francia* or that the other told him an untruth.

The account you had of *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar's agreement* was ill-grounded, as you have already seen by *Jerningham's* letter of Feb. 13 and the copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* of the 10th of that month O.S. Friends with *England* still believe they have adjusted affairs, but we have no sure news here of the factors' meeting or where the congress is to be. I expect daily with impatience a letter from *Ormonde* on this head.

I enclose *James Murray's* last to me, and think it necessary you should know that the same account he gives of the two gentlemen (this word is written instead of "brothers" erased) was sent to others this side of the water. George Hamilton showed me a late letter he had from *England*, where 'tis said that their being in *the King's* interest is no more doubted of. I told him I knew nothing of it, but that in all cases the matter should be kept very secret for reasons I mentioned needless to be repeated. This same news being wrote to other friends with *Paris*, I fear much it may be divulged, though without any ill design, and, if the report went back to *Argyle*, it is to be apprehended that it would disgust or at least displease him. I shall be very attentive to keep it down as much as depends on me.

I hope *James Murray* will be soon here and by him I'll write at large. (About his health and his coming to St. Germains as in the last letter.) *Inese* sent me the enclosed packets to be forwarded. 4 *pages*.

L. Inese to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 28. St. Germains.—I received by Mr. Freebairn your letter of the 10th and by it the first news of the King's order that I should meddle no more in his affairs, and have since received from Mr. Dillon the order itself. (Then follows a long passage printed in *the Stuart Papers*, *p.* 24, *note*.)

I think myself obliged to return you my most humble thanks for your kind letter. It was indeed a great goodness to take so much pains to convince me that you knew nothing of this order, till after it was dispatched, of which, after what you say, I have not the least doubt ; nay, I dare say, had your advice been asked, you had endeavoured to soften matters, so that the order might not be sent in so severe a manner as it was. The least intimation of the King's pleasure had been sufficient to make me do what I have myself so long and so often desired.

You say " I know best what is the matter that has occasioned the King to do so." I sincerely protest that I neither know nor can guess what I have done to offend him, unless it be that I have writ my thoughts to him with more freedom than was perhaps agreeable to him. But for my so doing I have this to say for myself that I had not only his allowance, but even his reiterated commands to write freely to himself whatever I thought for his service, and have often found that, when what I proposed happened to be contrary to his sentiments, far from being offended he encouraged me to continue with the same freedom. What besides made me continue in the same way was that he had formerly promised that, whenever he found fault with anything in my conduct, he would himself advertise me of it, and 'tis certain I had no advertisement given me. But this is what I had not said, had it not been necessary for answering your letter.

Now, as my behaviour on this nice occasion may perhaps be misrepresented, most people being apt to give things a good or bad turn as they themselves are well or ill affected, to prevent any impression such partial relaters may make, I shall here plainly and sincerely set down, what I have said and what I shall say to those who speak to me of this, that what the King has now done in laying me aside, I think both just and reasonable, that I doubt not that it will turn to his advantage, that it was ever my own opinion that it was not fit for any priest to be concerned in his temporal affairs, that the King and Queen know I never intruded myself into their affairs, but often and earnestly begged for leave to retire from being concerned in them, that it was only in obedience to their commands I continued to meddle in them, and that therefore, far from murmuring or complaining, I heartily approve and am entirely satisfied with what the King has now done. This is the substance of what I have said and shall say to those who, whether I will or not, will speak to me on this occasion, and, if you hear anything contrary to this or not consistent with it, I must beg you to do me the justice not to believe it. I shall conclude with returning you my most humble thanks for the kind offer of friendship you make me. Whatever letters may come from those who correspond with me shall be given to Mr. Dillon, and what letters may come for you under my cover shall be given to him or Mr. Gordon. As

soon as I knew the King's intentions, I wrote to those who used to correspond with me to leave off writing to me of anything relating to his Majesty's affairs, and not to expect to hear any more from me on that subject, because I was not to meddle any more in them, and therefore desired them to address themselves directly to you or Mr. Dillon. 4 *pages*.

Capt. George Camocke to Queen Mary.

1718, March 28. St. Germains.—My friends in England lately signified to me that the pirates in America have two ships of 50 guns, two of 40 and about 16 sloops and brigantines of from 12 to 6 guns, and that they are now in possession of one of the Bahama Islands, and that they have built a citadel for their defence and have mounted 24 guns. Their number is 5,000 and they daily increase.

The Duke of Brunswick has issued a proclamation to pardon all such pirates as would lay down their arms and return to his obedience at a limited time, but they have rejected with contempt the said pardon, and did with one heart and voice proclaim James III for their king, and I am persuaded they are resolved to prosper or perish in their bold and brave undertaking, but it is humbly desired by them that his Majesty will send them a person who has borne some character in the English Royal Navy with a commission for captain general of America by sea and land with a full power to give commissions and such instructions as shall be thought needful to enable him to reduce the Bermudas to the King's obedience, for I am convinced that island may be easily surprised.

Such an enterprise as taking that island can never be effected but once, so, if we carry our point, which in my poor opinion I think there is no difficulty in effecting, I defy all the maritime powers in Europe to dislodge us; furthermore the advantage will be so great, that very few ships of the enemy trading to Guinea and the West Indies will escape us.

I most humbly offer my proposal how to make these people very useful to his Majesty, and I doubt not that pardoning and employing them against the common enemy will be the only means to make way for a restoration, for, if we can destroy the West India and Guinea trade, we shall make the English merchants for their own sakes for the advantage of trade rather desire a restoration than that the Duke of Brunswick should continue.

First, I most humbly propose that, since the Duke of Brunswick thinks it worth his while to give an indemnity to these pirates for all their depredations, certainly it must be my master's interest to grant them pardon and employ them against the common enemy. Therefore, I most humbly offer that, if his Majesty thinks me capable to undertake this great work, I will, with the interest of my friends in England, purchase a 50 gun ship at Cadiz with our own money, which

will cost about 15,000*l.*, and I will engage to man her with the King's own natural born subjects, and here is a person, who is trustworthy and has great interest amongst the Protestants as well as Catholics, who will rely on his word and trust him with money and whatever else is necessary for this expedition, if approved of. He will go to England and send me to Cadiz thirty sea officers of the very best that nation affords, who are desirous to serve under my command, and they also desire that he may be employed in every respect and empowered with instructions enabling him to go for England without loss of time for the more speedy making the necessary remittances to Cadiz for purchasing a proper ship.

Furthermore it is most humbly offered that the armateurs and captors shall have the full benefit of ships and cargoes that shall be taken and adjudged lawful prize for their own proper use, and that the net proceeds of the captors' share shall be divided in the same manner as was done in the late war between England and France, but there shall be given to his Majesty as a free gift out of the net proceeds of all prizes sufficient money to enable him to raise such a number of troops for to be able to undertake some noble enterprise to endeavour to restore him.

For the better encouragement to his Majesty's true subjects, who trade to America and may suffer with the disobedient and disloyal, I most humbly propose that such persons, as can within some limited time give good proof of their loyalty, shall have returned them the value of their goods, plate &c. but not the ship so taken, because that climate and the worm will soon damage them, and furthermore, if the necessity of the service requires their being made use of, then, that justice may be done to the loyal, it shall be ordered that such ships so taken shall be surveyed and valued, and, if made use of for the service, the armateurs and captors shall pay the proprietors within a twelvemonth and a day the valuation.

Lastly, the armateurs, who are to consist of seven, whereof the Admiral is to be accounted as one, shall be equally empowered, and no one shall have a superiority over the other by land, and the majority shall on all accounts be a determination of the matter proposed, and any three shall be sufficient to sign any order relating to prizes, and that it be inserted in the instructions to the Admiral that, if any armateur's affairs hinder him from being on the spot, it shall be lawful for him to name deputies who shall act with the same force as if he were present.

It shall be given to the Admiral in his instructions that at his arrival amongst the pirates, after the proclamation of pardon has been read, they are immediately to proceed on business, and the very first thing to be done in Council shall be to give his Majesty an account of our proceedings and intentions, and two sailing vessels shall be appointed for packet-boats

from our principal ports to Vigo or some other port in Biscay, which shall depart every six weeks or as necessity requires.

I most humbly supplicate that this proposal be sent express to the King and, as a good design succeeds from its being kept secret and a quick dispatch, I most humbly implore you will not suffer this plan to be communicated to any but to the King and the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar.

Since no expense is required from his Majesty and this plan is so promising, I can't but hope it will have an approbation, but, should it not be approved, I pray you to write to the King for his leave for my serving the King of Spain and that he will send me his commission for any one of the nine English Admirals with a letter of recommendation to that King, and I pray he will date it from the time I went with his Grace of Ormonde, but above all I prefer serving the King, if occasion offers. 12 *pages*.

Dr. Maghie to Lord Gerard [? Mar].

1718, March 28. Urbino.—Licence to eat meat during the present Lent on account of his indisposition. *Latin*.

James Murray to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, March 17[-28]. London.—I have yours of the 22nd N.S., and in it the bill you mention. I look on it as my happiness that *the King* thinks I can be of use to him by being here, and must submit to what he thinks proper in order to make me so. *George Kelly* came to town last Saturday night, having by *Sir R. Everard's* order left the goods to be brought by the waggon. We expect them every hour, and, as soon as they arrive, I shall be able to write to you more fully.

I am really surprised that what I wrote to you about a certain picture is so great a mystery, and you may easily believe I should have been more particular, had I imagined it possible that such a one could have come over without your knowledge or *Queen Mary's*. At the same time, I must own that I avoided naming particular persons and only mentioned the thing, because I desire it may be understood that I never write anything from a view to accuse any person, and that I am still more incapable of writing idle stories. But this, from the consequences of it, in my poor opinion deserved to be mentioned and for *Queen Mary's* further information and yours you'll be pleased to know that *Menzies* and *Anne Oglethorpe* have had in their possession the picture and have showed it either directly by themselves or by others to a great many people, some of quality and some much otherways, as the picture of one of the young ladies, nieces to *the Czar*, which has possessed people so much of a belief that *the King's* marriage is concluded, that the common health in all companies of his friends has been what would have been proper on a public declaration of such a thing, so you may judge what

figure some of our friends have made on this occasion. I think I need say no further. From whom or to whom it came, I know not, but as to Mr. *Menzies*, some to whom he showed it told me they saw it in his hands. As to the matter itself, I did not then nor do not yet know what may be in it, but, whether true or false, I saw in either case the ill consequences of making it public, and, had it been possible after this to have contradicted it, I thought it a strong reason to do so, that *Ormonde* had never thought fit to make the least mention of it.

The Parliament in all appearance will be up next Wednesday, and it's thought the King will go soon after to Hanover. The changes in our ministry you'll see in the public papers. I will write more fully soon about your private concerns. 2 *pages*.

William Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 29. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters.—I shall speak only to Mr. Dillon about the King's affairs and not to him except by your direction or in consequence of your orders to others. I communicated your paragraph to the Countess of Carington and caused the letter to Mademoiselle Ti[l]desley to be delivered to her own hand.

The Court of France are very unkind to the Queen in not paying her more regularly, which puts Mr. Dicconson out of case to furnish any fund for the last or this month, which is very uneasy to us all, for a good many, if not most, of the King's subjects, want credit as strangers and are reduced to great straits, though I do what I can to advance those in greatest want as long as I have it of my own.

Amongst the enclosed I think there's one from Lord Pitsligo, who writes me for credit in Holland, which I shall send him next post, and, because he was so kind and just as to put himself out of the list, you may be pleased to renew my orders of paying him, else Mr. Dicconson may scruple to allow it.

Robert Freebairn to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 29. Paris.—I wrote to Mr. Paterson the 22nd that I had punctually obeyed your directions.

I take the liberty to inform you of what I find passing amongst our people here, and, if I do it with some freedom, I hope you will believe it proceeds from a zeal for his Majesty's service and a personal attachment to yourself.

In the first place, everybody is calling out against the Court of St. Germains for some one thing or another, but all agree that what business is transacted for the King there is not done with that secrecy and perhaps honesty that needs were. That Court, say they, never wanted spies, nor is it now free of 'em. How should there otherwise come so many complaints from the King's friends in England, and so many things be

talked of in the coffee-house here? It is the openness at least of that Court that makes the King's friends at home so cautious and distrustful and those abroad so fearful and jealous, as considering them a set of people with whom they cannot deal with safety.

In the meantime everybody here seems well pleased that his Majesty has discharged Mr. Innes from meddling any more in his affairs, while others are not so well satisfied with Mr. Dillon's management. Nobody doubts of his bravery and integrity, but most people think he is acting a little out of his sphere and complain of him for being slow and of uneasy access. It is publicly talked that Mr. James Murray is expected quickly over and is to succeed him.

There is still the same peevish humour amongst some people there was formerly, but whence it proceeds I cannot learn, except that they have mutually concurred to flatter and deceive one another into an over-value of their own parts and merit.

Dr. Leslie tells me they have printed in England the letter the King wrote him, and that it has had great effect there. They have it here that the Duke of Argyle is gone down to Scotland disobliged and threatening, and that the Spanish ambassador has told the Court of England that his master will declare war, if they send above four ships into the Mediterranean.

All our people here go by their own names, except Lord Panmure, and are in all the public places and meet with no disturbance and are in great expectation that something is to be suddenly attempted.

I must again beg of you to forgive this liberty and to consider what I have told you only as a simple narrative.

George Jerningham to James III.

1718, March 29. The Hague.—Since I wrote last, we had the following account from *Sweden* by letters of the 10th and 11th N.S., that *Görtz* should have parted the 10th for *Finland*, but *the King of Sweden*, hearing that Monsieur *Fabricius* was arrived with new proposals from *England*, had ordered his delay till the said person came to *Court*, who was on the road and arrived at *Court* the 10th, on examination of which *the King of Sweden* found nothing answerable to his expectations, since *the Elector of Hanover*, notwithstanding his generosity in other points, was still resolved to keep *Bremen* &c. Hereupon *Görtz* had fresh orders to continue his journey as abovementioned and set out the 11th accordingly. This relation was given me by *Prince Curakin*, from whom I have had several friendly advices in regard to affairs now in motion. Amongst the rest he told me that he was fully of opinion that, unless *the King of Sweden* would *agree* without *Livonia*, nothing would be done in that affair. I said nothing thereto,

knowing how passionately bent *the King of Sweden* and his *ministry* are as to that point, and push that matter with much more fire than *Görtz*, who, having a distance view in all he does, would give up that or almost anything to finish affairs with *the Czar*, and thinks that what they give now will easily refall again upon the death of *the Czar*, and I believe his calculations would fall pretty right. The present confusions in *Muscovy* confirm the same, which I omit here, because all the printed papers are full of them. *The Czar* is not returned to *Petersburg*, which will retard proceedings at *Abo*. However, since things are brought to this light and carried this length, I am resolved to join *Ormonde* without loss of time. I propose to go to-morrow to Amsterdam, where *Prince Curakin* has given me a rendezvous, and thence forward. What I learn between this and then, I shall trouble you with by the next or the next post but one.

I apprehend a greater necessity than ever that *the King* applies now his credit with *the Czar*, for 'tis plain where the whole pinches, and, if we cannot soften that point, it will be all labour in vain.

I'll not trouble *Mar* with more particulars, being satisfied that you'll be pleased that the last efforts from *England* are come to nothing, which influences so much already that *the King of Denmark* has forbid the French minister at Hamburg to receive any more *letters* from *Sweden*, saying he cannot permit that correspondence any longer. 1½ *page*.

Sir H. Paterson to L. Inese.

1718, March 29. Leyden.—I hope you got my last with the one enclosed from *Ormonde* to *Dillon*, which I gave you the trouble of, because I thought it the safest way. I received one lately from *Dillon* with one enclosed to *Jerningham*, which I answered last week, when I suppose he likewise heard from *Jerningham*, who arrived here two days before his, and who, I doubt not, has given him an account in what situation he found things here. I hope his coming into these parts will have no inconvenience, and that he may be with *Ormonde* in time or further that way, should there be occasion for it, and he proposes to set out on the first certain notice he has of *Görtz's* arrival in these parts. I have been with him some days at *the Hague*, where we saw several of the factors there and particularly *Prince Curakin* and *the King of Sweden's* friend, who are both very much for their friends' agreeing to *the peace*, and on the terms we wish, and they have both wrote to their friends in the strongest manner they can to persuade them to it. The last has told us of the late offers made to *the King of Sweden* on the part of *the Elector of Hanover*, and at the same time said he thought that *the King of Sweden* could not in honour make up with him. (About the refusal of these offers, the delay in Görtz's journey, and his eventual departure as in the last letter.)

I heard the other day from a pretty good hand that *the Regent* does not at present press *the King of Sweden* so much to settle *a treaty* with *the Elector of Hanover* as he has done of late, and there is reason to believe this, on what has now happened betwixt *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Emperor*, but you must know it better, and, if the case is so, I have no great fears that *the peace* will prevail betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Elector of Hanover*, for it has been by *the Regent's* canal and his interest only that that management has been on foot this while past and been so much pressed.

I shall see *Jerningham* to-morrow, and, if we find it confirmed that *Görtz* has parted from *Lund*, as there is reason to believe by the way these accounts come, I shall press his setting out without loss of time and even without waiting for the returns to what he has wrote to *Queen Mary*, which I must presume will be likewise *Queen Mary's* opinion, and, if he happens to be gone before he receives them, I shall take all care to dispatch them safely after them. You may communicate what you judge proper of this to *Queen Mary*, and I shall not fail to write again by next post, if anything further occurs.

We have not much news here at present, and we want two posts from E[nglan]d. (Reports from thence of threats of war by the Spanish ambassador, if ships were sent to the Mediterranean, as in other letters.) It is expected the Spanish minister here will soon make such another declaration. This has alarmed very much the merchants in E[nglan]d, but, notwithstanding, the fleet is still fitting out, and it's given out that 20 men-of-war are to go to the Mediterranean and 10 to the Baltic, and they still talk of putting out a squadron here, to which they are very much pressed by E[nglan]d, though they make no great haste to it, and it's even yet doubted by many that any will go from these parts. The two squadrons from E[nglan]d cannot be ready this two months, many of the ships being not yet put in commission, and neither victualled nor seamen yet provided. The bill about the forfeited estates, it's thought, will pass in the House of Lords, though it meets with great opposition there. It is of a very extraordinary nature, and among other odd clauses there is one that cuts off all personal creditors on these estates, and the Commissioners have the stating of all claims independent of the Lords of Session, which must make a very great confusion in Scotland, and many poor people will suffer by it.

I must desire you to forward the enclosed to *Mar* the first opportunity. It was sent me from home, when I heard likewise from the person you not long ago sent me some packets to forward to, who desires that *the King* and *Queen Mary* may be assured that our partners at *Scotland* are as ready and willing as ever to serve *the King*, who has got many new friends there, and the measures now taking there are not like to make them fewer. 3 *pages*.

MARIO, MARQUESS CORNIA, to "ILLUSTRISSIMO SIGNORE E PADRONE MIO" [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, March 29. Verona.—Thanking him for his replies and information.—I well know the royal condition of that personage, the justice of his cause, and am ready to treat him as if he were on his throne. I too am in a somewhat similar position, deriving royal blood from Duke Matthias and being by right of blood and succession sole heir to the states of my family, which were tyrannically usurped from my ancestors. Although the late Emperor Leopold, under whose august protection I lived 16 years till his death, and who created me knight of the order of St. George, formerly publicly declared me prince, I have contented myself with the title of marquess only as my father did, though he lived incognito many years in Verona, where he married the widow of Count Pizzinali, where I was born and lived till I was 15, when I lost my parents, and, though my mother had a fortune of 16,000 ducats, I never was able to get a farthing of it, the whole being consumed by Counts Pietro and Raimondo, my elder brothers. Don Nicola dal Fior and his comrade, Don Giuseppe, can inform you of my condition.

As to the affair you know of, I should not hesitate to confide it to such a person as Cardinal Gualterio. In treating of a matter so delicate and important I cannot put it down on paper and we are too far off to do it by word of mouth. I pray God to continue his favours to the personage you know of, and to conduct him to the wished-for haven, as the justice of his cause demands. *Italian.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, March 29. Urbino.—I was agreeably surprised to see the good turn the business of *money* has taken, but I cannot but be mortified at seeing the distrust shown towards *Gualterio.* One cannot sufficiently admire his prudence and his great moderation, his conduct in this affair being certainly the most prudent and that most in accordance with the interests of *the King*, who will always keep him informed of everything and will try by redoubling his confidence to make up for the want of it he finds elsewhere.

The affairs of the North are on the point of decision and it may well happen that, if *the money* affair is not soon finished, it will come too late. I tremble merely at thinking that I shall be obliged to say in that case, if the money in question is demanded of me, that I have none, for to all appearances everything will depend on that, so all the prudent solicitations you will be able to make on that subject are more necessary than ever.

You will find here *Cardinal Imperiali's* letter to me with my answer.

I shall wait for a letter from *Cardinal Albani* before writing to him, and, as I reckon that will come by the next ordinary,

you will see if it be proper to anticipate my letter by presenting to the Pope and all his family my compliments on the death of Donna Giulia.

You will put, if you please, the enclosed letter for Turin in the ordinary post without any mystery and without asking for a receipt from the postmaster at Turin, as was done in the case of the last. You will see I am using another address, but the answers will always be sent by that of *Cardinal Aquaviva*. I beg you to have particular attention to send me all the letters that shall come by that address.

I am to tell you that Mr. Wogan is returned. He has seen several princesses, among them the youngest Sobieski, of whom he gives a very advantageous character, and whom I might have to-morrow, if I wished, but the answers I am waiting for from elsewhere not having come, my indecision continues in spite of myself, though I hope it will not last long.

I approve extremely of your conduct with regard to *the Princess of Saxony*. My principal object in that affair should be to gain time, which will not be difficult from the turn that it is taking. For the rest, though I have almost wholly rejected it in myself, I believe it would be impolitic to declare myself as yet, to avoid confirming the suspicions people might have with regard to another marriage, and that in general I ought not to refuse anyone, till my choice is fixed, for different reasons too clear to be mentioned.

Wogan has not taken the least step with regard to *the Princess of Saxony*, following the orders of *Queen Mary* received before his departure. He did not bring the letter for the Rector of the Jesuits and, as the latter was not willing to take the responsibility of the packet which *Mar* sent directly from here, it has been consigned to a sure hand, from which it will be returned here to be thrown into the fire. I have believed I ought to set your mind at rest on that subject.

I should have told you that *the Princess of Baden* is pretty, but dwarfish, and therefore *the King* is to think of her no longer.

The Duke of Mar does not intend to go into company at Rome, and I find it very good that he does not for all sorts of reasons. There are however particular cases in which he will let himself be guided by you. The [Pope's] nephews, the Secretary of State and Cardinal Imperiali would perhaps expect a visit, and civilities in those directions would perhaps be well spent, but in this you will decide. He will have with him Mr. Erskine and Mr. Stuart, whom you know. You may employ them as interpreters for common and ordinary matters, but as for the secrets and above all as regards *money* he does not expect to learn anything at Rome, unless you may be able to make yourself understood by him in French, of which he understands only a very little.

If I could have imagined that my going to Fourlo would have made so much noise, I would have certainly informed you beforehand, but, as you heard nothing of it from me,

I presume that it will have caused you no uneasiness. In my situation little mysterious journeys from time to time cannot but have a good effect for the time when it will be a question of leaving for good, which may soon happen, if the affairs of the North are once settled. However that may be, my recent trip has procured me lights and information which will serve me in a serious affair. I see, when that occasion shall come, I ought not to let *the President here* into the secret, and I will tell you, though in the deepest confidence, that *the Duke of Parma* has a man here who is ordered to send him an express when *the King* shall leave for good. I am told he was sent here some time ago, but of this I am not sure, but it matters little. I have reason to believe the spy wishes me well, but it is well to know there is such a thing, since he has always to obey his orders.

My last letter leaves me nothing more to say about what I have written to Leslie. I am always more and more convinced that you will not hear anything said about it where you are, and that, however this may be, my last letter will be sufficient for you to obviate all inconveniences that may arise from it on the part of *the Pope. French. Draft and fair copy with some variations. The last sentence is only in the draft.*

JAMES III to the KING OF S[ICILY].

1718, March 29. Rome.—I would have sooner acknowledged your letter of the 2nd and expressed my concern at your accident, if I had not been afraid of troubling you. I ardently wish that your health may be re-established, but I am a little surprised that a letter I saw a little while ago from one of your friends says nothing of your accident. As to what you have told me about *the Princess of Baden* I have made particular enquiries about *her*, and it appears to me from the report of an eye-witness that *she* is not fit for the purpose you proposed. However, *the King* assures me there are several other prospects with regard to that and that he is working efficaciously to provide for the affair you have so earnestly recommended to him. He hopes to come to the end of it soon and doubts not you would approve of the steps he has taken, were it possible to explain them to you by writing. He hopes notwithstanding in a little while to give you satisfactory news about a matter he has so much at heart, and the execution of which does not depend on him, and is not so easy as might be imagined.

I shall not fail to address my letters as you order. It is pretended that letters are often opened in the Milanese, but this ought not to trouble a correspondence relating solely to family affairs. People here are very uneasy from their well-founded apprehensions of a war in Italy, but, without meddling with politics which interest us less than other people, I will tell you for your amusement that I learned the other day everything was in excitement and alarm at Urbino at the unexpected departure of the Chevalier de St. George, no one

knew where. The politicians were much puzzled at it, and afterwards as much surprised at his return the same day, and it is known since he had gone only to see a Roman antiquity some miles from here. Apparently another time people will not remark so much on his movements which ought not to surprise or interest this country so much. *The King*, who is always in the country, is well, but cannot tell you anything positive of his lawsuit. It would appear to be going well, but he does not yet see very clearly in it and everything is undecided, but, since you kindly take an interest in it, he will inform you of its progress. 3 *pages. French. Copy.*

James III to Cardinal Imperiali.

1718, March 29. Urbino.—I received only to-day your letter of Feb. 12 with the enclosed brief of his Holiness, and I have had the pleasure of seeing by what you write to me on the 23rd instant that his Holiness has also approved of the last nomination which I have made of Carberie Kelly to the Bishopric of Elphin. I beg you to convey my most humble acknowledgements to the Pope for both and to accept my most sincere thanks for the zeal you show towards me on every occasion. In such matters I always take so much precaution and follow such precise rules that, thank God, my conscience has nothing to reproach itself with, but it will believe that it will always act with more certainty with the assistance of your advice, which I beg you to continue, seeing above all by experience the value I place and always shall place upon it.

Touching the other matter mentioned in your letter, Cardinal Gualterio has informed me of the method he has proposed to himself to bring it to a good end, and he has since written that it is going well, but that he is not in a position to give me details. I can never explain to you how sensible I am of the part you have taken in it, being convinced that, if it succeeds, I shall owe it chiefly to your care and advice. Your zeal in it is such that I have only to ask the continuance of it, at the same time repeating that my all may depend on a speedy and favourable decision.

So poor a token of my gratitude as my portrait does not deserve your attention. Would to God it were in my power to give you more substantial proofs of my sincere friendship.

However incognito the Duke of Mar wishes to be during his stay at Rome, he will always be pleased to pay you his respects in person if you find it good, though his ignorance of foreign languages will deprive him of the advantage of your conversation. 2½ *pages. French. Draft and fair copy. This and the last letter were enclosed in that to Cardinal Gualterio.*

The Earl of Oxford to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 18[-29].—I have troubled *the King* with a very long letter and I now sit down to answer *Mar's.*

In general there seems to be everywhere and every day an increase of desire to trade with *the King* and the Interloper's interest manifestly dwindles away. The best care is taken here to improve every opportunity and to dispose every person for the good of your partner's trade, but I cannot too often mention how necessary caution is, and that they who are willing to come into the trade should be suffered to do it their own way and in their own method, and, the nearer you are to open shop, the greater care must be taken to prevent the Interloper's knowing what goods you will bring to market.

A particular matter I think proper to mention to you, before I do it to *the King*, is this : many, who are disposed to come into the trade, are afraid of what they have done formerly. This has been answered to several, but perhaps it may be convenient in some particular cases to have particular assurances, and no doubt their zeal for the present trade will atone for all their former dealings with Interlopers. I would be understood to mean only those who are in the common circumstances of all other traders and who have not distinguished themselves by particular exorbitant malice.

Though I am sure *Mar* needs not that I should write to him, I cannot but declare my opinion that I would draw, if possible, everybody into partnership with *the King* who is worth gaining, and convert all former disputes into the single contention which shall most promote the trade.

This leads me to write on the subject of china ware (money). I desire to be rightly understood that I will do my very utmost in that and in everything else, not only to serve but to please *the King*. But I should be a dishonest factor if I did not represent the difficulties of it, and the hazard of dealing in such brittle ware. There have been some abuses in that trade which *Mar*, I believe, does not yet know and which *the King*, I hope, never will be told, which have made that traffic much more difficult than it really was in itself. I say this not to excuse me from exerting myself, but to prevent a false confidence, but on the other hand you may be assured that, as soon as trade begins to look towards a setting up, you cannot fail of *money*.

Poor *Capt. Ogilvie* is sensible of *Mar's* goodness. I have at his request ventured to recommend him to *the King*, and leave it to you to act therein as shall seem most proper. He will stay to manage the affairs of the partnership where he is, or where *the King* and *Mar* shall judge best.

I would not repeat anything in this that I have said in *the King's* ; you may be sure yours of Dec. 24 and 29 began with the most pleasing account, I mean *the King's* good health.

As to the next particular, which is of a very nice nature, you have stated it very truly. I have wrote my thoughts at large to *the King* on it, and I cannot help thinking that *the King* might make good use of that privilege with *France*

or somewhere else, but as to *England* your reasoning is extremely just. I am infinitely obliged for the participation of this nice matter which *the King* and you have given me, and I hope I have answered fully.

As to the marriage, I hope my next will be to make compliments to you on that subject. I am sure it will be received here with the greatest pleasure and the greatest anger according as people's inclinations are for or against your trade. 3½ *pages.*

The Duke of Ormonde to James III.

1718, March 30.—*Ormonde* received *the King's* of Feb. 3 with a copy of his of Jan. 29 by way of *Prague* and wonders at the negligence of the postmaster that had forgotten the letters for so long. I find all were recovered but two of Sept. 18 and Oct. 2, but *Dillon's* transmitting copies of *Ormonde's* makes up for that loss. *Ormonde* told me he expected to see either *Jerningham* or his companion every moment. That hindered his answering *the King's* by the first post after his receiving *Mar's*, but there is no time lost, for, after I had informed him of the postmaster's neglect, he said he did not care to write anything concerning our trade by that way.

Ormonde wishes there may be use for *money*, but, till he sees *Jerningham*, he cannot inform *the King* of anything concerning that part of our trade. *Ormonde* has sent a copy of a letter to *Dillon* that he received from *Sir H. Stirling* of March 3. A copy was also sent to *the King* relating to *the marriage*, which gives but a bad account of the condition it is in.

I am glad *the King* sees there was no reason to suspect what he was uneasy at concerning *the Bishop of Rochester*.

I am sorry that nothing is to be expected from *the Pope*, should there be any occasion for his friendship, and that the *Jew's* message is come to nothing. I fear *the King of Spain's* affairs will not give him leave to mind our little commerce.

I had almost forgotten to tell *the King* that what is mentioned by *Dr. Erskine* concerning *marriage* was meant conditionally, as he will see in *Sir H. Stirling's*. Since I began this, *Jerningham's* friend is arrived and has brought me a copy of the accounts he sent *the King*. I have sent to *Dr. Erskine* to know what *the Czar* will do, that *Ormonde* may know how to take his measures. When he has his answer, *the King* shall be acquainted with it. 5 *pages.*

The Duke of Ormonde to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 30.—*Ormonde* received *Mar's* of Feb. 3 the 26th instant. In the enclosed you will see the reasons that hindered him from answering yours sooner.

I must refer you to a letter I have written to *the King*. You are before this informed of *Jerningham's* transactions. I am sorry he could not adjust his affair to his satisfaction.

Ormonde has heard from *the Bishop of Rochester* and *James Murray* with accounts of our trade and they give hopes of its thriving, but I fear the loss of *Jerningham's* effects may be very prejudicial.

What is mentioned concerning *Argyle* and *Ilay* is what, I own, I could hardly believe. *Ormonde* was of opinion that they should be offered to have a share in our joint stocks, though he is of your opinion that they will not care to purchase. I think there is but little appearance of *the Elector of Hanover* and *Ormonde's* being in the same trade, but there is no help for it. You shall hear from *Ormonde* as soon as he has any account from *Dr. Erskine.* 3 *pages.*

The Duke of Ormonde to Sir H. Stirling.

1718, March 30.—I send you this, that you may acquaint *Dr. Erskine* with the contents of it.

Yesterday *Jerningham's* companion (*i.e.* Sheridan) arrived with *a letter* from *Jerningham*, which informs *Ormonde* that *the King of Sweden* desires to make *peace with the Czar* preferably to all others, but, until that be *agreed on*, he is not in a condition *to help the King* and *the King of Sweden* desires that *the King* should use *his endeavours to bring the Czar* and him to *an agreement.* If that cannot be *compassed, he* must be *obliged to agree with the Elector of Hanover.* It is not practicable for *Ormonde to go* to *Sweden*, for *the King of Sweden* would *not let Jerningham* and his *companion stay*, being very uneasy at the time that *they were there* for fear of *their* being *discovered* and would not *consent to any person's coming to Sweden* that *belongs to the King.*

The Czar has resolved, I suppose, what to do in this matter; if there be no likelihood of *an agreement between the Czar* and *the King of Sweden, Ormonde hopes that the Czar* will be pleased to give *passes* for *him* and *his* company *to return.* As to *Ormonde*, considering his circumstances, *he* does not think it *proper to go by* the *way of Prussia.* This you need not mention to any unless to *the Czar.* *Ormonde* will make *use of the passes* with all the discretion that is necessary. *Our number is encreased* by a gentleman and a *servant* who came from *Italy* and brought *me letters* from *the King*—yours came by this person—and by *Jerningham's* companion (*i.e.* Sheridan).

The enclosed will show you how *I* desire *the passes may be drawn.*

I am sorry for the account that *Sir H. Stirling* gives *me that* there *is no further hope of* what *you mentioned* concerning *the princess*, unless *matters be adjusted with the King of Sweden.* Pray explain this *to Dr. Erskine. Copy enclosed in Ormonde's letter to Dillon of April* 18.

Fanny Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 30. From the country.—I received yours of the 10th. We shall obey your orders in giving an account

to *Lord Ilay*, but it's not safe to send the copy of the paper by the post in cipher for fear of its miscarrying. Both he and you would blame us. We must wait for a sure occasion.

We fancy that the properest turn to give to him in sending him word of it is to tell him that you've writ us word that, though he acts so coldly and reservedly that there is no openness of heart of his side, yet *the King*, who will always act by him the reverse of D (? the Elector of Hanover), is willing to take hold of the least occasion to lay *favours* on him, and therefore on his manner of behaving, since you writ to him, he looks on him to be in his interest at present, without examining if he has explained himself sufficiently in his letters, and that, as the first step of what he intends to do for him, he has sent a paper to be left with *the pardon;* that he does not doubt, but, when it's time, he'll merit the good will he has for him, and by his actions give him room to do for him what you proposed. This way of writing is making him value as much as possible what you've sent, and is, I think, the sense of your letter. He'll be very well pleased that you've been so kind to write the paper yourself, for that's much safest.

The friend (Mezières) bids me tell you that, when he repeated to you so often, that he thought it would be proper for *the King* to send certain papers, 'twas because he really thought 'twas his interest. He does not know *Lord Ilay*. He thought he could not be bought too dear, since you were of opinion he and his friends could be of such essential service. That made him believe it was better gaining him entirely, that, in case he did not act right afterwards, he was doubly guilty, and that 'twas not venturing much, since what is given him is but conditional, but now that you seem to think he is not of such consequence you're right to be reserved in your offers; in a word, as he has no other motive but his zeal for *the King* in this affair, he will follow exactly your orders.

I've writ you the misfortune he is now under. He was with my mother in a very melancholy and splenetic way. He told her he had a book and letter to send us, but had not had time to buy it, but that he had not forgot it. I will press him to take a trip over here, as you order. Methinks his journey here can be of no great use, if ——— is not in the same place, but I believe 'tis not proper to propose to him anything of that nature, till he has settled some way or other his affairs with his lady. If he followed my advice, 'twould be to make up with her; it's only giving a scene to divert his enemies to do otherwise. I fancy whatever is done for him will end in himself by reason of his situation as well as his health. You may easily believe that in our letters we tell him he is too mysterious and extol to him the generous acting of *the King*.

Mezières and my sister are extremely mortified that they were not at Paris when Lord Panmure arrived. They would have been overjoyed to have seen a person that has gained

the esteem of all the world. You do them justice to believe that anybody you recommend will be treated with all the friendship in their power. They hope he'll not be gone before they arrive.

They talk of the Parliament's being broke up and George's going to his own country. Mr. Hutchison (? the Prince of Wales) is fallen out with the Princess. They had some words in the drawing-room. I never heard of such a quarrelling family. When I see Renny (René Macdonnell) I'll tell him you remember him. About three weeks ago he had like to break his neck with a fall at St. Germains. Unluckily for him 'twas but like. He has kept his bed ever since, and, by what I hear, it will stick by him a good while. I am very glad you've found such charms in your Italian music. It will make you pass some dull hours. You'll be such a perfect foreigner when you go home that I reckon you'll have no patience to see Pinktheman and Jubilee Dick. 2½ *pages*.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. Calais.—Complaining that he has never had the least return to all his letters since Mar's return.—

To-day I had occasion to send another packet of yours to *Capt. Ogilvie*, not as I sent the last, though in my opinion the safest way, but by *Capt. Ogilvie's* own skipper, who arrived here last night and returns this evening's tide, in order to bring *Capt. Ogilvie* hither again. I sent by the same skipper on advice from Sir R[edmon]d Ev[erar]d three large packets, which an Irish gentleman, who came over about two months ago and went up the country, left with me as he went back four or five days ago.

I had letters from London this morning giving account that Capt. Leonard and one Hawkins, who were both here on the list, are seized and in prison. As the first was at Preston and a deserter to boot, I am afraid it will go hard with him, but he has nobody but himself to blame for it, for your namesake knows I did all I could to dissuade him from going over. The Italian Count, brother to the Duchess of Shrewsbury, was hanged at Tyburn two days ago, and so was poor Sheppard. George pretends he has certain intelligence of a design against England by a foreign power and has obtained of the Parliament that a certain number of ships be forthwith rigged out for the greater security of the nation. However, it is certainly affirmed he will take a trip to Hanover about the end of April or beginning of May.

The Jew here gave out to everybody about three weeks ago that the King was gone from Italy and had ordered all the nobility to retire to their respective homes with all manner of secrecy and speed &c. and about ten days ago he told Pat. Smyth and Flint he had orders to tell them to be in readiness to go over in 24 hours' warning and that he was to provide 40*l.* for their voyage. I trouble you with this

account, that, if you know he was really ordered to spread about this news, you may know he has done his commission, and, in case he had no such orders, you may inquire into the reasons that make him talk after so strange a manner. In a word, I suspect him very much of underhand dealings and my reason is that I have perceived of late that he not only talks, as if he designed to give the alarm to the Government, by venting about every idle story of good news, as he calls them, but also observes me and pries into all my actions as if he were hired to be a spy on me, but, provided he be not hired by the King's enemies, I shall care the less, for I don't fear being observed by his friends. 2½ *pages*.

SIR PETER REDMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. Turin.—We arrived here yesterday, having delayed at Bologna and Piacenza almost three days. I was afraid the first three days I should have lost Mr. Sheldon. He grew very weak, ate but little and coughed all night, but, since he left Milan, is better. I threatened to leave him there with Monsignor Molinos, if he would not eat and be a good child. I hope I shall deliver him alive to his friends in France. I have a real value for him, as he is a very honest gentleman and faithful subject, and he had need of these good qualities and being recommended by the King to make his peevishness supportable. I never stood so much in awe of any one to keep him in temper, and 'twould be happy for me I had had such a governor from 10 to 20, before I was hardened in rusticity and unpoliteness.

I found myself recommended from Rome to Piacenza, where the Duke was very gracious to me, and I go by him better introduced to the Cardinal, so I hope I shall be able to have a connivance to ship off the contraband goods or perhaps do greater matters, when 'tis thought fit to employ me.

I went this morning to my friend's house here, and, gazing at pictures in the antechambers, he espied me and immediately had me called in to him, where he treated me with the same freedom and gallantry as formerly. He'll have it that the King is shortly to leave Italy. He is mighty cheerful and well, and is certainly that great and wise man he is justly esteemed in the world. He often asked me your character, wherein I did you justice, but don't know whether it be for your credit that I should say you were an honest as well as wise man, for of all the ministers I have known I could find but few that were truly honest, and he is so very perfect in policy and piety that 'tis hard to know which of them can recommend a man to him most. When he asked of the King's health, I could not avoid telling him he was very well and robust, for I found in my former discourse he had it, that he was puny and sickly. I told him likewise I heard his Majesty express much respect and consideration for him, which, I hope, can do no harm. He says the confusions in England are greater than ever and

of many kinds. God increase them, till the King be restored. Though he talked many things to me, I am persuaded he talked nothing but what he was indifferent were published to anyone, so I would not have anyone think my vanity is got to that height as to think he talked to me anything of confidence. 'Tis certain he was diverted in talking to me. I had pleasure and vanity in answering him, and telling others that so great and wise a man did me such honours, and, the more I found people detract me for my vanities that way, the more I took pleasure to give them diversion with my acquaintance amongst the Cardinals and great ones of Rome. If all things be vanity, as Solomon says, such vanities as are not offensive to God or man are the happiest and most pardonable. I touch on this, because I found at Urbino my vanity was entertainment and of much mirth.

I shall stay at Paris, I believe, till I hear from you and thence and wherever I am shall acquaint you with what occurs to me.

The Count of Castelblanco to [? David Nairne].

1718, March 30. Turin.—The day I left Genoa I received your letter of the 10th, in which you informed me of the King's perfect health. Yesterday I received the confirmation of it by Mr. Sheldon, who arrived here in good health. I shall leave to-morrow for Paris, where I hope to arrive the 15th, and to proceed thence to the waters the beginning of May. I have had the letter of Cardinal Gualterio in answer to that you wrote to him concerning me, and am grateful for his kindness, and I shall not fail to write to him to express my gratitude. I beg you to make my compliments to Lords Mar, Perth and Clermont and all the rest of our friends. *French.*

Charles François de Busi to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 30. Vienna.—Sending him the enclosed from the Swedish Minister there, to which he refers himself.—

I have since just heard that certain news has arrived here that Baron Görtz has set out for the Isle of Aland, near Finland, for the treaty of peace with Muscovy, where also are to be the ministers of that Crown. There has been also a rumour that that negotiation has been broken off. God grant that we shall soon hear of the conclusion of it.

This Court does not willingly see that the Czarowitch has had to renounce the Crown of Muscovy and a part of this ministry repents of having allowed the said Prince to leave the territories of the Emperor. It is also certain that the Marquess Pras, the Duke of Savoy's minister, is here, who flatters himself with an agreement between this Court and that of Turin on the terms of a marriage. However, I believe that these are only amusements. In a few days we shall know

the decision. The Emperor always remains firm not to sign and to agree to the terms of settlement proposed by the Regent and the Court of London. People rather think here of commencing a war against King Philip, but how I know not. The plenipotentiaries for the treaty with the Turks have not yet set out, but will apparently be at the place of congress in fifteen days. *French.* 4 *pages.*

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. Vienna.—Since my last I have learnt from a good hand that the Austrian ministers appear inclined to accept the propositions arranged between the Regent and the Elector of Hanover and brought here by the Anglo-Swiss Secretary, while the Spanish ministers, including Comte Stella, a Neapolitan, and Comte Altheim, surnamed here the Spaniard, as he is married to a Spanish lady, though by birth an Austrian, both favourites of the Emperor, are of a contrary opinion, namely that the Emperor ought either to delay as long as possible coming to an agreement with the King of Spain, or, if he sees himself obliged to it, not to do it according to the plan of the Regent and the Elector, that is to say not guaranteeing the succession of the first to the Crown of France, but rather that of King Philip to that Crown on the terms of the cession or partition of Spain in case of the death of the young King of France, and that Prince Eugene holds a sort of intermediate place between these two opinions but in such manner that he insinuates to the Emperor that, whichever of the above policies he adopts, it will be advantageous to him to begin by coming to terms with the Duke of Savoy and attaching that House to himself by a marriage. It is said that supported by the credit of Comte Altheim he has obtained the Emperor's consent to the sending here of two Savoyard ministers named the Marquesses del Borgo and d'Ussol, who keep themselves incognito here since the beginning of March. It is added that the Duke of Savoy is endeavouring to effect an agreement between the Emperor and the King of Spain. I have too little penetration to decide which of the two courses proposed to the Emperor he will adopt. But it seems to me that he will not come to a decision so soon, believing himself in no necessity of hurrying, that those who propose to him the above courses will be obliged to content themselves for some time with dilatory answers, unless some great storm, which the Emperor does not as yet regard as near, should force him to hurry. When he is obliged to decide, it seems that the opinion of the Spanish ministry may prevail. A renewed patent of the Emperor relating to the carrying out the new plan of trade in the Austrian ports on the Adriatic conceived in more efficacious terms for the maintenance of that trade against everyone that might disturb it, than that published last year, makes one see among other signs that his Majesty has as yet no fear with regard to Italy.

People begin to say that the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy have a secret understanding with King James, and that, if they come to an agreement with the Emperor, they will try to bring the interests of his Britannic Majesty into it. I cannot well reconcile this news with what Mr. O'Bryan (Walkinshaw) told me of the secret intelligence between the Regent and King James, nor with the trouble the Elector is giving himself to reconcile the Duke of Savoy with the Emperor, and, according to what some add, separately from the Regent, unless indeed the Regent and the Duke of Savoy are playing a comedy with the Elector and at bottom both are inclined to leave him in the lurch, provided they can attain their object without him. Also it is said that the Regent has been and is making insinuations to the Emperor separately from the Elector. If he does, he is paying that Elector in his own coin. I learn that there are news from France that with regard to the succession the King of Spain's party is stronger than the Regent's. I know you will be better informed directly from France, and mention it only to show you in what way it is spoken of here. There is so much confusion in present circumstances that I am at my wits' end when I wish to reason justly about their issue. I content myself with communicating faithfully to your Excellency what comes to my knowledge, praying for such a denouement of all the scenes that appear on the theatre of Europe as shall be advantageous both to the just cause of his Britannic and to that of his Swedish Majesty.

As to my master's attitude about the difference between the King of Spain and the Regent, I have grounds for believing him indifferent and inclined always to continue a good friend to the Crown of France, whoever the reigning Prince may be, provided that Prince be his in turn. His plan is to try to unite as regards himself the friendship of France with that of the Emperor.

Yesterday I received news of the departure of Count Velling, a Swedish senator, who is charged with the care of affairs beyond the sea, from the city of Bremen to Cassel. I have not been informed of the object of his journey, but it is manifest that he will confer with the Landgrave about the feelers thrown out on the part of the Elector for peace with his Swedish Majesty. It must be seen if his Majesty is only employing the peace negotiation with Hanover in order to push on that with Muscovy and to give it weight, which I hope and desire, or whether he is more inclined to the first than the last in case he soon perceives the intentions of the Court of Hanover to come to terms with him conformably to justice and the advantage of his Majesty. I, however, continue to doubt if that Court has such intentions, unless they see themselves threatened with a great and imminent danger. It is much to be wished that the friends of his Britannic Majesty should be willing and able to set in movement without delay

the means they intend to employ in his favour, and make his Swedish Majesty see plainly that he will find much more solid resources for his restoration in that of his Britannic Majesty than in a peace with the Elector while he continues on the British throne. I believe I shall please you by communicating what I may learn about the above mentioned peace in order that his Britannic Majesty may be able to take in time his measures about it.

I have just learnt that the dragoman of the English embassy at the Ottoman Court has arrived at Belgrade with a letter giving information of the resolution of the said Court taken after receiving Prince Eugene's letter to send their plenipotentiaries to the place accepted for the Congress by the Emperor. After this news arrives here, General Virmond, the first Imperial plenipotentiary, M. Ruzini, the Venetian plenipotentiary, who is expected here every day, and Mr. Sutton, the first mediator, will set out as soon as possible from here to the Congress. *French.* 14 *pages.*

James III. to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 30. Urbino.—"I have been very well-diverted, since we parted, as John [Paterson] tells you, and to him I refer, though I will not let the post past without giving my blessing to my godson, who will, I hope, come safe and sound to his journey's end. I have written to *the King of Sicily* only in generals and to Cardinals Imperiali and Gualterio. *Cardinal Gualterio* will not be able to inform you much as to *money*, for I find they would or rather have shut him out of the secret, of which I know no more details, only that the affair goes on well. Cockburne shall go to Rimini in a day or two. Wogan's real journey is not known, and, I believe, scarce suspected. . . . I write a line to *Ormonde* on *Wogan's* return and to spur him in a better affair of that kind.

"Nairne writes to the postmaster at Rome that, if there be time to send you the French packet, you may open it and forward by the post to me my letters before the post for this part, that he should send them to you. In that case take out my letters and send them with the material ones to yourself, if there be any, to our Cardinal for me and keep the pack either to answer, or send me, if needful, by the following post. I quite forgot this before you went." *Holograph.*

James III. to the Duke of Ormonde:

1718, March 30.—"This is only to tell you that Wogan saw me t'other day and has performed his part very well. The Princess of Baden is a dwarf and the Princess of Saxe is too old, besides that the more I see in that matter the less I like it. The last he did not see. He gives a good character of two Countesses of Furstemburg, who are also of the best

quality of Germany, but by what I hear from him the youngest of the Sobieskis is, all considered, preferable to any, and she I may have when I please. I suppose you know what relations she has. After this, it is accounts from you that can alone determine me. I beg of you to make all dispatch possible in bringing that particular in your parts to an issue. No alliance can be comparable to that, but, if it can't be had, it were pity to lose a good one that I am sure of now, by letting my determination linger too long." *Holograph.*

RANDALL CORKER.

1718, March 30.—Receipt at foot of a bill for clothes supplied to the Duke of Mar, dated the 27th, he having received 12 *Philips* from James Kerby, Mr. Paterson's servant.

PHILIP V. to JAMES III.

1718, March 31.—Informing him of the birth of a princess. *French. Holograph.*

E[LIZABETH LADY] S[ANDWIC]H to JAMES III.

1718, March 31.—If anything could add to the faithful zeal I have ever had for your service, it would be the great honour you have done me by laying your commands on me, which I receive with all imaginable duty and respect.

I have not neglected such opportunities as have offered of trying to give the person you mention other views of his interest than those he has hitherto appeared so fond of. I represented the vast difference in the personal worth and merits of the two persons concerned, and showed him how naturally and reasonably my master's interests and his were interwoven, and from those principles more sincerity and constancy might be expected from our friendship than could be hoped for from the other side. He is at present sick and confined to his chamber. I will not fail to pursue your commands with great assiduity and give you an account as soon as anything occurs that shall deserve your knowledge. *Noted* as received 27 August. (*Probably dated old style.*)

CAPT. GEORGE CAMOCKE to QUEEN MARY.

1718, March 31.—The multiplicity of thought the other night put out of my memory the short detail of those friends in England who are desirous to be concerned in that glorious enterprise I gave your Majesty a plan of to be sent to the King. I have desired Mr. Pye to wait on you and to show you what through forgetfulness I neglected. I told you, when I delivered you that plan, it would very much contribute to the restoration, so I most humbly beg to repeat the true character Mr. Pye bears among my friends in England, viz., that they will trust him and no other with the King's instructions for the affair in hand, and, however it has been insinuated

to his prejudice, I am persuaded the King's friends in England have quite another idea of him, for they are fully satisfied of his loyalty and zeal and have been convinced of his capacity and ability and of his being fitly qualified for such business, and, if I mistook not your Majesty, you said that this gentleman had been very active in buying arms and distributed them *apropos*. This from the consequence shows that he was not discovered, notwithstanding the craftiness of the Whigs. It is a plain indication of his capacity and secrecy, and it should be a great motive to remove all objections insinuated to his prejudice. I am certain your piety and goodness will oblige you to interpose with the King to restore this worthy man to his good graces. 3 *pages*.

Lord Tullibardine to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 31.—Since my last of 28 Jan. *Glendarule* has written to you what has occurred in these parts, so I had nothing to trouble you with till now. Two days ago I had a letter from *Brigadier Campbell* giving a full account of *Barry's* most surprising behaviour. He says he has writ to you everything that has come to light as to his black intrigues, so I can say no more, having writ to Mr. *Dillon* what seemed necessary on this emergency, of which a double is enclosed. Nothing further can be done this way, but to wait some days till accounts come that may instruct how to go on with the affair or at least direct what is to be done till the last necessary orders can arrive from you as to what concerns this.

I wrote 28 Feb. to *John Paterson*, with a letter enclosed to *the King*, at the same time *Glendarule* wrote to you. The young man *Murray* departed about a month ago for *Scotland*. We'll know soon if he arrive safe. He is particularly to inform *Tullibardine's* friends how sensible they ought to be of *the King's* extraordinary bounty and favours to him and his brother. I believe he will not neglect to let them likewise know *Tullibardine's* singular obligations to *Mar*.

Brigadier John Hay to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 31. Urbino.—I can't help writing you an account of what passed here the day we parted, though it must come with more circumstances from one who was left on the place and was witness to all the deep reasonings and speculations that passed on the King's leaving this place, which nobody doubted in the least was for a much longer term and perhaps for ever. This everybody gave entirely in to from the President to the cobbler. I need say nothing of the *Cordon Verte*. You saw enough of his story, before you went, to be able to judge how he spent the rest of the day. He walked above two hours on the ramparts with my lady, where, I am told by a gentleman who saw it, there were a great many tears shed on both sides, and, I am afraid by the dismal look

he has as yet, he has both given himself the trouble to take leave in all the forms, and, after he found his disappointment, to congratulate with her on it, which, I believe, was no easy matter, since I fancy his good nature may engage him to endeavour to please his companion as well as himself, and you know how difficult it is to satisfy a large voracious stomach.

Tom Forster was mightily confounded in the morning, when he came to Court, only with the design of taking leave of you, and, I suppose, to give you some directions about tinctura &c. to find that the King was to go, but his confusion proceeded from a quite other source than that of several others, for all his concern was that he should put himself in the way, as if he was asking to know something not thought fit he should be trusted with, and after an hour or two in agony he begged of Paterson to let you know he knew nothing of the King's going away, and came only with the design of seeing you, and so went straight home and swallowed a double dose of tinctura, fearing he should not have time to take physic enough before receiving the King's orders to march, which he supposed were left with some body and would appear in a day or two. I don't pretend to unriddle the thoughts of our politicians here, for I believe scarce two thought or looked the same way. Booth, whom I take to be one of the deepest, had Cadiz, Brest and Danzig all in his view, but did not know where to fix, at the same time assuring himself that those left here would have no orders nor hear anything of the King for three months at least. Sir William [Ellis] was by far the calmest person, for, if he thought us quite gone, he comforted himself that he had got rid of us so cheap. The President and his subjects all gave in to it, so far that he wrote it to Rome, though, as he says, in a very cool manner, which I can scarce believe, for I am persuaded he was very hot at the time. He did not say when the King came back, what had been his own opinion, but told what had been talked in the town.

Some said the King was gone to Loretto to assist at your christening, and, I suppose, do you the honour to stand himself godfather. I suppose they imagined Will [? Erskine] and I would get a sprinkling by the by, which I dare swear Will never once thought of, so pray don't surprise him with anything of that kind. Others of the town fancied that he might be gone to Rome to condole with the Pope on the loss of an old woman, his relation, lately dead at Pesaro, but those that thought so low were only the vulgar, and those capable of a deep thought were as much confounded, when the King returned, as when they knew he was gone. The journey had the same effect on people as if all their suppositions had been real, for everyone concludes that, if there was a real journey to make, it would be done in the same manner, and so apply it everyone to himself.

The King desires you to make his compliments to Lord Southesk and bids me tell you he has taken two sheets of

your large drawing paper, with which you can easily provide yourself at Rome, and that he had been almost stifled with the smell, I suppose of tinctura, when he opened your bureau.

Mr. Broun set out Tuesday by Loretto. 4½ *pages.*

John Paterson to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 31. Urbino.—Since I saw you, no letters have come nor anything happened worth troubling you about, so this serves only to cover the enclosed, which Mr. Forster would have me forward to you. He showed me what was in it, and 'tis so full that I need not add anything. He is pleased indeed to be very merry with us all, though I cannot deny there is a good deal of truth in it, except *Nairne's* part, where I believe he is mistaken. Had this been really intended for a bite, as I presume you know it was not, it would have had all its effects, for not a single man of us was not bit with it, in so far that it is not possible to imagine how diverting this scene must have been to anybody who knew the King was to return, had there been any such amongst us. Forster was as much out of humour as anybody, but that proceeded from so right a motive that 'twere unkind to conceal his story. As soon as he saw the King go into his shess (chaise), he called me aside in the greatest possible hurry and concern, saying that he wished, when he rose that morning, he had broken his neck. He declared he had no other meaning but to have the honour to kiss your hands, without having had the least suspicion of the King's being to go off, as some called it, or making his escape according to others, and yet, said he, so unhappy am I, that the King will certainly believe I have had some hint of it, and that I was officious enough to come on purpose to watch his motions, which he was sure he could not but take amiss. He took it for granted that either I had orders to make my escape next morning, or was to correspond with you, and in either case he conjured me to make his innocence known to you, that you might do him justice at the King's hands, and promised me, the next time the King should happen to move, to lie a bed, till he was out of sight of the town. The persons that seemed to take it worst were *Lord Nithsdale, Lord Kilsyth, Lord Clermont* and *Lord Edward Drummond*, and indeed some of them have not quite recovered their countenances, as if they thought their understandings had been imposed on only to gratify a piece of humour. I had several very political conversations with some of them and particularly with *Mr. Macmahon*, who endeavoured to appear very composed, as if willing people should believe he was in the secret, and that he knew that the King was gone, though he had discretion enough not to own it directly.

Our newspapers which came last Tuesday were full of the proceedings of the House of Lords on the Military Bill, and I would hope that their behaviour on that, as likewise with

regard to the treaty between George and the Emperor, will be attended with good consequences. It will, one would think, have this effect amongst others that it will encourage and confirm many of the Tories in the House of Commons that have been wavering hitherto and determine them to take heart of grace, but these papers I presume you will have seen. The first English letters will probably mention the particulars, and therefore I wish you may have time to open the packet before the post part from Rome, which the King told me he was to write to you about ; if there be any letters addressed to me, I wish you may have time to open them too, because there may be encloseds for you. 3 *pages*.

J. Menzies to *the Duke of Mar*.

1718, Thursday, March 20[-31].—Two days ago I had yours of 15 Feb., N.S. You say you writ another the day before, but I have never had it, nor any news of its coming to any stage in the way. I am always agreeably surprised when James Craggs lets any letter at all pass through his purgatory.

I had also yours of 23 and 29 Dec., which the friend at Calais sent by a sure hand, who came from him in two days hither. But, it being about three months old, it must have lain at least two somewhere, but it is not in my power to divine where.

Lord Oxford had his enclosed packet half an hour after I got it, and will give you an account of it himself. You may be sure he wondered too at the long delay. Since *Mrs. Ogilvie* goes now certainly in a few days, it would be imprudent in me to enter now into a detail of any business by the post. As to news, that varies every day so shamelessly, that a report we are positively assured of to-day becomes in three or four after a most ridiculous romance. Of this kind are most of our speculations on foreign affairs, for nobody tells us what we may rely on.

Our Gazette of Tuesday is plain and positive that the treaty between the King of Sweden and the Czar is broke off, which confounds our malcontents extremely, who pleased themselves with hopes of something from thence.

That Gazette is also so particular, so positive and so very full of the deposition of the young Czar and all that extraordinary scene, that many here look on it to have an emphatic meaning towards another young Czar in the world, I mean the description given of it. If the fact be true, it is a very strange one and must have strange consequences, whether he keep him alive in a prison or dispatch him, which is most probable.

For some time we had most warm discourse of our fitting out our fleet for the Baltic, but now we seem to have no design that way at all, which makes it believed that matters go very amicably between us and Sweden, and that a good

understanding is very far advanced underhand. You see the reports, even in the public news, of Gen. Ducker.

But these are such strange surmises that without a little more time and patience it is hard to make any reasonable judgement of them, no more than we can of your Regent, whose real intentions nobody whosoever here can divine.

Monsr. Monteleone at last gave in his memorial in writing last Monday, a whole week after his verbal one. He has got no answer to either as yet. The substance was that the Most Catholic King was extremely surprised to hear of such an armament in England to go in all the appearance of hostility to the Mediterranean and on the coasts of Spain. That he could hardly think it possible in the time of a profound peace and friendship founded on the most sacred treaties and the visible interest of England. That therefore he hoped his Britannic Majesty would lay aside all such thoughts, but that, if he should persist in this armament, the King of Spain would take it for a plain violation of the peace and must take his measures accordingly.

The noise of this and then his Majesty's message for more seamen and more money has given a strong and general notion of a war with Spain, and so all stocks and especially South Sea have fallen considerably. Monteleone foresaw this fall as certain and has got 10,000*l.* in a week by stock jobbing.

Your cousin *Menzies* has been so ill that, if he take not some speedy care of his health, he must drop down dead in the streets.

You may rely that *Ducker* has been in town here and a new marriage seems certain. It is long since I had a sad opinion of Mistress *Görtz*, the match-maker.

Colin Campbell of Glendarule to *the Duke of Mar.*

1718, April 1. Near *Bordeaux.*—By what you had last post from *Brigadier Campbell* with the encloseds now sent from *Lord Tullibardine* you'll see how much all here are embarrassed by *Barry's* treachery. The great difficulties that occur to me are, first, should there be any occasion for that cargo this season, delaying making it up entirely till *Mar's* return comes to their letters will certainly take up so much time that it will not be possible to fit them up for the markets, which cannot but incapacitate *the Highlanders* to act *their* part; on the other hand, to go on buying those goods after so notorious a discovery and not knowing what measures *the King of Spain* has to keep with *the Elector of Hanover* might look like too much precipitation. Yet, when I consider that what *Barry* has already done in this will put *the Elector of Hanover* sufficiently on his guard, so that it will not be easy to provide a cargo of that kind anywhere, but he may hear something of

it, and, seeing a person in his situation will always be on his guard after what has happened now and some time before, it is not probable he can be surprised. This last consideration inclined *Tullibardine* and me to lose as little time as possible, but it was judged securest to wait Mr. *Dillon's* orders and to delay sending *Brigadier Campbell* the [5] thousand *livres* which were ready to be sent him, till *Dillon's* return came, for in this but ten days could be lost.

Just as *Tullibardine* and I had finished our letters, yours of 6 March came, which brought him to a resolution in the affair in hand, for, after *Barry's* treachery, it is not possible to think anything can be done to purpose in *the King of Spain's* lands without his permission or at least connivance. Therefore we judged it necessary instantly to recall *Brigadier Campbell* and *Clanranald* from those parts, till this affair be put on a better footing, and then they may soon return. Continuing them there might do harm and help to strengthen *Barry's* villainous story to *the Elector of Hanover*, seeing he wants not a correspondence with several of his countrymen in those parts and particularly where they remain in, so it was thought best to recall them, till this be once more set a going. I am the more troubled it should miscarry, as I know nowhere a considerable quantity of these goods can be got but in *the King of Spain's* bounds. I again foresee that, when the other greater branches of *the King's* commerce require him to try the markets, *the Highlanders* must go whatever way he is provided for them, which cannot but create uneasiness to *the Highlanders'* friends, till something is done for them.

Tullibardine has writ you so fully that I have nothing to add; only to assure you I will observe your hint in relation to Mr. *Inese*. Since his civilities to me at *Paris* on my first coming there, I have sometimes writ to him and he to me, but all was compliments and never a word of business. I have not yet sent him a double of the vindication I gave *Mar* to be laid before *the King* of my part in *Lord Lovat's* story, though I think I had your allowance for it, in order to remove the odd impressions had of me at *St. Germains*. I once mentioned it in a letter to him, but now I will not send it. I once wrote to him on that foolish story of the old laird and others at *Bordeaux*, who had sent their complaints to him, to which he soon gave a satisfying return. When Capt. George's crew complained of him, he wrote to the old laird to justify him, and desired, if I was not at *Bordeaux*, that I might be acquainted, and, the laird being then at Cahors, I went to *Bordeaux* and called for such of the crew as were there and did what I could to satisfy them of *Inese's* good intentions and that they might soon expect your orders about it. On this occasion I wrote to him and had his return, and these are the only particular subjects we ever corresponded on. 2½ *pages. Damaged.*

George Jerningham to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 1. Amsterdam.—Being on the eve of my departure for the Northern parts, this day I took leave of *Prince Curakin*, whom I was forced to visit in bed, he being very much out of order. He favoured me with a passport and said many very obliging things in favour of *the King*. He told me that *the Czar* was not, as he had heard, returned to *Petersburg*, for which he seemed much concerned, imagining that the affairs in *Muscovy* are not so quiet as his late letters gave him an account. That late proceeding of disinheriting son and grandson appears very unaccountable and unjust. Notwithstanding, it seems to offer a fair occasion of making up with *the King of Sweden*, and, if *Görtz* attacks him on this weak side and promises to make his master guaranty for the succession *the Czar* has in view, I believe he will carry his point with flying colours.

As everything disposes at present to a general rupture, so everybody applies himself to strengthen his party with what new alliances he can, and, since *France* inclines to look more favourably on us, who has made himself powerful by being joined with *the Czar* and *the King of Prussia*, so, methinks, nothing could be added more advantageous there too, than to join the interest of *the Czar's* with that of *Spain*. I discoursed this one day at *the Hague* pretty fully and found it so agreeable to *the King of Spain's* man that he has written to *court* about it, and, if *the King of Spain* approves, as 'tis likely he will, I believe *Jerningham* will be desired to propose the same, when he comes into those parts, for which consideration I thought fit to mention it, to know if *the King* approves that I meddle therein. I can't see that such an alliance can do us any hurt and possibly it may do us great service.

If *the King* thinks *Jerningham* can be of any service to him in being in *Holland* after this expedition be over, I believe I shall not be permitted to stay there, unless I could get some public character to support my reputation, which perchance *the Czar* would not scruple much to give me, for, since I was absent, *the Emperor's* minister had a memorial sent him from *Vienna* delivered there by *the Elector of Hanover's* minister complaining highly against the conduct of this poor man, whom we had made our friend, saying that he was obnoxious to the *States* and an enemy to *England*, that he had frequent conferences with *Jerningham*, rebel, personne d'une dangereuse consequence, inviolablement attaché aux interests du *Pretendant*, that we kept a correspondence with one, qui s'appel O'Brien, at the *court* of V[ienna], and that he had done many things against the interest of his master and the like. My poor friend was so struck with this unexpected blow that he scarce ate or slept for five days, and, had not a third person comforted him and advised him to deny the whole and helped him to vindicate himself in his

answer to this aspersion, 'twas much feared it would have influenced his brain. This, I believe, is sufficient to let you see in what situation I am in these parts, and in how much a worse if I return home. If therefore you judge it convenient, I'll apply to *the Czar* for his protection in this affair.

Here are between 3 and 4,000 men now working hard to get 30 men-of-war ready, which, it is commonly said, cannot be ready before June. I shall wait your orders by the time I join *Ormonde*. 3 *pages*.

THOMAS FORSTER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 1. Urbino.—His Majesty going to the Furlo the day you went hence made a very comical scene among our chimerical statesmen here. Indeed, I believe there were as many different opinions and as confused as the languages were at Babel. My part will be told you by Mr. Paterson and Mr. Hay concludes his letter with the account of my preparing my body for the expedition, believing it sure we were to move very soon. The scene opened betwixt Mr. Booth and Blomer, the latter lamenting extremely that he never had got so good and so great a quantity of provisions as that morning, when there was no occasion for them, but was soon comforted by Mr. Booth's telling him the table was to be kept as formerly. The next was Mr. Booth's tea table, where Mr. Paterson and I were invited. Mr. Nairne was expected, but not being in the secret cast such a damp on his spirits that he could not appear, so we were deprived of his ingenious conversation, but Mr. Booth supplied that with one politic observation that, if this account should go to England, though his Majesty should return in four or five days, it would certainly unite the father and son. The tea table over, down we came to the billiard room, enter Lord Clermont in his nightgown with so confused looks that it gave me an idea how Pitts appeared after my escape. Lord Clermont with Mr. Booth go to walk in the great room, and after an hour's conversation it was agreed we should hear nothing of you in six weeks and about three months hence we might be with you after all your affairs were settled. Sir W. Ellis, not much given to make visits, goes down to Mr. Wogan, hoping to learn something relating to the movement, but was mightily disappointed, Charles preparing for a march, and Macmahon began to complain of his rheumatic pains, that bathing in the sea was good for them, he would go down to Pesaro and by that means hoped to gain one day's journey. After this all the Lords and commoners, except Lord Winton, Mr. Carnegie and his club, Mr. Macmahon and Mr. Wogan, all the rest came to court, and one after another moved towards Lord Clermont's apartment. What passed I cannot tell, not going there or entering into their politics, lest I should fall under the bill of mutiny and desertion, but I perceived them very much

dissatisfied by their looks, which perfectly resembled those of his Grace of Perth's at your going off. Only one thing would have made me wish to have been in the secret, viz., to have heard their different opinions and resolutions. Lord Perth was comforted in the evening by walking hand in hand for about two hours with his madam. The Italians have sent the account all over Italy, but one of them, who would be wiser than the rest, said his Majesty was gone to Loretto to make you a Christian. Mr. Panton was to send some of us an account from Rome how you did, believing you were gone there to be incog. for some time, that you might go off more private. At his Majesty's return the confusion was not at all lessened. Some thought themselves played upon; others that the way of going off now in jest would in a little time prove in earnest, which will stick with them for some time. I wish the time of removing may be soon and in what manner is most agreeable to his Majesty. 3 *pages.*

JAMES III. to the EARL MARISCHAL.

1718, April 1.—You will, I am sure, do me the justice to believe that my silence since you left me did not proceed from want of true regard and kindness. Matters have been of late in great uncertainty, but now a crisis seems to draw near, and will, I hope, be for the better. In the meantime the uncertainty of my abode and motions is such that I think you cannot do better than remain some time about where you now are, and where you will be more *à portée* of being really useful to me. You shall not fail of hearing from me on any new occasion, and it will be fit you let Mr. Dillon know where to transmit my orders to you. Mr. Inese being now no more concerned in my affairs, it is to him, when not straight to the Queen, that you must address when anything concerns them. Remember me very kindly to your brother and in a particular manner to your mother, if you can easily when you write to her. I never had better health, for, though this country is as bad as the Highlands, the climate is excellent and much better than at Pesaro. *Copy.*

The FOUR CONSULS OF RIMINI.

1718, April 1.—Testimonial to the conduct of Antonio Muti, lieut.-governor of that city, during the absence of Giovanni Baptista Vidoni, the Governor. *Latin.*

Endorsed, "Anonymous letter to Card. Acquaviva. Bologna, 8 March, 1724."

FANNY OGLETHORPE to *the* DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 2. From the country.—As the news from all parts assures them that *the King* is going, if not already, to be *married* to the niece of *the Czar*, they conclude it's true either with her or some other, therefore desiring for her niece

the promise to be one of the six maids of honour to the new Queen, with particulars of her sister's family and the reasons that make her desire this.

We have not heard from *Lord Ilay*. The neighbour (Sparre) has not writ, which surprises M[ezières] mightily. 4¼ *pages*.

The Prince de Vaudemont to James III.

1718, April 2. Commercy.—As I had the honour of seeing the Queen only two days before my departure from Paris, I intended to give you an account from here of the perfect health in which I found her, which I would not have failed to do sooner, had I not been hindered by the vapours. I never found her face looking so well nor her air so lively. She will have given you an account of what was said while she permitted me to be with her, which would have been longer, had not Madame and the Duchess of Lorraine arrived. I had since a long conversation with the good Dillon, who is more full of zeal and attachment for your service than ever. May God bless you and do you justice, of which I have never seen so much appearance as now. Your Majesty will have heard of the stay of the Comte de Blamont (*i.e.* the Duke of Lorraine) at Paris. It is certain that he and his wife have done wonders there and have made themselves adored. I stayed there longer on their account than I intended and left only a few days before they believed they were going a few days after me, which they were not allowed to do, people having always detained them by endless pleasures. Besides, I believe that the Parlement not having concluded about his business has partly delayed them, and it is only for to-day or the day after to-morrow that their departure from Paris has been fixed. *French*. 5 *pages*.

Monsr. Stiernhock to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 2.—The general report of the rupture of the negotiations between Sweden and Russia is false. I have certain news of the departure of Baron Görtz from Lund accompanied by M. de Klinkowstrom, chief secretary for Foreign Affairs, for the Island of Aland in order to treat about the peace between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties. The delay of the Swedish mission was caused by the King's reluctance to treat in a town of his own in the Czar's occupation, as Abo is, which was proposed by the Czar, by the proposal made by Baron Görtz in the King's name to the Czar of the said island for the meeting of the ministers, that Swedish island not being occupied by the Czar, and the necessity of building some wooden huts there for lodging the ministers and their suite before their arrival, since the island is very thinly inhabited and contains no town or large village. His Czarish Majesty has taken this delay *pour un amusement du tapis*, but there is reason to believe he will be disabused of this notion by the mission of Baron Görtz to the said place,

and I hope he will give way to the delicacy of his Swedish Majesty on the point of honour, which is so great that he is capable of sacrificing his interests for what he believes relates to his glory. Meanwhile his Majesty is also listening to the Hanoverian proposals. I would hope it is not in order to accept them, but only to make the Czar see not only that it is in his power to accept other offers, if that Prince will not soon agree to the proposals of peace offered by his Majesty, but also in that case to make a great storm fall upon him. I assure you that this storm is ready to fall on the Czar, so as to cause his destruction, if he does not immediately accept the conditions proposed by his Swedish Majesty.

It is certain that the Marquis d'Ussol, the Duke of Savoy's minister, is here, but it is said the Marquis del Borgo is not, though the report of it is very prevalent. *French.* 5 *pages.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 2. Vienna.—We have it confirmed that the conferences for the peace between Muscovy and Sweden have recommenced in the Island of Aland with appearances of success, but we understand that the Court of England moves heaven and earth to be included in them, and even that the Elector of Hanover has offered the King of Sweden 100,000*l.* sterling on the condition of his keeping Bremen and Verden for ten years, but the Swedish Resident here is of opinion that without the speedy restitution of the said countries his master will never bring himself to accept any terms.

It is remarkable that the Court here seems unlikely to intervene in the said peace ; and rather is thinking seriously of an accommodation with King Philip, and it is said the Emperor is disposed to make a renunciation of the Spanish monarchy, for which object the day before yesterday a great conference was held in his presence, immediately after which a courier was dispatched to France and England. This is the more probable, as at present nothing at all is said here of sending a *corps d'armée* into Italy. An envoy of the King of Sicily is here incognito. They are also working hard at an agreement between the Emperor and the King of Sicily, who presses very strongly that an archduchess should be given to the Prince of Piedmont. The English Court does all it can to bring about the accommodation with King Philip.

The Turks appear at present more inclined for peace and have pressed the Emperor's plenipotentiaries to repair to the place of congress, for which it is believed they will all set out in 14 days.

I am keeping a letter which the officer Connell (*i.e.* Capt. O'Brien) left with me for a Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan) that my lord duke recommended to me. I have had him searched for, but he cannot have arrived here. You will be kind enough to tell me whether I should keep the letter or sent it back to you. *French.* 5 *pages.*

JAMES III. to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 3. Urbino.—There were no letters from *Lady Mar*. All that were for you I read, and Paterson sends them unciphered. Dillon is sick and *Capt. Ogilvie*, I believe, quite mad, and I have no particular directions to give you about answers. I think Mr. Inese was not in the wrong in stopping your letter to *Menzies* on the grounds he writ you. *James Murray*, I see, is a little jealous on account of the story of the picture, which I don't understand, but I see the point relates to a *marriage* in the North, which they think is kept from them. *Ormonde's* way of expressing on that head is unaccountable, as well as his saying nothing on my long letter, which he must have received, though I see nothing very plain of O'Brien's being come to him. The prints mentioning Sir H. S[tirling] is cruel, but a little time will soon clear those points. I shall send you on Friday what I write to the Queen of business. You must return me such copies and her letters I send you by the post after always. *The Pope's money* is, I think, in no good way, for I hear not of any particular progress in that matter. I would fain be after next Saturday, for I fear my letters then will not be very agreeable. Lord Edward leaves us to-morrow.

Cardinal Gualterio thinks I should not say anything about my letter to Leslie, except I hear more of it, which I dare say I shall not. Wogan says he saw the original, that Leslie made no wrong construction on it, and that *Dillon* liked it before he had been at St. Germains, but not so well after. The consequence and application of one particular extends to others.

Our good Cardinal will, I hope, come here after Easter. I am very well.

On a separate piece.—This is a product of Friday's idleness for you to forward. I thought it could do but good, and too long a silence might increase peevishness, besides that the thing was natural and reasonable in itself. *Holograph.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 3. Urbino.—You'll see by the encloseds sent you by the King's command that the accounts we had by the former post in the French papers have been very ill-grounded, though I would fain hope they may still make something of the treaty with the Emperor and the Swedish trade &c. but the King told me he was to write to you, so I need not give you any further trouble. I could make nothing of the picture *James Murray* mentions in his two letters, but I hope you will understand it. *Capt. Ogilvie* is extremely to blame. I pray you have a good account of the packets Father Græme mentions, for I have my fears about them, and indeed in the present critical situation that *commis* had needs be a very honest man not to think of making some advantage of them,

and I am the more concerned, because I suspect the powers about the affair of the *money* which were dispatched from hence about 12 or 13 Feb. are in one or other of these packets.

The Duke of Ormonde to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, April 3.—Last Friday *Ormonde* received yours of 5 March. The packets you sent were due last Tuesday. He was very sorry you had been indisposed, but mightily pleased you were perfectly recovered.

I received *Queen Mary's* enclosed in yours and have writ to *Sir H. Stirling* to acquaint *Dr. Erskine* with the *proposal Queen Mary* has mentioned, provided he thought it proper, but I much fear it will not have the effect desired, for *the Czar* has set *his heart upon keeping of Reval* and has laid out a great *deal of money upon the town* and in *improving* of the *harbour*, which will now receive the *biggest ships in* his *fleet* and is the *best* on this *side the Baltic*. *Jerningham* in his to *Ormonde* mentions *Livonia* in general.

I am sorry *money* is in so desperate a way. *The King* informed me of it in his. The young gentleman (*i.e.* the Czar's daughter) you mention is but 11 years old. *Ormonde* is distant from *Petersburg* 150 *French leagues* and *Ormonde* has no certainty of *the Czar's return to Petersburg*.

All our monks are very thankful for your kind remembrances of them. We keep close to our cloister.

Poor *O'Berne* hopes he has not lost his *company*, and would not take two *regiments* to be obliged *to live in the Czar's country*, unless *the King's service* required it. He was very near losing his nose in the frost . . . *Holograph. Probably enclosed,*

The Duke of Ormonde to *Sir H. Stirling.*

Since my last of 30 *March I have received* orders to make *a proposal* to the Czar, *first to acquaint* Dr. Erskine *with* it *and, if he thinks it proper, to* have it propos'd, *then to desire* Dr. Erskine *to mention* it to the Czar.

The proposal is to offer to the Czar from the King *two* hundred thousand pounds *who* will engage *himself* to pay it *in three months* after *his* restoration as an equivalent *for what* the Czar should yield to the King of Sweden. *You'll send me* Dr. Erskine's *answer as soon as* you can. *I hear there* is to be a congress at Danzig. *Pray let* me *know if* you have *heard anything* of it. Görtz *told* Jerningham so, but that *was three months ago. Extract.*

The Earl Marischal to Queen Mary.

1718, April 3.—The morning one that calls himself Young and says he was a sergeant under me, whose face I think I remember, but can't be positively sure, came and told me that, being an upholsterer, he saw a letter in Lord Stair's cabinet,

when he was putting up the window curtains, signed Sutherland, which said that their only security was in the Chevalier's being dispatched and that Stair should immediately send an envoyé, he said first to Venice and afterwards to Vienna, and he says one was sent yesterday morning. *Extract.*

Lieut.-General Dillon to James III.

1718, April 4. *St. Germains.*—I sent you by last Tuesday's post two letters dated 26 March at *Paris* and one of the 28th from here. I have remained here since then to recover my health, which is not yet very good, though much better.

Several come from *Paris* yesterday assure it is generally reported there that *the Emperor* acquiesced to the proposals made to him in relation to *the King of Spain* and that a courier lately come from *the Elector of Hanover* to *the Regent* has brought this news. I intend to go to *Paris* in two days and hope I shall be able to inform *the King* of the truth of this.

I gave *Ormonde* an account of the above proposals, as also of the sudden and great change I found in *the Regent's* chief people as to *the Elector of Hanover*, but have said nothing to him of *the Regent* being entirely plunged in *the Elector of Hanover's* measures. I think it necessary to inform *the King* of this, that he may either communicate it or not as shall seem most proper.

The Bishop of Rochester and *Lord Arran* have at last received the cargo, which they might have had much sooner, if the conveyance they proposed themselves had been established in due time and in a fixed place, as they promised it should. I hope, by what I have said to them, it will be well settled for the future. *Lord Oxford* had *Mar's* letter concerning the *collection of money* about a month ago, so that he had time enough to act his part before the separation of friends with *the Parliament*. *George Kelly* writes to me from *England* that *the Bishop*, *Lord Arran*, and *Lord Oxford* appointed a meeting, which makes me hope we shall soon have a concerted and favourable account from them. The great noise about the picture is still a riddle to me, though it be partly explained by *James Murray's* last letter, which I enclose to *Mar*. It seems *the Bishop* and *Lord Arran* were a little jealous I had not given them early advice about this, which they imagined was a fact well-known to me and communicated to several with *England* by orders. I am very easy as to that, being sure time will convince them that 'tis not my way to write ill-grounded stories, and much less what I have no knowledge of. I think, however, it would not be amiss that *the King* and *Mar* should inquire into it and disprove the proceedings of such as gave rise to such a report. When *James Murray*, comes, he'll be able to give full information on this score.

A friend at *Paris* sent me word that a match 'twixt *the King of Sicily's* son and one of the *Archduchesses* (*daughter to Joseph*)

was privately talked of and that *the Emperor* in consideration of this would renounce his pretensions to *Sicily*.

I enclose a packet received three days ago from *Ormonde* for *the King*. All he says to me is that he had no news from *Dr. Erskine*, *Sir H. Stirling* or *Jerningham* since his last of 27 Feb.

In yours to me of 25 Feb. you mention I should show *Inese* the order for delivering the papers concerning your affairs. I did not think it proper to communicate any of the contents of the letter to him, and only gave him the order, which he desired should remain in his hands as a discharge for the delivery of the papers. Please let me know if you approve, or if you'll have me get it back. *Over* 3 *pages*.

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 4. *St. Germains*.—I sent you by last Tuesday's post a letter of 27 March from *Paris* and one of the 28th from here. When I received *Jerningham's* of 13 Feb. from *Lübeck* I wrote to him by *Queen Mary's* orders to go straight to *Ormonde*. *Queen Mary* had some days ago a letter from *Jerningham* of 22 March, saying that, being referred to *Prince Curakin* and *the Swedish minister at the Hague*, he thought it proper to come to *Holland*, where he actually is. I have written to him again by directions that, since he did not think it convenient to execute the first order I sent, *Queen Mary* was now of opinion he should remain with *Holland*, till he had certain accounts of *the King of Sweden's* and *the Czar's* factors being met. Our public news here says that the said factors have been already together at *Abo* and separated without coming to any conclusion. It's also reported that *the Elector of Hanover* has sent new proposals of agreement to *the King of Sweden*. A little time will make us see clearer into these various reports.

Inese delivered me all the ciphers he had concerning *the King's* affairs, and has writ himself to all his correspondents not to apply any more to him about business. The ill reports at *Paris* on his being laid aside are very mortifying to him, but he is resolved not to say anything for his own justification.

Enclosed are a letter from *Ormonde* and *James Murray's* last to me. I expect he will be soon this side of the water.

Marquess Palioli (Paleotti) was hanged 28 March for murdering his servant.

One Sheapheard, a young fellow, was hanged the same day for saying he would kill G[eorge], and another fined 20*s*. for blasphemy and saying he would kill God Almighty. *Nearly* 3 *pages*.

Lord Panmure to James III.

1718, April 4. Paris.—Returning his most humble thanks for the expressions of kindness in the letter his Majesty honoured him with by Mr. Freebairn, and referring him to his

letter to the Duke of Mar for accounts of what he had heard from his wife and of what he had said to the Queen.

LORD PANMURE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 4. Paris.—I was very glad to know by yours by Mr. Freebairn that you were well. I had a good journey here. I stayed a day and a half at Milan and saw an opera there which was really fine, and they have a large noble theatre, and, as I passed at Verona, I saw an old Roman amphitheatre, the inside of which is preserved entire, which is certainly a very pretty piece of antiquity, but I doubt not you saw this, as you went to Venice.

I have had letters from my wife telling me she has now no hopes of getting anything done for me, so I am not disappointed, for you know I always told you I had no hopes of it. She also gives me some account of the bill in favour of the Commissioners of Enquiry, by which they are empowered to turn out the factors named by the Lords of Session, to put the forfeited estates immediately to sale, the personal debts to be cut off, and that there are a great many other hard things in that bill, but I doubt not you will have a particular account of this from others. She says some hope no merchants will be found to buy them, but that others think there will, and that some talk the public companies in London will buy them, as they did the Irish forfeitures. She has not yet got her jointure, so must stay at London till that affair is over, and then is to go to Scotland to prevent all she can the bad consequences of that bill as to me and to endeavour to get a tack from the Commissioners of my two houses and the enclosed grounds about them and thereby to keep possession as long as she can, for I suppose they will have no regard to the tack she has already from the factor named by the Lords of Session.

I waited on the Queen at St. Germains and told her the reasons of my leaving Urbino, and that I was resolved to have done it, even though I had heard nothing of what my wife was endeavouring to get done for me at London and that I had told you this oftener than once. I also informed her of my circumstances, such as I have represented to the King and yourself. She seemed concerned and said she regretted my condition, and the more that she could not but say I had some reason to complain, but desired that I would not let it be known that any other reason had made me come but that of what my wife was endeavouring to get done for me, lest it might prove prejudicial to the King's affairs. I said I had told this to very few and would be very loth to do anything that would do any prejudice to his affairs, but that I did not see what prejudice this could do, it being known I was not trusted or employed by the King, which can be no secret, seeing all at Urbino cannot but know I was very rarely in private with him, which I behoved to have been often, if I had been

employed or trusted by him. (Regretting that he has not been thought worthy to be one of those so trusted and employed.)

I am not yet determined where to go. I would willingly stay here, but find it very expensive, though I live very privately, and my journey has exhausted my money very much, for it cost me 90 *louis d'ors* more than what the King gave me, and I am sure I endeavoured to make the journey as cheap as I could, but Dr. Blair could not but be a considerable addition of expense to me, seeing his diet cost as much as my own, for I always paid so much a head as the cheapest way ; and then there was an additional post horse. I could live here without being disturbed by the Government, for the Lord Marischal and others appear publicly here and go by their own names.

Major Crichton, who was major in my regiment, has writ to me that he never got more of the King's money than what captains get, and that he expects as much as other majors. He has certainly suffered very much, having been severely wounded at Sheriffmuir, and was afterwards prisoner at Stirling Castle, whence he made his escape, and he had a commission in one of the regiments abroad, which he lost by joining the King's army. I desire also you will mind what I spoke to you about Lieut.-col. Leslie, who was in the same regiment. I left with you his letter to me. Maurice Murray, brother to the Laird of Abercairnie, told me he had writ to you the beginning of February about 400 *louis d'ors* of the King's, which he was trusted with when the King came from Perth, but never had any return from you, and that he was willing to account for them. The very next day he was discovered to be wrong in the head and is now mad to that degree that they are forced to bind him. (Soliciting for one Trotter at St. Germains the place of clerk of the kitchen instead of Birkenhead, lately dead. His father suffered on the King's account and was executed for the holding out of the Bass.) 6 *pages*.

Lord Panmure to John Paterson.

1718, April 4. Paris.—Thanking him for taking care of the letter he sent him.—I have still the same opinion of our friend Carmelitano, which I had at Urbino, and wish I could meet with such a one here.

I had a good journey, and was very much delighted with the operas at Venice, whereof I saw four in four different houses, and all very good, and I saw also a very good one at Milan, where there is a noble and large theatre. I have seen some since I came here, which are indeed far short of those in Italy, either as to the music or decorations, and the theatres in Italy are much larger and nobler and the houses hold a great many more people, but after all the French operas have their own beauties, even as to the music, and their dancing is excellent,

and such as I believe is not to be seen anywhere else. They have also a great many people on the stage in very good clothes, which certainly makes a good appearance.

As for the sinister accidents you speak of, I suppose I will be in no danger of them, though, as you say, it has been the case of many an honest man.—Requesting him to deliver the enclosed letter to Lord Winton.

THOMAS BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 4. Br[ussels].—I had to-day yours of 6 March by *Sir H. Paterson's* canal, and the same day one from *Mr. Inese* informing me he was to write to me no more on the King's affairs. (About an address at Brussels to which Mar might direct to him.) Cousin David is not a little mortified by your answer, and really I do not see any of our people lives more frugally than he does, but we are sometimes obliged for our credit's sake to do what otherwise we would not, and he in particular for the reasons I formerly wrote of. *Sir H. Paterson* was to write to you about Sir Peter's son, but it seems his letter has not come to you. I have made him your compliments as you desired. It was James Carstairs who came over with him.

I was told by *M. de Wilda* that the 130,000*l.* was not given, but only lent to the Emperor on interest. The differences betwixt the Emperor and the commoners here are not yet composed, nor any money at yet given him from Brabant, but it's believed that affair will be ended this week. I understand by *M. de Wilda* that by orders from Vienna the direction of that affair is put into the hands of M. de Welde, an eminent lawyer here. He has already had some meetings with the people about it. It's said that the Emperor is to allow the deacons to take the old oath, which, it's hoped, will please them, and get money to pay the Emperor's debts in this country, for having hitherto got none, he is in arrear to everybody here. I am told, if M. de Welde succeeds in this, he goes for Vienna. The Gazettes tell us that the Emperor has made an alliance with the King of Sicily and gives one of the archduchesses to his son. The last letters from Vienna give great hopes of a peace with the Turks. We see in the Gazettes that several German regiments, which were appointed to march, are stopped, which makes people give the greater credit to that report, and likewise to another, that the Emperor is in treaty with Spain.

The Duke of Leeds is in town and M. de Prié, who is on a project of cleansing the port of Ostend and was informed that the Duke had some years ago made a plan of that work, took means the other day to have him invited to dine with him, and begged his assistance in it. The Duke has been advised to show all the civility he can in that point, but not to be too forward in it, till he can have his plan from England,

which may put off time a little, till he sees further about him. I persuade myself that the Dutch will be ill-pleased with M. de Prié's project, but what remarks they can make on the Duke's meddling in it, it is not easy to judge, but certainly they will be amused with it. I believe by this time *Mr. Jerningham* is gone from Holland. 2 *pages.*

W. Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 5. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters and begging his Grace's favour for John Trotter, who desires to succeed to Mr. Birkenhead, clerk of the King's kitchen, who is some days dead.

W. Gordon to John Paterson.

1718, April 5. Paris.—Requesting his interest in favour of the said John Trotter, who is at present groom of the Privy Chamber to the King.

Fothringhame of Powrie to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 5. Paris.—Requesting his interest in favour of the said John Trotter.—I wrote to you six or seven weeks ago, enclosing a letter from my son-in-law, to which I have not yet had any return.

Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 5. Toulon.—I was honoured with your letter of 1 Feb. We are here in the greatest misery in the world. It is now 15 months that we have not been paid and God knows when we shall. All the news we have here is that there will be a war between the Spaniard and the English and that his Majesty is going to be married to the Czar's daughter, which I wish may be true. I had a letter of 22 March from a friend in England telling me that his Majesty has more friends than ever, and that they increase every day, and that George loses ground every day, which, if true, is very good news. I wrote to-day to the Countess at Avignon and told her I had a letter from you and that you desired to be remembered to her and the rest of the ladies there. Last month I gave my man a letter to you. He had the misfortune to kill a man in this country. I ask a thousand pardons for the liberty. He is a very honest lad and a good servant, if any gentleman has an occasion for a man. I beg you will assure his Majesty I am always ready to serve him with my life and fortune. If I had wherewithal, you had seen me at Urbino, but I am the most miserablest man in the world that I have not wherewithal to follow my master. Last week passed here Sir Robert Brown and Mr. Compton for Italy, two very honest gentlemen. We drank his Majesty's health and yours, and they design to go and see his Majesty, if it be possible without danger.

We have had this year about 20 English merchantmen in this port, all declaring public for the King.

I received to-day a letter from London from James Eyre, a merchant, a very great Whig, and he desires me to write him the news of the health of the young gentleman in Italy, meaning his Majesty, that they have had news in London that he was very much indisposed, which was a great trouble to him and a great many others of his friends, so I answered that his Majesty was never in better health than he is at present.

I cannot imagine the reason I did not receive your letter till to-day, which is two months since it has been writ. 3 *pages.*

SIR HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 5.—I received both yours of 5 and 11 March last post and all the other letters you mention, which are all sent to those they were for, except that to *H. Straiton*, which I did not think convenient to send the common way, *the Government there* having been in use of late to open letters, and you know *Mar's* hand is pretty well known there, and anything from him would be enough at present to make a handle, though they could make nothing else of it. I therefore wrote myself to *H. Straiton* and told him what's happened to *Inese* and that he is to write no more to him of anything relating to *the King*, for which I referred him to *Mar's* letter, which he shall have very soon by a sure occasion. I wrote to *Lady Mar* along with that from *Mar* to her and told her how she can very safely send all her letters here.

I enclosed that to *James Murray* to a friend at *London*, who would lose no time delivering it, if he was there, and, if it comes too late, it will be returned. I wrote to him likewise myself and told him I had a very safe way of getting anything sent to *London* and from it here generally once a week, which he might use, and that I should send him an address as soon as I heard of his being on this side, but, if the Squire (James Hamilton) is obliged to come away, we shall be at a loss for one there to deliver and receive any goods, our correspondence having been taken care of that way by him and another must be thought of, which *Mar* may adjust with *James Murray*. I am very glad *James Murray* is coming to be in the way *Mar* mentions, for I hope Newton and Daly (*i.e.* the King's friends in England and Scotland) will have entire confidence in him, he being very well known to them, and you know these two merchants never much cared to have dealings with most of the old traders near *Paris* (*i.e.* at St. Germains).

I see no bad effect *Inese* being laid aside will have with the two above mentioned, but the contrary, and, whatever reason *the King* has for it, his pleasure in that is enough for *Sir H. Paterson*, as it will be in anything else ; I have only spoke of it to *H. Maule* and *Mar's* cousin, L[ord] P[itsligo], who are both very well pleased with it. I hear often from *Menzies*,

and perhaps that may be the reason he writes so seldom to *Mar*, for I told him I should always communicate to *Mar* and *Ormonde* anything material, which I did to *Ormonde*, and I wrote it to *Inese* or *Dillon* and desired my letters should be forwarded to *Mar*, after they were communicated to *Queen Mary*, and a part of two of *Menzies'* letters were in the two I sent under *Inese's* cover, which, if I am not mistaken, he acknowledged, so I cannot conceive why *Mar* has not got them. There was indeed not so much of consequence in them, as there has not been much in most of *Menzies'*. *Dillon's* writing so seldom and giving no returns made me write more frequently to *Inese* of late, and I wrote to him pretty fully the 29th past. (Abstract of this letter calendared *ante*, *p.* 218.)

On these accounts *Sir H. Paterson* pressed *Jerningham's* going immediately to *Ormonde*, without waiting for further instructions, so he set out from this two days ago and will lose no time till he is with *Ormonde*. He told me he had given *the King* a full account of his late expedition long ago, and that he wrote to *Mar* from *the Hague* and *Amsterdam*, proposing that *the King* should write a line to *the Czar* to entreat him to settle his lawsuit with *the King of Sweden* and to offer his good offices to adjust any differences remaining between them, the chief of which seem to be *Reval* and *Wiborg*, which *the King of Sweden* insists on having back, thinking he cannot be sure of Bailie (? the Baltic) and Ogle (? Finland) without these two.

The King's letter may have a good effect with *the Czar*, when he tells him how much *the restoration* depends on that bargain. It may be enclosed to *Sir H. Stirling*, who will deliver it or get *Dr. Erskine* to do it, and he may be offered some *money* on *the restoration's* succeeding. There is one about him with whom he much advises, that it's thought proper to apply to this way, and it's what both *Görtz* and *Prince Kurakin* advise, he being the only person with *the Czar* that obstructs *the peace*. I wrote about this to *Sir H. Stirling* and desired him to get *Dr. Erskine* to apply to that person in that manner that, on *the treaty's* being settled in the way desired, he may assure him of a little of *money's* effects, for these commodities, it seems, go a great way at present both with *the King of Sweden's* and *the Czar's* people, and *England* applies that way.

"I had a letter from *Sir H. Stirling* by last post dated from *Petersburg* 21 February, O.S., in which he says that *the Czar* was expected there in a fortnight after the date of his and that he has delayed all this while writing to *Mar* in hopes of his and *Dr. Erskine's* return, that he might have a more certain account of affairs to give him and in the meantime desires I may assure *Mar* that nothing is wanting to be done that is in his power for *the King's* behoof, and promises to write fully to *Mar* how soon *Dr. Erskine* arrives. He says

they believe there that *the peace* affair is done, but this he does not depend on till he meets with *Dr. Erskine*. *The Czar's* affairs at home have been in very great disorder, which has no doubt been the occasion of his being so long with *Moscow*. He has got the better of those who were like to give him disturbance, and *Sir H. Stirling* says he doubts not but the present situation of his own family will very much contribute to make him compound his lawsuit. He writes likewise that there have been complaints made to *the Czar* on the part of *the Elector of Hanover* of *Ormonde's* being allowed to be in these parts, and on that account he wishes that *the peace* affair was dispatched, which was *the Czar* sure of, I hope he would regard these complaints the less. The last I had from *Ormonde* was dated 27 February, and I sent one from him to *Dillon* which I had at the same time. In that I mention to have wrote to *Inese* I sent one to *Mar* which I had sent me in one from *H. Straiton*, who says it is from *Mar's* servant R[ai]te. I send you a copy enclosed of what is material in *H. Straiton's* letter to *Sir H. Paterson*.

"I am sure I have by this time wearied you with this long account of our private affairs, and yet, since you desire it, I shall still further trouble you with letting you know a little of what is passing in these parts at present, though you know I very seldom write news. The Parl[iamen]t of England is now up and prorogued to 20 May, which is much longer than was expected. A message was sent the Com[mon]s from the King a few days before they were up and when most of the members were absent, by which he desired a further number of seamen which he thought necessary for the security of the nation and the peace of Europe and further to enable him to conclude the alliances he had on foot, which after some small opposition they agreed to and voted an unlimited bill of credit, and some more ships have been joined to the squadron that is to go to the Mediterranean, on which they are hard at work, though it is not thought they can be ready to sail this month. The Spanish Ambassador at London had given in a memorial some time ago to know the reasons of this armament, wherein he told that he had orders from his master to tell them that, if any ships were sent into those parts to meddle in the affairs between his master and the Emperor, he would look upon it as a rupture with him and take measures accordingly, but this has not at all frightened our English courage, though our stocks have fallen upon it, and particularly the South Sea Company considerably. There have been some bills passed at the close of the Sessions which has occasioned a good deal of warm and hot speeches in both Houses, particularly the Mutiny Bill and that about the forfeit estates, both which the Court carried only by a very small majority in both Houses, and the opposite party have entered their protests against them. I send you here the reasons against the bill concerning the forfeited estates, which they say is of

a very extraordinary nature, and many hundred families will be ruined by it, who had no hand in the late troubles, for all personal creditors on those estates are cut off. The reasons are drawn by one Sir D. Dal[rym]ple, one of the greatest lawyers in that country, who very much opposed the bill, as most of the other members of that country did, and there were only six of the Peers of that country for it, and it was carried but by six votes; those were Roxburghe, Rothes, Haddington, Sutherland, Ross and one other. The D[uke]s of Mon[trose] and Arg[yle] opposed it very much. It makes a horrid outcry among these poor creditors, and the Lords of Session may now shut up their doors. It is said orders are sent to S[cotlan]d to try all those who were concerned in the late rebellion and who were gone abroad, and now returned, in order to prevent the Act about prescription taking place, and this, we hear, will oblige those people to return again abroad. They still talk of equiping a squadron here for the Baltic, to which they are much pressed by E[nglan]d, though they make no great haste to it, and their ships are yet in no readiness.

"I cannot conceive how *H. Maule's* brother (Lord Panmure) proposes to get his affairs compounded with his creditors, for that cannot now be done till *the Parliament* meet to consent to it, and it will be long to that. *H. Maule* is not pleased with the conveyance he is informed he has made in his affairs in favour of his friend, and I am afraid by this that the difference will grow more and more there, which I am sorry for, and this, with the accounts of his own affairs that his friend at home is often plaguing him with, puts him often in an odd temper. He has had offers made him to compound with his creditors upon the same terms and pretty reasonably, but you know his case is different, and it can be done without *the Parliament*, though I find he resolves at present not to do anything that way, and, though he got his debts compounded at never so easy a rate, I am very well persuaded he will do nothing that is wrong on that account, for he continues entirely devoted to *the King's* interest. I told him you had written that his friend that was with you was coming this way, and that I fancied it was to meet with his friend from the other side, but I said no more. It will not be amiss you write to him when you have an opportunity. *Mar's* cousin, Lord Pitsligo, is still here and writes to him by this post on a subject that I heartily wish *the King* could some way interpose in, for it is a very foolish and untimely debate, if I may say so, and what does a great deal of hurt. *The King's* letter, that you sent me a copy of, was got published here some while ago, and many people are fond of it and none more than your namesake, Will's uncle (Col. Erskine), who is still here and very ill-pleased with *the Government's* present management, and, I have reason to believe, he will not meddle so much again that way as he did on a late occasion, and as many

more of that country will not. If *King George and his son* agree, it is believed *Argyle* will be the sacrifice, which will make a great change with many, but, whatever is in this, it is generally believed that these two are in as ill terms as ever. *Cadogan* is expected back here soon, though there are two of that kind here already, but it seems he comes to forward their measures."

I am sorry to be obliged to mention Mr. Dundas again, for it is with great reluctance I do anything to trouble *the King*, but nobody in these parts is so useful to him, and it's very necessary some honest man in Dundas' way should be at *Rotterdam*, which is the chief port to *England*, and where he may be in many ways useful, particularly in forwarding letters, and he is at a good deal of trouble that way and some charge, most of *Ormonde's* letters coming by him. Many things often fall out there, that one in his station can be of use in, and a fitter person cannot be thought of for it. He pays all *the King's* seamen there, and is a sure hand to address anything or person to that goes that way. If I did not think this was for *the King's* interest and that what he gives him will be well bestowed, I should not have mentioned it. He really wants it, having lost all on the late occasion.

Mr. Hamilton you mention has been this long while with *Scotland*, and I hear from him sometimes. All your friends there are well.

I heartily wish to have the confirmation of *the King's* marriage, which is both wished and longed for much by all his friends. It's now very publicly talked of and with one who is not disagreeable.

I have a letter to-day from *Inese*, telling me he has got his quietus, with which he seems very well satisfied, and says it is what he has been desiring long ago.

Postscript.—April 6.—I have just received one from *Menzies* of their 21st past, in which there is nothing material. He refers me to another sent another way, which I have not yet got. I have heard sometimes from *the Earl Marischal* since his being with *Paris*. I should be glad to know if *Mar* and he correspond. Harry Campion, from whom I hear often, desires me to assure *Mar* of his humble service. He much disapproves of his old friend *Bolingbroke's* late conduct, for nobody can be more attached to *the King's* interest than he.

Second postscript.—April 7.—You may expect some account of Mr. *Robertson* in my next. I have this moment yours of the 17th past. 10 *pages*. *Enclosed*,

Capt. H. Straiton to *Sir H. Paterson*.

I heartily thank you for your good accounts of the King's *perfect health and, next to his gaining his lawsuit, his thinking of marriage is the most acceptable news his friends could have. I hope you have had some agreeable*

accounts of the Czar's *and* the King of Sweden's *affairs, who, I wish, may be got to give in a substantial stock, and I fain would hope that* the Regent *may yet see it his interest to concur in that trade, which would make matters very easy and might oblige* the King of Prussia *and* the States General *to lie by or perhaps to concur and so leave* the Elector of Hanover *alone, for* England's *relations generally speaking both hate and despise him, and he has little or nothing to trust to but* the army's *favours, which, it's thought, he is not very secure of, and it's not doubted but on such events as above mentioned most of* the army's *partners would forsake* the Elector of Hanover *and the jumbles in* the Parliament's *family with the discord betwixt* the Elector of Hanover and his son *must contribute very much to advance the interest of your company.*

I can say again with assurance that your friends here are no ways discouraged, but will be ready to concur as far as their small stock will go, and I have it from very good hands that the Clans' *relations are very frank, particularly those, who did not so well as was expected on a late occasion, are now much longing for an opportunity to retrieve their mistakes, I'm unwilling to say, misbehaviour.*

I hope it will give no offence, if I lay before you some of my weak thoughts about the management of the wholesale trade, and you may communicate them to those you think proper.

When the King *therefore designs to employ a* descent *to visit* (i.e. *make a descent on*) England *or* Scotland, *some quantity of* horse *as well as* men *will be a necessary complement, and, though it may be objected it will be difficult to get any quantity of* horses *easily and safely transported to either of these two factors' houses, I wish it may be minded, what perhaps you do not remember, that on a like occasion* the King of Denmark *sent a considerable quantity of good* horses *to* Scotland's *north quarters, which came safe even in the winter season, whence they were sent through* Scotland's *bounds to* Ireland.

Whatever be done as to the horses, *abundance of* arms *and* ammunition *will be most necessary, for they are much wanted by both the factors above mentioned, and, if little or no* horses *can be obtained, it's to be wished* the King *may get some honest well-skilled tradesman of experience with all necessaries for that particular trade and who will manage well such* men *as can be got with the factors aforesaid. This, if it be adverted to, I think may be easily obtained.*

I have not now time to write to your cousin Mar, *so pray tell him I have now a very good way of corresponding with* the clans' *relations, particularly with* Glengarry,

so, if he has any commands for them, I can get it safely delivered. The enclosed for him I had from his servant. 1718, *Feb.* 25[–*March* 8]. 2 *pages. Copy.*

Anne Oglethorpe to James III.

1718, March 25[–April 5].—Expressing her thanks for his late goodness to her family.—Give me leave to return my humble thanks in a most particular manner for your particular marks of favour to my brother James, till God enables him to acknowledge them by his services.

I shall not trouble you with any business, except on one head, about which you alone can quiet me. You know I am in the same state of health as you, from my infancy afflicted with the same distemper.* In the lady, your sister's life, I never could be wrought on to send you from hence the physicians' advice, not thinking it fit for me. Of late I have been forced to send from Dr. Oston (*i.e.* Lord Orrery) letters that I think press too much on that article, which may make you uneasy. I have tried all I could to make him less pressing on that subject, but am too much concerned to be believed on that head, Mr. Knighton being his prompter. I beg your orders how to behave in it. I cannot pretend to refuse conveying the doctor's prescriptions for fear of hurting your lawsuit, nor dare I tell him I think it an ill-timed thing for fear of cooling him. Let me know what I shall say and how I shall behave in it.

I send *Mar* for you the character of Galga, your opposite in everything, just come out. 4 *pages.*

Mr. Shippen to James III.

1718, March 25[–April 5].—I presume you have been acquainted with the accident which prevented my earlier acknowledging your great condescension in writing to me, and will not therefore trouble you with any apology, but give me leave to take this first opportunity of assuring you I am highly sensible of the goodness which inclines you to think there is the least merit in doing what is only my duty. It is improper here to explain myself more particularly, and I must leave my actions to speak for me. All your commands shall be obeyed with the utmost pleasure as well as fidelity. *Noted,* as received 20 Aug.

Sir H. Stirling to the Duke of Ormonde.

1718, *March* 25[–April 5].—I received yours of 12 and 21 March, since I wrote to you, which I deferred doing, expecting *Dr. Erskine's arrival in hopes* I should be able to acquaint you with something *certain about the treaty, but* I was surprised to hear on his arrival this morning that there hath *been no*

* This probably means that she and James were both of the same religion.

ministers as [yet] *in Finland*, though *the Czar's have been* there since the middle *of January*, but he says *that Görtz and Gyllenborg are* there by this time or are to be there speedily. I hope *that choice presages* well for *the King*, since the former was, it's said, *a friend to peace* and the latter *to the King's friends in England. By this delay* I'm afraid it *will be* yet some time *before any resolution can be taken* such as we could *wish*, unless *Jerningham* have got assurances where *he was*, which *the Czar will by* no means *hinder* or prevent, *that something shall be done speedily.*

By the last accounts from *England* it appears to me that *Argyle will very speedily make* application *to the King*, since *the Prince* hath abandoned *Argyle* as well as his other friends, in whom their only *hopes been* all along, and for whose sake they made such a breach as cannot well admit of a reconciliation. There is *an alliance concluded between the Emperor and England* which *will dissolve* the *triple alliance* of course, since it is not doubted *that France* has made *or will make leagues with Spain* in opposition to the other. This may be of use to *the King*, and may possibly shorten *Ormonde's journey*, in case he should be obliged soon to *change his quarters. Copy. Marked as enclosed in Ormonde's to Dillon of* 19 *April.*

Lord Pitsligo to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April [5 ?].—I wrote you a pretty long letter about two weeks ago about some little affairs of our own. The occasion of this is of more consequence.

"A dispute fell in lately among the Non-jurors as to some things that wanted to be mended, as one party thought, in the English Liturgy, and they proposed to introduce some observances in the Liturgy of Edward VI, such as mixing water with the wine in the Communion, praying for the dead &c. These alterations being much opposed by others of the same Non-jurors, there was a meeting proposed by their bishops to settle the matter. But three, who were against the alterations, found it would be determined by the other four bishops, and so they sent a declinator of the authority of Scotch bishops in an English Synod; for you must know two of the four are Mr. Campbell and Mr. Gadderer. These four and some inferior clergy for the alterations made proposals of an accommodation, but the other party would not advance a step. This produced a resolve of the former to enjoin the alterations, which has made a separation, and there are now two communions of the Non-jurors.

"Several pamphlets are written on both sides, and ecclesiastical disputes, you know, are not always managed with temper. Mr. Collier and Dr. Bret are the other two bishops for the alterations, the three against them are Mr. Spinks, Hawes and Gandy. The majority of the clergy in town are with the former, most of the officiating clergy and the majority of the people with the latter.

"I have a letter from another gentleman with these words: The division among the poor foolish Non-jurors is as great as can be imagined, so that the two parties do not communicate now with each other, a certain sign of weakness, not to call it worse.

"Now I should not be so concerned about the disputes of the Non-jurors, who, everybody knows, are not friends to King George, but it does harm to Christianity in general, a thing many are said to hate even of those who love him, that is, who adhere to his interests, for I reckon such persons love all Kings alike. Another thing that makes me heartily vexed at this division is that *the King* is like to be at some disadvantage by it. I have been led much in my life by particular friendship, and he, I am informed, may suffer in the contempt which will be thrown upon that party, though I am persuaded he does not approve of their measures, but you know the Non-jurors will be all blamed in a heap and most people conclude him to be one of them. Perhaps it were not amiss that *the King* wrote them his mind. I doubt not but you know him, and I should think his advice would persuade them to unite again, since the things about which they have separated are not essential to salvation. One cannot imagine how well-pleased the Presbyterians are with the breach. They hope to see the church again as it was in the days of Oliver, though they had little to say at last when all the army turned preachers.

"I had not insisted so long on this subject if it were not the regret of all honest people, and perhaps, if men of experience shall interpose in it, the difference may be taken away. I am not sure if the names of those bishops are generally known, but they run no hazard in being mentioned to you."

I told you where I proposed to pass this summer or a part of it. (*See* Sir Hugh Paterson's letter of that date.) *Noted*, as received at Urbino 26 April, the same day as Sir Hugh's.

The Duke of Mar to James III.

1718, Wednesday, April 6. Rome.—Having nothing to trouble you with, I wrote a confused line to John Hay on my arrival here. I had two days ago yours of the 30th, and am not a little proud of my godfather. What John [Hay], Paterson and Forster write me of what passed at Urbino on your leaving and returning to it is very entertaining. What the President wrote here first upon it surprised everybody and put them to their speculations, but on your return he sent an express to correct the too hasty account he had before given, which set them all at quiet again and occasioned some laughing at his worship, which he deserved, and several of their wisest people approve much of your using them to such things, particularly the gentleman from whom John's dog has his by-name.

I opened the packets to-day. Most of my letters are trash, though some fit to be read; therefore I have sent them to Paterson to lay before you. Finding none for me from *Dillon*, I sent for Nairne's packet, in which his to me used sometimes to be enclosed, but I was little the wiser, for there is none from *Dillon*, and only one from *John O'Brien* to Nairne with a packet for me, both of which I enclose.

I'll be impatient till I know what *Ormonde's* and *Sir H. Stirling's* letters contain, not having their cipher with me, and the more that by what I can grope of them, things are not as we could wish and had reason to believe. I apprehend that it is for *Ormonde* to remove from where he was, and, if that be all, I shall be the less concerned, provided they tell him whither he can go and remain safely for some time at no great distance. If that be the case, it is certainly on instances made to *the Czar* for that end, which he thinks it were not prudent for him to deny, till he see what becomes of the depending affair betwixt him and *the King of Sweden*, in which he but acts as *the King of Sweden* does, but, were that affair once determined, as I hope it is long before this, both those gentlemen will, I doubt not, act in another manner. I see *Ormonde* is angry with *Dr. Erskine*, and perhaps he may have reason, but their tempers are so much the reverse of one another that I always doubted of their agreeing long together. If the thing be as I apprehend, I should think there is no occasion for doubting more of the affair of *marriage* with *the Czar* than formerly, since his making up with *the King of Sweden* must determine him in that as well as other matters. I will long extremely to know from you, if I guess right in all this. I fear there will be no occasion for my being called from hence sooner than the time you allowed me.

I see Freebairn was arrived when those letters came away, though nobody mentions anything of the letters he carried or those from Fano, but only acknowledges them. *Queen Mary*, as we suspected, had, I see, sent often for *Dillon*, but, it seems, his illness hindered his going, for which, I imagine, he would not be sorry, and it is likely that *Queen Mary* may not say much to you on the affair of *Inese* till next post.

I sent to *Cardinal Gualterio* the morning after I arrived, and by his appointment went privately to him in the evening. I like him mightily and never more lamented the want of language. He could not have an opportunity of seeing *the Pope* till to-day, when he was to speak to him of *Mar*, and to-morrow, I believe, I shall know what passed. All the world here knows who *Mar* is, but by the way he takes he will have no trouble from their doing so, and have full time in going undisturbed and quietly about seeing everything. *Cardinal Gualterio* sent to him last night to let him know there was to be a Consistory to-day, and desired he might go along with him. *Mar* apprehended his doing so would make him too remarkable, so excused himself, and indeed he had a mind once not to go

at all, but he was at last prevailed on to go, which he did with *Lord Southesk*, who knows all the ways of this place pretty well, but he almost repents of his going, for it happened just as he imagined it would; he had not been there about ten minutes, when the eyes of most of the company were turned on him, so that he made his stay very short. He tells me the Pope is a very well-looked old man, and as likely, he thinks, to live as any Cardinal he saw there.

I shall take my measures about seeing all who are fit for me to wait on from *Cardinal Gualterio*, but I fancy all that will be put off till about the time I am to leave this. *Cardinal Gualterio* asked me to dine with him to-day, but on account of this post it is put off till Saturday.

I am mightily pleased and entertained with the things I have already seen, and especially with the remains of the old Roman greatness, which all in these ages come far short of, St. Peter's excepted. I have now got an antiquary to conduct me regularly through all that is to be seen, with whom I propose to be very busy, but all the pictures in churches will be covered during Lent, so that will be a new pleasure after Easter. Bianchini came to *Mar* to-day at the Consistory and they are to be better acquainted. He (Bianchini) has got in, I hear, with the Duke of Queensberry, who is very fond of him and who is mightily well thought of here.

When I went first to St. Peter's, as I was coming towards the great outward stairs, I saw *the Duke of Queensberry* coming down and going to his coach. I turned about t'other way, as if I had been looking at the Colonnade, but he saw and knew me and afterwards returned and came up to me, as I was walking in the porch. I told him that on his account I was unwilling to take notice of him, and for that reason I would not come to see him nor expect that he should me. He thanked me and said that needed not hinder our meeting sometimes elsewhere, so I hope to see him now and then at such places and will not fail to make the right use of it. I wish I could have a few bottles of champagne to be a little merry with him one night, which perhaps might have no bad effect, but there's none tolerable to be had here.

Both the *Oglethorpes* are here, but say they are to set out for Naples one of these days. The eldest is grown yet an odder fellow than I formerly knew him, which was altogether needless. I cannot imagine how he gets the money to live as he does.

The Spanish fleet have brought one cargo of their troops to Sardinia and gone back for another.

I believe, had you seen this place in the quietness and easy way I am likely to do, you would have liked it better and been more entertained with it, which, if you have no better business, as I hope you will, may, I should think, not be hard still to bring about.

I hope you'll pardon me when I tell you I could not for my life read some things in your letter, particularly about *Cardinal Gualterio* and the *money*.

Mar lives in the same house with Southesk, and they and Stuart eat together in it, their victuals being dressed by a cook they have got, and, had Linlithgow been here, he might have done so too, but I hear nothing of his coming, which, I fancy, Cockburn's journey has put a stop to. Cameron is very busy taking a journal of all he sees, which 'tis likely he may publish. 6 *pages. Holograph.*

The Duke of Mar to John Paterson.

1718, April 6. Rome.—Acknowledging his letter and giving him directions about the delivery of the enclosed packet and letters.

George Lockhart to *James III.*

1718, March 26[–April 6]. (Printed in the *Lockhart Papers, Vol. II, p.* 9.)

James III to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 7. Urbino.—I am glad to find you were well after your journey and your ailment on the road. I reckon by this time you are in the middle of your seeing fine things and curiosities, while we are in the middle of wind and rain, reduced to billiards and that alone, for Tempesti is gone, though to return before Easter. We had last night an oratorio, very pretty both in words and music, but otherwise we go on in the same dull strain, though I am neither sick nor in the spleen. I send you *Queen Mary's* letter to me and the copy of my answer, both which pray return. King's man at *the Emperor's, i.e.* Vienna, has writ you a short note of about 13 sheets, which Paterson says is not worth sending, for I did not read it. For two or three idle days now I am like to pay next week, though I fancy my return on *Inese's* subject will be short though not sweet. Freebairn was at Lyons on Thursday, the 17th. I find by the prints that *the Czar's* return from his progress was not to be soon as we once reckoned. I cannot help politicianising a little on *Ormonde's* laconic letters, and their tenor, but I must have patience till a return from P[etersbur]g, and then alone can one judge what's fit to be done. *Holograph.*

John Paterson to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 7. Urbino.—Mentioning that he had written to him 31 March and 3 April, and that he had received enclosed for him in one of M. de Busi's one from the Resident of March 16 and 19 (calendared *ante, p.* 152), of which he gives a summary, but does not send it on as being too bulky.—Sir W. Ellis wrote some time ago to M. Belloni at Rome to advance to Mr. Gerard (*i.e.* Mar) what sums he should call for, and got an answer that he would observe his orders, but would be at a loss to know this Gerard so he desired me to transmit the enclosed

letter of credit to you. Sir William does not write himself, to save you the trouble of a letter.

I wrote to Lord Tullibardine telling him you had delivered his letter to the King, and that you, parting hence a day or two after his came, had no time to write to him. I had so many letters from Glendarule without answering any of them that I began to be ashamed, and so have written to him likewise, but have taken no notice of what he wrote to you about me. When you told me what *Menzies* had written from t'other side about me, I did not think much further of it, but now that there is something of this kind, though I cannot divine what it is, coming from other hands, it has something the air of a design against a man, which makes me think of it with more concern. I would not give you the trouble to write to Glendarule on this account only, but would beg, if you are writing to him of anything else before I see you, you would desire him to explain to you what he knows of that matter. This I would hope you would vouchsafe me even on my own account, but there may be other and more weighty reasons for inquiring into it, and something may be intended by it against a better man than me. If there is anything under this, I am almost sure it will be found to proceed originally from somebody on this side the water, and not impossibly from some one or other at Urbino. 'Tis the first attack of the kind I ever met with, though not the first time such folks have attacked others with as little reason. It is easy for anybody to come at me on the subject of a thousand personal infirmities and weaknesses, but as regards my loyalty to the King, my duty to you and the confidence reposed in me by either, I think I can stand the trial of it.

I spoke to the King about the two petitions you left in my hands. Morgan is gone for Paris and the other for Sardinia with a recommendation to Mr. Wauchop, whom you saw at Avignon. I had a letter from James Paterson, who is at Palermo, but he only writes in general that they are making great preparations there, as if they expected something extraordinary to happen.

There were no newspapers by last post, but the common ones, which you have at Rome. The King was last night for two hours at the oratorio, and the whole ladies of the town were likewise there. Our virtuosi here approved of the music, and give it the preference to that which you heard before you left us. *Over six pages. Enclosed,*

Sir W. Ellis to *Giovanni Angelo Belloni.*

Requesting him to pay to Mr. Gerard *or to his order whatever sums he may demand during his stay at Rome and to place them to the writer's account.* 1718, *April* 8, *Urbino. French.*

Count J. H. de Gazola to David Nairne.

1718, April 7. Piacenza.—Expressing the surprise mingled with joy he had felt at the news of the King's unexpected departure and flattering himself that he will yet see him leave Urbino, not for an excursion of two posts, as was the present case, but to mount the throne that is rightfully his. *French.*

The Earl of Oxford to James III.

1718, March 27[–April 7].—This being the beginning of the year in this country, I heartily wish *the King* a long train of many, very many, years of happiness and that all his misfortunes may be determined with the year now gone out.

A few days since I troubled *the King* with a very long letter, and yesterday I was honoured with one of the 8th instant; I cannot sufficiently express my sense of *the King's* goodness to inform *Lord Oxford* of his private affairs. One expression so much rejoices my heart that I cannot but begin with it, viz., that *the King* has learnt by experience to be sole master in his own business. This is a resolution worthy of his excellent understanding and greatness of soul and will deliver him from innumerable inconveniences.

As to what has befallen *Inese*, I say once for all, that I have not nor will have any inclinations or aversions to persons so as to interfere with *the King's* trade, for the promoting his service shall be all the recommendation I need. *Lord Oxford* neither directly nor indirectly had ever any communication with *Inese*, and he was no farther known to him than by name, and I doubt not sufficient care is taken that *Inese's* revenge may not carry him to prejudice the trade. As to Mr. *Dillon*, I am equally a stranger to him, only I have heard of the great character he has in his own metier. *James Murray* is very well known to me, and very well-respected by many here, and I doubt not his youth will receive great improvement under the instructions of so able masters as *the King* and *Mar*.

The King has the goodness to let *Lord Oxford* carry on his part of the trade in his own way, for which he is exceedingly thankful, and, as he takes all opportunities of getting in partners, so he observes that rule to them in letting them act in their own way and in assuring them they may do so with safety and acceptation.

Lord Oxford wrote a few days since to *Queen Mary*, but then he knew nothing of this affair about *Inese*, and therefore could not mention it then, and does not think it proper to trouble your aunt (*i.e.* Queen Mary) now upon that subject for reasons which are apparent.

You conclude your letter with recommending the necessity of getting goods ready and the *money*. I have wrote to *Mar* in my last upon that, and will omit nothing to make that particular succeed, and will from time to time let *the King*

know the success, but, let me repeat, nothing will quicken that trade like the hopes or certainty of a market like to begin. I say no more, expecting to hear the news of that from your side, and, when trade once begins in earnest, it will find your partners other things to employ their thoughts than to create uneasinesses to *the King*, for I sensibly feel what he suffers from his partners' uneasinesses and am grieved at it, but time and other business will cure that. The hearing of *the King's* confirmed health is a sufficient cordial; I hope my next will be on a more agreeable subject, I mean, congratulations.

The Earl of Oxford to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 27[–April 7].—Sending the dates of the letters he has lately received. (About the dismissal of Inese as in the last letter.) There are expressions in *the King's* letter of 8 March on this affair, which perfectly charm me and I hope I shall not offend against decency, if, without his leave, I make use of those very expressions on proper occasions to particular persons for *the King's* service.

It will be a vast trial of your patience to pass by so much importunity as you must every day meet with. What I now feel here makes me more sensible of what *the King* and *Mar* must suffer. I hope the end and success of your trade will recompense all and that these impertinent though troublesome proceedings will not be able to do any hurt. In the meantime I know you will take care of preserving *Ormonde* in good humour, which is of great consequence, and nothing on that head shall be wanting here. I will not repeat what I wrote to *the King* about *Inese* and *Dillon*, but permit me to say a few words about *Menzies*. He is entirely unknown to *Lord Oxford*, not only his person, but also there has not been the least intercourse between them and that industriously on *Lord Oxford's* part, but his character is that of being very honest, careful and zealous for the trade, though peevish, but, since he has not acted to your liking, it is to be hoped that this deserved mortification will make him know himself better for the future, and perhaps, when *James Murray* is on your side, there will be fewer complaints of *Menzies*, and he will serve better. As to *James Murray*, he is certainly in good esteem, and, if he cannot profit under such masters as *the King* and *Mar*, he must be unteachable. Excuse me, if I suggest that *the King* should not let him be too soon a master and set up for himself; if he will be content to do journey work for some time, he may come to understand his trade.

I have reason to believe that several people have thought fit publickly to use *Lord Oxford's* name as a partner, but such things are better neglected than taken notice of. I think too much care cannot be taken to prevent any coldness or breach at this juncture between *the King's* partners.

These accidents have given you too much trouble ; I hope business of more consequence will very speedily take up your thoughts, and I believe the names must be altered, but that may be done from hence. I cannot say anything about *Mar's* motions, till we see what channel trade is like to take.

As to a chaplain to the factory, *Lord Oxford* is not idle ; as soon as one can be found proper, *Mar* shall have notice.

James Murray to James III.

1718, March 27[–April 7]. London.—Last Tuesday night I received your commands in yours of 16 Feb. and the other letters you referred me to. You may have many in your thoughts more capable of serving you and better able to struggle with difficulties too certainly to be expected from the little malicious arts of some people, but no man living will exert such abilities as he has with more sincerity and less regard to himself in your service, and I hope I may say I shall always prove worthy of the confidence you place in me. As to the manner in which I may be of use to you and the Company, I have no choice but your pleasure, and shall therefore, if something don't intervene, begin to obey what you ordered some time next week. But I should think it absolutely necessary to wait on you, before I have any dealing with *Paris*, for, in a situation which, I am afraid, is so liable to the envy of many and where one is so much exposed to their censure and detraction, it is surely a matter of prudence to desire to be particularly instructed both as to persons and things ; otherwise it will be impossible to carry on the Company's service as it ought to be, or for the person to be employed to see his way through the business committed to his care. On this occasion give me leave to express the concern and amazement your partners were in, when they perused your account to *the Bishop of Rochester* of an affair, which till that moment they were utter strangers to. It must be the effect of something more than chance or misfortune, when a person so much beloved, so much admired and so entirely confided in by all the friends of the Company has been represented in such a light as to deserve an expostulation from you in his favour. But still, how came such a thing to be thought necessary here, where he is so much the darling of the society? Is it possible that anybody has been capable of a thing so prejudicial to the Company and so false in itself as to use the names of any concerned in the trade here against a man they are all so fond of, I say all, because I am sure it is without exception? This I have presumed to lay before you as an honest man and your faithful servant without a view to recommend my self to any, and have therefore sealed it up from their view. Whoever has endeavoured to create a misunderstanding between *the King*, *Ormonde* and *Mar*, or any two of them, where a union is so necessary for the

Company's service, so much desired by traders here, and hitherto so much believed, deserve to be looked on as our greatest enemies. I mention this as my poor opinion with regard to things, for I don't at all know what persons are concerned. If those, who have given such demonstration of their integrity and abilities, are not proof of such false insinuations, how unfortunate must be others, whose inexperience and want of capacity must lay them much more open to such attacks? If those, who are able to conduct themselves so as not to give the least handle for such treatment, have not escaped, what can another expect, who from mistakes and other natural infirmities may be liable to have his sincerest actions and intentions misrepresented and with an air of probability?

I must now be so free as to tell you that I am heartily glad you have been troubled with this affair, because it has afforded you an opportunity of showing your firmness for one who has served you faithfully. Your expressions are so full of good understanding, your sentiments such as give the traders so certain a prospect of success while you have the direction of their affairs, that I may say, it is well for us you have been put to trouble. $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pages*.

CARDINAL GUALTERIO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 8.—Asking him to permit him to come to him that evening after nightfall, which will be less noticed than if he comes to him, as he wishes to speak to him quite alone. *French.*

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 8.—I am charged now to tell you from M[ezières] that I sent you some time ago the copy of a little note that was sent him. Since then he has seen a person whose probity and good sense he can answer for. He is his intimate friend and has always been a well-wisher to *the King*, but, what is more essential, is that he is in a straight and secret correspondence with a person in *Spain* who has an absolute credit with *the King of Spain's wife* and hand in glove with *Alberoni*. As he is actually in commerce with that person on affairs of consequence, which touch *Alberoni*, he assured M[ezières] he could send any proposal to his friend in *Spain* for the service of *the King*, and to write to him in such a way as to engage him in *the King's* interest and manage the affair with *Alberoni* and the lady, who, you know, has great power. His friend, he says, is the most capable person in *Spain* to make such an affair succeed and to remove all difficulties that often ruin a business for want of knowing where they lie. He says he is really of opinion that if [a] *treaty* was offered them that was advantageous to *Spain*, his friend could make them give ear to it, or at worst he is sure that he will send a positive answer, if you may ever hope anything from thence and the

reasons, if not, the person he will employ being in the intrinsic of their affairs and who will act sincerely with him. M[ezières] thought it an offer not to be rejected. He will keep him up in his good intentions. He promised to write to you about it and bids me tell you, if you have any engagements with them people already, it would not be proper to move this wheel, but, in case you have not or have only people there that gives you hopes, as their assistance may be of great use to you, if you think fit to make any use of this notion, he tells you how it is. Send him word if you approve and a memorandum what you would wish *Spain* to do for you and what you could offer them in return, when you're satisfied and at home.

By all this person has told him, which is not fit to trust to the post, he believes you cannot make use of a surer nor perhaps a more successful way to put *Spain* in your interest. He fancies their friendship might prove of great use to you, considering what an *army* and how many *ships* they have at present. If you're sure of them already, so much the better, it's but an idea lost ; if you are not, and *the King* thinks fit to accept this offer, lose no time but send M[ezières] an ample instruction of what you would have said and done. The person in question, who does not care to be named till he knows if he can be of use to you, will immediately on your letter write to his friend in what manner you think proper. He is sure of his integrity and that he is a man that will set all irons to work.

If you make use of this proposal, nothing can make it succeed but its being kept secret ; besides, it may be of the last *consequence* to the person that meddles in it from hence ; therefore, as M[ezières] can answer for the secret from this side, he asks from you that it may be as inviolable as that of *Lord Ilay*, that in short nobody living must know, but *the King* and you, not even the *Pope*, for fear he should speak of it to somebody that will betray you all. Though he is very good and honest himself, some about him are not, so it's but on your promise of the secret being kept that the person who offers his service will engage in it, but he requires nobody living should know it, but *the King* and you, not even any of the red *clergymen*.

M[ezières] bids me also tell you that, though he does not doubt that now *the King* and you know the character of all the people you're with, he is desired to give you notice that that *clergyman*, that *the King* was so good as to write to for the litt[le] che[valier], is entirely devoted to *France* and *perfect Alexander* to who fees most, and *Albani* to *the Emperor*.

We go to the great town to-morrow. There's no news worth your knowing. The neighbour (Sparre) con[tinues] in his silence. M[ezières] will be satisfied, if he did but w[rite] to you. He cannot comprehend the meaning ont.

They are going to break all the Councils as superfluous except that of the regency. They begin it is said by that of conscience. *Nearly 3 pages.*

THOMAS SANDERSON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 28[–April 8]. Edinburgh.—Yours of 10 Dec. last giving an account of your worthy friend's welfare and your own was not only very acceptable but very surprising, considering the malicious and diabolical stories spread on you from 1 May last, viz., that you had proved to be a treacherous villain, for which you were justly hanged and quartered. I was so confounded that I was deprived of many nights' rest and thought it shame to be seen by any of our old comrades, and, if you had suffered as such, the cause would have troubled me more than the just consequence of it. Some here believed it, and others not. When I let our club see yours, you cannot imagine how joyful we were. All minded you kindly, but none more than the man *in statu quo.*

ALEXANDER P[ATERSO]N to JOHN PATERSON.

[1718, March 28–April 8.]—I received yours with the enclosed to your good and near friend with more pleasure than it is necessary to express, which sufficiently convinced me of the many groundless slanders, which I could not from the beginning entertain the least jealousy of. With postscript by J. P[aterson] assuring him he is still his. *On the same sheet as the last.*

GEORGE LOCKHART to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 28[–April 8].—Before I received yours of 4 Jan. two or three days ago, I had a letter from my friend, acquainting me that he was at liberty to take my young cousin under his care and am therefore first to return my acknowledgements for so great a favour. Though my cousin has been from his childhood pretty well-founded in arithmetic and other studies fit for his station and is, I think, very bent to follow out the employment he was bred to, yet I inclined to have him live with a merchant that would take care of him and keep him in the practice of these useful accomplishments, it falling too often out, that young men by idle company and diversions neglect and forget what has cost abundance of pains in attaining. I am persuaded the method I have taken will prove to his benefit, and am hopeful no inconveniency will arise to *the King*, since his friend will be at any time ready on a call, and, I doubt not, bring his apprentice alongst with him, when there's anything to be done he can take a part in, and, as he's now become a swinging young fellow, he may even take his hazard of a long voyage when a fair occasion offers, and the sooner it be, I shall be the more pleased.

However it is fit as few as possible know of my cousin's being bound to your friend.

I am extremely glad *the King* has taken the resolution you mention. 'Tis high time for him to think of settling himself, and I make no question it will alter some people's judgment of him and his affairs, who have fed themselves with the hopes that he'd ramble away his time for ever, whereas this step must convince them there will be no end of his just claim.

Next day after I got yours, I met with *the Bishop of Edinburgh* and *Mr. Straiton*, who, I doubt not, will give you a more perfect account of the company's affairs than I can. We all agreed the state of trade, at least the projects and views of our merchants of all kinds are much the same as you left them, for, though it is very evident that *Scotland's* circumstances and schemes are very deplorable and despicable, and that they never can be better while he relies on and concerts measures with Uberten (? the Union), who, as all the other customhouse officers, promise fair in order to silence and then betray, yet I cannot see either *the Presbyterian Lords and Commons* or *the Whigs* are a bit convinced that the smuggling trade they follow is pernicious. If *the Presbyterian Lords and Commons* can preserve *the kirk* and *the Whigs* gain a penny to *themselves*, they seem to have no regard at all to the general balance of trade. Though this may seem a paradox to strangers, yet you know them too well to be surprised that men who have been so long and so much accustomed to do evil, should not learn to do well. 'Tis true there are diversions and animosities amongst the smuggling traders themselves greater by far than ever you or I knew, yet I am of opinion they proceed only from their particular views interfering with one another, as the subject of trade is not extensive enough to satisfy them all, and that they have no notion that trade can never be on a right footing, till regulated by a joint company, established and supported by a legal authority. What may be the effect of their losses and crosses, time must determine, and the best is to be hoped for, but at present I cannot see any tendency to what I wish. How the merchants stand affected elsewhere I know not, and Mr. Edgar (*i.e.* the English) is so fanatic and infatuated, that I have little regard to his rantings and ravings, unless he is taken when he is in the humour, but, if he get time to cool and settle, you know the wind and weather are not more variable. Though the trade of this place is now carried on in a very irregular manner, I am persuaded the fair traders need be in no great apprehension of the smugglers, for, if right and feasible projects be laid down, they will easily get the better of the smugglers, who have no great stocks, and have no courage and as little ability to push a fair open trade. But on the other hand the fair traders have been so often disappointed and sustained such great losses, which has much reduced their number, as many

have become bankrupt and been rendered incapable, though still willing, to follow after trade, that they will expect to see the Company's measures well adjusted, before they pay up the remaining quota of their subscriptions. I thought it not amiss to be somewhat plain, because in some hints in yours to me and for other reasons I suspect there are, who entertain themselves and others with notions that are more the effects of their wishes than founded on solid grounds, and, though merchants are certainly to be encouraged and trade represented in as fair a light as possible, I could never see any reason why the chief managers of the Company should not know the true state of affairs. If other accounts are given, I wish they may be well-founded but, till I am persuaded thereof, I think it my duty to represent them, as I have done, which I dare say will hold good, for these eight or nine months past, as I could ride about through the country, I have been at some pains to find the merchants' pulses and from thence gathered the observations I have represented. 'Tis true indeed here and there one of these smugglers is not well-pleased at the management of trade and seems much disappointed in his expectations, and very many also are extremely out of humour, but, as the first are few, there is little to be expected from the others, till we see what effects some late regulations of trade, which will inevitably fall heavy on them without distinction, may produce, and which, in my opinion, can be quickened by no argument so proper as unfolding the folly of trusting to Mr. Uberten, of which I design care shall be taken, if I continue here, but I find such difficulties to maintain my family and live at any tolerable ease that I am almost positively determined to push my fortune next summer somewhere else, in which case it's more than probable I may see you, wherever you are.

(About the importance of secrecy as in the abstract.)

Your observations of the conduct and prospect of my two friends *Argyle* and *Lord Ilay* are certainly true, and what, I dare say, all the world but themselves perceive, and I wish a way could be fallen on to induce them to be sensible thereof likewise, as the result thereof would be a great benefit to the company as well as to themselves, for whom I cannot but have a great personal friendship, as it commenced from our infancies, and that I lie under the greatest personal obligations to them, particularly at the end of the late storm, when, but for them, I had well nigh perished, though I ever did and will know how to distinguish betwixt what I owe to them and others of a more immediate concern. Some years ago I was very bent to discover what was to be expected from them, and I think I was not mistaken when I firmly believed on more than probable grounds that it was then far from impracticable to bring them into right measures, of which I then acquainted one of the Company's factors at *London*, and proposed some things which others of *the King's* friends

believed would have had good effects, and I know that this factor communicated the same to a certain person, who had then the inspection of affairs with and under *Queen Mary*, but he, I dare say without concerting with his mistress, who had more sense than to return such an answer as was sent, disapproved of the measure, and so it came to nothing. However, I still entertained some hopes, and thereupon took some steps, while I was in *Parliament*, which, I remember, were ill-taken and appeared odd to some, to whom I did not think it convenient to communicate my reasons. But 'tis to no purpose to insist on these matters, and what I did then and do still believe was part of the reasons which prevailed with them to tack about and act a quite different part. We're now to look forwards, and I'm afraid there's less reason than ever to expect anything from them. What has occurred since may in their opinions render an agreement impracticable, and 'tis too probable they'll give little credit to the assurances of a good disposition towards it on the other side. Besides, I reckon they are so far dipped with another person, that they'll think themselves bound in honour to adhere to him, and no doubt have formed mighty matters to themselves, if ever that person came to be in better circumstances, and you know such views make great impression on my two friends. But, if it shall come to pass, as it is loudly talked, that that person has offered to leave them in the lurch in order to obtain what he now endeavours after, in that case a door is opened to expect something from resentment, and the more that a new scheme must be laid down or they can have no hopes or prospect of attaining what their ambition may lead them to, and which 'tis well known they aim at, and in such circumstances I can see but one course they have to steer. In short, if I can find any the least probable or tolerable prospect of our opportunity, you may be assured I will venture to lay matters further before them. 'Tis reported they will both be soon here, which by the by affords matter of speculation, and I have some private affairs to settle with a meanspirited kinsman of mine in *London*, which, 'tis probable, will oblige me to go thither in two or three months, in either of which cases I will see my two friends and treat with them as I find the coasts clear, of which I shall let you know.

What you say about Patrick (*i.e.* the Parliament) is quite out of doors, for there is no reason to think his life in any hazard, and, I dare say, unless some accident intervenes, he'll be the oldest man of any in his family for these many years past. Having mentioned *Parliament* and my two friends, I will relate a passage, which, though of no great importance, may yet be worth your knowing. Some seven or eight months ago a namesake of *Lord Middleton* returning from *London* desired me to spend a day with him in town. He told me that *Argyle* and *Lord Ilay* were persuaded the old *Parliament* would die

next winter of the distemper he at that time was afflicted with, and it was their earnest request I would consent to serve in the young *Parliament* in the same station I had done formerly, to which they'd give me ample recommendations. I answered I was weary of the service before I left it, had betaken myself to a quite different kind of life and would not engage myself any more after that manner. On his insisting very pressingly, I told him he knew that the only reason which induced me formerly was on a view and with an intention to serve the interest of *the King* and *Scotland*, but, as matters now went and were like to go, I did not see how I could do them any service. Besides, if I was admitted into that family, my two friends would expect an immediate dependence on them, as they had been instrumental in bringing me into it, and that I should thereby be reduced to the dilemma of exposing myself to be taxed with ingratitude to them and at the same time forfeit their friendship, or obliged to regulate my conduct in a manner I had not been accustomed to and contrary to my former professions, and that he might remember he often some years ago regretted to me that he and certain other gentlemen were under that necessity and obliged to act the part which I could not approve and would never perform. Three or four weeks after, I had a letter from this gentleman intimating that he had sent my two friends a faithful account of our conversation, and he was again directed by them to insist on what he had proposed and to assure me that no such thing was or should be expected from me as I imagined, and that I should be at full liberty to think and act as I pleased without making any breach in the friendship amongst us, and he added of himself that perhaps we were not at so great distance from being of one mind as I believed, and that my compliance might perhaps be a means for bringing that about which he knew I did and he assured me he himself did heartily wish for. I returned that I would probably see my friends before there was need to determine, and, if I found any reason to expect what he suggested would come to pass, nothing on my part should be wanting. Not long after the old *Parliament's* health took a turn and I heard no more of the matter. I leave it to you to judge whether this passage affords any grounds of hope on a fair occasion. On the one hand I cannot see what benefit could accress to my friends by my compliance on these terms, and sure I am they could not propose any allurement to myself, unless it had been with some such view as the gentleman insinuated, and on the other hand, though he mentioned that particular as from himself, I persuade myself he would not have ventured on it without their allowance.

I have sent yours to *Lord Eglinton*. If his answer come in time, it shall be sent with this, if not, with my young cousin, who'll set out in three weeks to meet your friend at *France*. No man has the interest of trade more at heart than he, the

bad state whereof and the circumstances of his friends thereby has really made an impression on his health, so that he is become melancholy and chagrined. However your factor *Straiton* gave you lately an instance of his frankness, which he believes was not come to you when you last wrote to him. I cannot say so much of his brother-in-law, my cousin, whom you mentioned to me about eight or nine months ago. I doubt not he's sound at bottom, but I fear he has too much of his chief's blood in his veins and little is to be expected from him. Lately, when he was in town, I did all I could to get an opportunity to talk with him, but, as I fancy he suspected I was to propose a *money contribution*, he carefully and effectually prevented it.

(As Capt. Straiton's health was so infirm, suggesting that the question of a successor to him should be considered).

I was t'other day with some merchants, who, talking of a fit person to succeed him, agreed that no man was more capable or would be more acceptable than the gentleman whose sister *Lord Sinclair* married. I mention this, because, when we here in the place found so little choice, 'tis probable it will be more difficult for you at such a distance and not perfectly apprised of the circumstances of some, whom perhaps you might think fit to employ. If you are not personally acquainted with him, no doubt you have heard of his character, and I firmly believe he is the very quintessence of honour and honesty. I beg to suggest two things. The first is how far it may be convenient to appoint some person to be privy to *Mr. Straiton's* negotiations, that, in case he should die, his successor may know how and with whom to proceed, and this perhaps may be the more convenient as hitherto he has been very close. The next is, lest he should die when you are not expecting it, that all the company's bills for the future be directed to some other person besides him, who in such an emergency may take care of the company's affairs, till one is particularly appointed.

Postscript.—I wrote this three or four days ago, since which I had a visit from *Lord Carnwath*, who came from *London* lately to *Edinburgh*. Amongst other things he tells me it was generally believed *Argyle* would be left in the lurch. I was likewise to see *Edinburgh*, where I met some of *Argyle's* friends, who assured me he is soon to be here. But, what surprised me much and is fitting you know, they told me that *Lord Breadalbane* designed to sell his estate in *Scotland* in order to purchase another in *England*, and *Lord Ilay's* brother had two meetings with him in order to be his purchaser. What effects this transaction may have with the *Highlands* I can't tell. 'Tis given out by *Argyle's* friends that this and some other private affairs bring him here, and some, who were a little freer with me, said that he was a stranger to all his friends and designed to pass a little of his time in making a friendship with *the Highlanders*. But I imagine he has

traded so high that his credit is failing and he thinks it fit to retire before his bills are protested.

Just as I was sealing this, the express I sent returned with the enclosed from *Lord Eglinton*. (An abstract of the part about secrecy and a very brief one of the passage about Argyle and Ilay is printed in the *Lockhart Papers, Vol. II., pp.* 10, 11.) 6 *pages.*

The Duke of Mar to James III.

1718, April 9. Rome.—I am quite weary with running about seeing things all this day since early in the morning till seven, but I like them so well that, though wearied, " I am not yet fully satisfied, nor will not, till I have once seen all, and then take a second view of what I like best. I have been these two days in the Vatican, taking St. Peter's in my way each time, as I do as often as I come near it and like it better the oftener I see it. I saw yesterday too the fine palace of Barbarin and there the statue which, I am told, was given your Majesty, and of a modern one it is very good. This evening I was in the Villa Burghese, with both which I was mightily entertained, and, after seeing the fine things in them, it makes me think very meanly of all of that kind I have seen before either in France or England. I am not yet determined what to see to-morrow, the Cardinal proposed to me seeing the function in the Pope's Chapel, but of that kind I shall see enough in Holy Week, and besides I should, I know, be stared at as happened at the Conclave, so, I believe, I shall let it alone and either go in the morning to the Forum to see the antiquities or to the Villa Pamphilia, but I will not now trouble your Majesty with any more of this.

" *Cardinal Gualterio* would needs come and see me last night notwithstanding all I could do to prevent it, but he came when it was dark and very privately, so that I believe it would not be known. Mr. Erskine was our interpreter, but he whispered to myself that the affair of the *money* both with *the Pope* and *the King of Spain* was, he thought, in a good way, which I made shift to understand, and it gave me no small pleasure. He writes, I suppose, himself so that I need not give you the trouble of anything more that passed, which was mostly news. I believe my waiting on the Pope &c. will be put off till about the time of my leaving this, at least for all next week, which I am very glad of. I am to dine with *Cardinal Gualterio* to-morrow, the servant being mistaken when he said it was to be this day.

" I had the honour of yours of the 3rd on Thursday evening. Had I not had Father Græme's last letter sooner than the one which Paterson then sent me, I should have been in pain for the packets he sent over to *Capt. Ogilvie*, but in that former one, which I sent your Majesty, I think he says that he had heard from *Capt. Ogilvie* of his getting them safe, but I fear *Dillon* had delayed sending *the Bishop of Rochester* his letters,

and, when *Lord Oxford* gets his sooner, it may occasion some more and new jealousies and *tracasseries*, which, 'tis very likely, may be laid to the account of those who are as innocent of them as of the former. I really believe *Dillon's* having so much more business &c. than usual has occasioned his illness in a good measure, but, be that as it will, it is plain by *James Murray's* letters that he does not write so much to them as they think he should. *James Murray's* meaning of the picture must certainly be the affair of the marriage with the Duchess of C[ourlan]d, which, it seems, they take for true, and, by what Lord Sunderland said of it in the House, I am now apt to believe that that story has been raised and set about by the Court there. As soon as *the Bishop of Rochester* and *James Murray* get the letters your Majesty and I wrote them, there will be an end of any jealousies on that head. *Inese* should know *Menzies* better than I, he having been intimate with him above these twenty years and I not above three months save by letters these two years past, so, since he thinks that he could not bear plain truths being told him, I am very well satisfied that he did not forward my letter I sent him for him, but it is a little hard that I am to bear all he does and says about me, of which he has not been sparing of late to *Inese*, *Anne Oglethorpe* and others I suppose too, and that he must not be told of what he does amiss. As to the note of the money *Inese* sends from Mr. Dicconson's books, I can say nothing till I be back again to compare it with that which I got from Mr. Dicconson myself, but, as I said in my letter to *Menzies*, had all been sent which this new note of *Inese's* and Dicconson's says, how came it to pass that *Menzies* did not clear himself on my first writing to him of it, which two lines would have done to a trifle, but he did not so much as allege that he had near cleared himself in that note he wrote to Hamilton upon my writing first to him of it. *Inese* in this last letter of his fails not to give me a wipe by the by, as he has done in most I have got from him of late, and, since he does so to myself, it is not likely that he would be more sparing in doing so to *Queen Mary*. It is no small happiness to serve one, as I do, who sees with his own eyes, but I doubt not of his having given such impressions of me to *Queen Mary* that they will not rub off in haste, which is more my misfortune than fault, so that I cannot help it. What he says of this though is of a piece with some of his former actions. He amongst others wrote to me about *the Duke of Shrewsbury* and *Lord Portmore's* being applied to about that affair, and he knew that we had no other way of doing of it but by *Menzies*, and that they would trust nobody else, so that I do not find yet wherein I was to blame for writing to *Menzies* of it.

"I think your Majesty was much in the right to write as you did to Lord Marischal, and I shall forward the letter by the Tuesday's post."

If you please to cause Bonum or anybody else to make and send me a catalogue of the books of prints &c. you got from the Pope, it may save me buying some things of that kind which otherwise my curiosity may lead me to do. [Lin-] lithgow arrived here Wednesday night and lives with us. *Nearly 4 pages. Holograph.*

ANTONIO DAVI[D] to "VOSSIGNORIA ILLUSTRISSIMA" [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, April 9. Rome.—Expressing his thanks for the patent he has received from Cardinal Gualterio appointing him "servitore onorevole" of his Majesty which has been solicited by "Vossignoria Illustrissima," and hoping he may one day use his pencil to depict his King, no longer far away from his palace but in London itself, having triumphed over his enemies. *Italian.*

CAPT. GEORGE CAMOCKE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 9. Rouen.—I applied to her Majesty on behalf of Capt. John Lloyd, late surveyor general of Ireland, captain of a troop of dragoons and King's waiter at London, which employments brought him in yearly upwards of 2,000*l.* sterling. She told me she would write to his Majesty in his favour. This gentleman was always of the same sentiments as to his allegiance; besides, if the King should be restored, no one is so qualified to serve him as a commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, because he knows the duty of the principal officers to that of a tide waiter. Besides, while he served as surveyor general, he advanced the revenue near 30,000*l.* a year without any oppression to the public, but purely by his industry and finding out the neglects of former surveyors general. I ask your pardon for recommending him to your favour to augment his pension and to put him on the establishment of 60 *livres per mensem.* I am persuaded, if I could get a letter to go to my Lord of Ormonde, he would write to you in his favour, because his Grace was not formerly willing he should take anything from the King, and for that reason ordered him to write to him when in necessity, but he never attempted writing to him till he was forced to the last extremity, and neither he nor I having any answer makes me conjecture our letters never came to his Grace, so that for seven months I have lent him 25 *livres* each month to subsist him. His services have been so very great that I am at a loss for words to express his merit, and I should have been wanting in my duty to the King, had I neglected to acquaint you of his being forgot, whilst so many are living by the King's bounty. 3½ *pages. Enclosed,*

JOHN LLOYD to CAPT. GEORGE CAMOCKE.

I think it would be an action of the highest impudence for me to write to his or her Majesty and of upbraiding too

to set forth how my grandfather and six of my uncles died for his grandfather, forfeiting a good estate and lending his then Majesty 50,000*l.*, *for which on the restoration no recompense was made, or to set forth my own actions giving* 2,000*l. to Sir Robert Hamilton towards supporting the first rising in Scotland and paying Col. Knevett Hastings* 2,280*l. to subsist a number of men I secured in London for King James II's service by promise to Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend and several sums given to be disposed to the Non-juring clergy by Bishops Sancroft, Ken and Lloyd, and the since losing my places of a troop of dragoons, surveyor general of the revenue of Ireland, comptroller of the customs and collector general of that revenue with my King's waiter's place in London, by all which I had near* 6*l.* per diem. *Besides Mr. Brodrick, now Lord Chancellor of Ireland, said at the Council Board I had done more mischief in that kingdom than any person that ever came into it, by bringing great numbers to a sense of their duties to his and her Majesty, which I always endeavoured to effect, besides my proclaiming his Majesty at Chester and thence repairing to Oxford &c.*

When all this is considered, it's nothing meritorious, for had I a hundred thousand lives I would sacrifice them all for his Majesty's service, and then should scarcely believe I had acted more than my duty. The Duke of Ormonde acquainted his Majesty of my losses, though he could not of my deplorable circumstances, I being ashamed to acquaint him thereof, and his Grace assuring me I should want for nothing gave me hopes I should never be reduced to those very great necessities. I have hardly linens and woollens to cover my nakedness or sufficient to pay my bare lodging and diet besides firing, washing &c.

Could I be serviceable to his or her Majesty in any post, I should think myself highly honoured, to earn a support by serving for it, than to eat the bread of idleness. As to 100 livres *a month proposed to me for pension, it was proposed by Sir Peter Sherlock at Avignon whether I would accept it, for he was sure, if I would, his Majesty would give it, but then I had a little money of my own, and was in hopes of a speedy restoration.*

I hope you'll believe it is nothing but pure necessity that obliges me to be troublesome, for my son's losing his election at Oxford wholly incapacitates me from drawing any moneys from my wife and son's poor income, which is but 100*l.* per annum. $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pages.* 1718, *April* 4. *Rouen.*

Enclosed,

Abstract of what it has cost him in performing his duty to his Majesty and his father amounting to 7,000*l. besides the loss of his posts at* 6*l.* per diem

at 7 years' purchase, amounting to 15,330*l.*, *besides several other expenses and being in custody three times, besides his grandfather's losing* 7,000*l.* per annum, *lending King Charles I* 50,000*l.*, *the Marquess of Antrim* 12,000*l. and losing his life and those of six of his uncles.*

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 9. Vienna.—With regard to the great scene concerning the affairs of Spain and Italy some here say that the Emperor will accept the last proposals made by the Regent and the Elector of Hanover, viz., that he renounces Spain and guarantees as well the succession of the Regent as that of Tuscany and Parma in favour of the King of Spain's son by his second marriage, that the Regent and the Elector guarantee the territories of the Emperor in Italy and oblige the Duke of Savoy to cede Sicily to him without either keeping the title of king or receiving any equivalent in territory for the loss of Sicily, and that the Emperor and the Regent unite in guaranteeing the House of Hanover on the throne. Others imagine, but with less probability, that the plan of an alliance between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy may succeed, of which the conditions proposed by the Duke are the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont to the Archduchess, the eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph, and in default of the eldest to the youngest, the cession of Sicily on the terms of retaining the title of king and receiving a small equivalent in the Milanese and, in case of the death of the young King of France, the succession of King Philip to that crown and of the House of Savoy to the crown of Spain and of the Emperor to the territories of that House, the succession of King Philip's son to Tuscany and Parma and assistance to be given by the Duke of Savoy to the Emperor for the extension of his power in Italy. It is also said that, if the Duke sees his opposition to the Regent and the Elector is in vain, he will not hesitate to detach himself from the interest of the King of Spain as regards the succession to the crown of France and to enter into that of the Regent and to accede to the concert between him and the Elector, trying to make the best bargain he can. I imagine that the question whether to make peace with the King of Spain is decided in the Emperor's mind in the affirmative, but I doubt whether he has made up his mind as to how it is to be done. I consider it most probable he will take the side of those of his ministers who advise him to accept the proposals of the Regent and the Elector.

As to the Emperor's old notion of the affection of the Spanish nation for him, which was partly the ground of his repugnance to renounce his claims on Spain, he has had the vexation of seeing an example to the contrary by the recently discovered intelligence between the Court of Madrid and some 40 Spaniards who live at Naples and enjoy benefits

from him, among them persons employed in the troops and the chancery of war. The Viceroy of Naples has sent these Spaniards here, and has announced to all their countrymen, to the number of 400, that they must leave that kingdom to serve in the army in Hungary or in other parts of the Emperor's dominions or to live privately, or else to lose their pensions. It is said that the Governor of Milan will be ordered to make the same declaration to those of that nation in that Duchy. The credit of the Spanish party here would seem weakened by this discovery.

I enclose a copy of a letter of 31 March from Belgrade. I have learnt from other sources that the Ottoman Court has given the ambassadors of England and Holland to understand that they will treat at the Congress on the basis of *Uti possidetis* proposed by the Emperor. I do not know, however, if this news is authentic. The Ambassadors Virmond, Sutton and Ruzini will certainly set out in a few weeks.

After writing the above, I have just received certain news that, after a great conference held some days ago in the Emperor's presence at which Prince Eugene and the principal ministers, both Austrian, Spanish and Italian were present, the Emperor sent to Count Konigseck and M. Pentenrieder couriers, who left yesterday, with orders to make declarations to the Regent and the English–Hanoverian Court, by which the Emperor appears inclined to enter into the concert between those two princes. It must be seen whether that scene does not yet change further, but I repeat that most probably it will end for the present according to that concert, but it is a great question whether all those who have formed it and those who to all appearance will enter into it intend to hold to what has been and shall be concerted between them.

Postscript.—I informed your Excellency of the departure of General Ducker from Hamburg, furnished with an English passport, without its being known what way he had taken. It has been just written to me, that he has gone from Hamburg to England and thence to Sweden, after having spoken to the Elector and to Baron Bernstorff to receive their proposals. At present Count Velling is at Cassel to hear what Mr. Haldane, the English minister, and a Prussian minister, who is to be there, have to say to him, that he may report it to the King, and that his Majesty may combine it with the proposals M. Fabrice is come to make to him, as also to ascertain the Landgrave's sentiments regarding the Northern peace and to inform his Majesty of them. I wish not only for my master's interests, but also for those of his Britannic Majesty, that the Czar, by hastening to give the facilities necessary for his peace, may break off this negotiation begun for the Hanoverian peace. I am informing you sincerely of what I have learnt about this negotiation, that his Britannic Majesty may by his influence with his friends, whether at the Russian or the Swedish Court, as also at that of France,

which has much influence at my Court and may perhaps have some at that of Russia, notwithstanding their apparent friendship with the Hanoverian Court, take his precautions in time to hinder the Swedish-Hanoverian peace. 15 *pages. French. Enclosed,*

Copy of a letter from Belgrade.

The mediating ministers of England and Holland who are with the Turkish plenipotentiaries at Sofia informed Councillor Dalman by a letter sent him some days ago that the Turkish plenipotentiaries had informed them that the Porte had agreed on the neighbourhood of Fetislan on the Danube, near what is called Trajan's Bridge, for the place of the congress, where they would present themselves in a few days. So this plenipotentiary of the the Emperor is preparing to go thither as soon as possible. We shall be obliged to encamp there, because the inhabitants have entirely abandoned their houses from their alarm last year, after the battle and the taking of Belgrade. While treating, there will be no cessation of arms, and the progress we shall be able to make in this campaign will render the peace advantageous for our master's interests. March 31, 1718. *French.*

James Hamilton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—Thanking him for his kind remembrance expressed in his to Mr. *Menzies*.—I should look on it as the greatest honour to be under your eye in any situation, but my want of the language and other qualifications would make me only an unuseful burden. Had I liberty of going about, where I am is the only place where I could be of use, and especially if you should think it necessary to have a meeting with Mr. *Menzies*, for the conveying of goods to *Holland* is done all by me, nor can I fall on a method of putting it into any other hands, it being gained by a long acquaintance. If my liberty can be procured and you order my staying here, I pray you will grant me some subsistence, for my hardships are great by my long absconding, and the above way of sending goods to *Sir H. Paterson* is expensive. I know it by experience to be very secure and am daily getting into acquaintance that will make it more frequent and easy.

If you think proper the Squire (Hamilton himself) shall wait on *Lady Mar* to the country, he is most willing to obey. He would be glad to know, in case *Menzies* is to leave this, [whether] you would have the Squire return. I beg your commands before *Lady Mar* goes to the country, and, if you think proper to enjoin her to use her interest with my creditors before her departure, 'twould make my staying here more easy for the future.

I beg you to give the *St. James's Post* to *W. Erskine*. I wish I had power to give your compliments to my chief's mother (the Duchess of Hamilton). She is not the least zealous of your friends. 2½ *pages*.

J. Menzies to *the Duke of Mar*.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—The enclosed is from the Squire (Hamilton) who is still as an owl in the dark, for the bailiffs have been often hunting him, which is hard on him who has a family and nothing to subsist them when together and far less when separate. I have him all these two days with a gentleman, who is come up to me from many places of the country, where the impatience is great for light and for advice.

Lord Eglinton to James III.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—Acknowledging the honour of his letter and assuring him of his readiness and willingness to serve him.—I have not seen Mr. *Straiton*, so can say nothing of the affairs of the Company, but I think of seeing him soon, and shall then give the best advice I can.

Lord Eglinton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—I had yours last post, and you do me right to believe that no accidents make me alter from what I think I am bound to in duty and friendship, and I will omit no opportunity of doing all in my power to re-establish our trade, though the difficulties seem to me so great at present that I think trading hardly practicable, for there is such a number of ships for searching that there is no possibility of profiting except such a force were brought, as would beat off the customhouse officers, until the country convene and carry off the goods. But you will be able to make a better judgment than I can, and, when you have come to resolutions fit and necessary to be communicated to your copartners, you may write to our common factor here that he may inform the rest of the company, and I shall be ready to meet and to give what assistance I can.

(Agreeing with Lord Mar about the necessity for secrecy.)

I have not seen young *Lord Aberdeen* (*i.e.* Lord Haddo) for some time, therefore I cannot say what are his present sentiments, but I am persuaded it was not want of good will hindered him from joining in the last trading voyage but the hazard he saw the adventurers run from the pirates that lay on the coast, and no force come to beat them off. My relation who came from your country has been lately here. He is a very well-accomplished gentleman and an entire well-wisher to *the King*. As to your old friend and relation in these parts, I wish trade were in such a fair way that you could make him the least offer of taking a share in it, but you know the heifer he ploweth with and a word to a wise man is sufficient.

Anne Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—Defending her conduct at great length and justifying himself in her quarrel with James Murray, who perhaps takes it ill that elderly men would not be entirely governed by a young man's judgments and discretion, about Inese's dismissal and about Menzies' conduct and about Capt. Ogilvie's visit to England.—*Lord Oxford* has ordered me to let you know, for fear of a surprise to find his letters written by the same hand as *Lord Orrery's*, that, as I get them both copied from their originals and have now in town a person I can trust, he thinks it safest they should come in the same hand to you than venture several. The person is the gentleman I recommended to you when you wanted one to write for you. When they are copied and the persons themselves have confronted them to their originals, they seal them.

One thing mentioned in *Lord Orrery's* letter against *J. Murray* may seem an insinuation of mine, but, whatever I take ill of him, I never said nor did anything that by lessening him might hurt the common cause and did not pretend to know him when *Lord Orrery* told me what *Argyle* and his brother said, and would have had him leave that and other things out of his letter, but find a suspicion of rivalship in *Argyle's* brother's (Lord Ilay's) imagination by some pretended words dropped by *James Murray* occasioned the complaints to *Lord Orrery*. I am so devoted to *the King's* welfare that a quarrel I had with *Sir R. Everard*, whence first sprang *James Murray's* misunderstanding and mine, I made up, and I have gone on as I did before with him. We had made an agreement that, whenever one of us sent, they paid for it, and then should give notice to the other that they might have the opportunity of sending. The same on the other side that the same man should receive for both and send to each their due, he knowing the skipper and having been the first recommender of him to me. The goods have been carried in this manner safe and quick, but *Capt. Ogilvie* tells me he has your orders to agree with a skipper by the year, and as in my humble opinion you will have wished it had in the manner *Sir R. Everard* and I had agreed it, he sending *the Bishop of Rochester's* and I *Lord Oxford's*, but I do not oppose what you think best, no further than my safety, which is that, if I receive them, as I fear I must, they must be left in hands I choose and can trust, for none is in danger of the forfeiture but myself. The name of the person *Sir R. Everard* and I chose is *Counsellor Lacy*. He is fit for it and has been tried. I could answer for him, but refer you for his character to *Macmahon*. Our agreement was 5 guineas each packet, 10 with a passenger.

Lord Oxford has now received your last three letters besides this last, and has answered to every article you complained he had omitted. His pains and indefatigable labour has gained mighty ground and devilishly puzzled *the Parliament*.

He has been wanting neither with his pains nor purse, not sparing money to the needy *peers*. He has the highest opinion of you imaginable. As for *the King*, he acts by him as if he was all that was dear to him in the world. As he read to me one of his letters, the tears came into his eyes. He has one fault; it is carrying a bear to the stake to get him to write. I leave him no rest. He tells me he will venture all; he will indefatigably pursue, till it bears, but that he cannot be his own orator of what he thinks. He certainly (though contrary to his opinion) will leave nothing unattempted for money, and, if he did want a solicitor, I should be a terrible troublesome one, but he does not.

His recommendation of *Capt. Ogilvie* I would not have you understand to be to occasion his removal from his station, if he keeps his word with me and deals our own way quietly.

I send *Lord Orrery's* answer to *the King* and yourself. It has lain in my hands for want of a conveyance. He is much for your coming nearer. I am not wanting in publishing *the King's* merits, not only to him but even to those that scarce dare hear me. I am well hearkened to on that subject by many not desiring to be mentioned. *Lord Orrery* will serve you to the purpose. He seems to me warm and zealous. His proposal of a power I would advise you to be very careful in wording. *Argyle* and his brother have been more sanguine, as he tells me, than he writes, but he wants something from you more to their palate. Pray tell him what they can do, for I find by him they will do everything but in person head *their clans*. He has given me this list of names to send you, one of whom he has a great power with, who is a monied man, if you would write him word that money is expected from those that desire to act cautiously. He is extremely pleased with the good sense and pretty turns of *the King's* letter. That part of yours relating to the two brothers he does not doubt of turning into a lasting friendship between you. Mr. Reed and Mr. Prince in his list you were sure of before, they being of *Lord Oxford's* gang, but I would not tell *Lord Orrery* so, when he gave it to me to be transcribed.

Mr. Cæsar is at present out of town. *The corn ships, Guelnburg* (Gyllenborg) *right for*, six are already there by this and more agoing. You see nothing is omitted or neglected, and it is done in such a manner that *the King* will receive thanks for it from *the King of Sweden*.

There is an absolute necessity for *the King* to write two or three words of thanks in his own hand to *Mr. Cæsar*, having honoured so many with it, that have not more deserts to it nor more zeal and interest to serve him.

A relation of Mr. Wyndham has to the last degree *the King's evil*, and has such a faith he can be cured that it is barbarous to oppose him. He is sure of it, if he could get a *piece of gold*. Mr. *Cæsar* has begged me to write to you to intercede with *the King* to give him a bit of his plaster. It may be sent in a letter.

Lord Oxford desires a new cipher and one no other has but *the King* and you. As for the business of the lady I wrote to you about, it was the fact she spoke to me several times, but, as I would not put in *the Regent's* factor's power the name of any person here, I asked time to consult. Both *Lord Oxford* and *Mr. Cæsar* were for it, and *Lord Oxford* told me he would write about it, thinking his writing would have more weight and not being fond of too much business, so it is done. His hurry in *Parliament* made him put [it] off. In the meanwhile *Sir R. Everard* and some of *the Bishop of Rochester's* friends, without his speaking to them, thought proper to write to *Dillon* to get a letter from *the King* to the same effect. That letter is arrived. This was done with design to get the merit of the thing, but they do not know me, for, though they intend to tell her it came directly unasked, I prepared her, in case it came by any other hands, to make no cavil, but do her best, not considering the person but the cause. She promised me she would, and has given me power to assure *the King* so, and to depend on her endeavours. From whence *Sir R. Everard* took the notion of writing about it is not to be wondered, for ever since the factor has been here she has been attempted. The others that have wrote about it may have done it as little empowered as *Sir R. Everard* but, as I wrote before, it does not matter by whom.

I did not go in the country as I designed, for finding *the Bishop of Rochester's* people on the project of this merit, I feared some tittle tattle, besides, I thought it better to be sure of him before any one ventured but herself. (Expressing her confidence in and affection for Mar.)

I intended last year to have gone in the North on the invitation of a friend of yours and relation of mine, *Lord Lexington.* He is as right as your heart could wish, as is his son-in-law, but *Lord Oxford* and *Mr. Cæsar* would not let me. I intend the same journey this year, if I can be spared and you thought so.

I enclose a letter I beg you to deliver to *the King.* I gave the *declaration* to *Lord Orrery* on his desire, being authorized by your letter to him. I must once more beg your protection for *Capt. Ogilvie.* I believe he deserves it, and will more for the future by a blind obedience to your commands.

Postscript.—The letter has been delivered to the lady, and, as I foresaw, she is half mad it came that way, and is in mighty apprehensions that *Dillon,* knowing of it, will speak of it to the factor when he sees him. You must take care to hinder that.

Lord Oxford has had knowledge of the answer you made to the memorial of the method of trying him, for which he is charmed with you, but I cannot close in with the notion that Mr. Withely had sacrificed his just resentments to him, since to my own knowledge Withely has the obligation only

to him of all that was done for him, having seen Miss Nanny's own letters to *Lord Oxford* on that subject. Had he acted as friendly in your affair and mine, who are his friends and do not reproach him with his past deliterness (? dilatoriness), he had, I believe, been easier in his mind, but keep this to yourself, for he knows not that part of the message relating to *Ormonde*.

I wish you may find *the Bishop of Rochester's* and *Ormonde's* [friends] as easy as we about *James Murray's* journey. 21½ *pages*.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 10.—Though you tell me in yours of the 6th you could not quite read one of my letters, I may fall into the same fault to-night, for I have not patience to dictate and shall have, I fear, as little to write well, for I am in a strange peevish way, and my friend John's sermons have not put me in tune yet. I am though well and very impatient to have you back, for, were there many letters or any business of ever so little consequence, I could not do without you, but till the end of the month I shall have patience, so pray make haste to satisfy your curiosity.

Paterson writes to you by my order of smaller matters that require answer, and sends you fair copies of *Sir H. Stirling's* and *Ormonde's* letters. I shall write next post to the last and send you a copy, so I shall make no reflections on those great matters here. They look odd, but as things stand in relation to Swed[en], which they did not know, I think we should not be too much dejected with *Sir H. Stirling's* letter.

Dillon being not able to come to St. Germains and the orders about *Inese* being directed to him, *Queen Mary* keeps them for him, so that *Inese* knows no more than your letter. I see no hurt in that little *contretemps*, and in the meantime I don't hear it was known then publicly at St. Germains, for I don't find it has been writ here, I mean the removal. *Queen Mary* is not more peevish on that subject than I expected. I have writ already to her all I can on it, and, there being nothing in my letter or her answer that 'tis necessary you should know on that subject, I shall not send them, for I don't care to expose to post such matters, when I can help it, and even so much as this I write with reluctancy, but, when we meet, you shall know all.

You are so well known to be at Rome, that I think to make any rout about hiding who you are would but make a needless mystery, but you are in the right to keep yourself on the foot of an entire *incognito*.

Bianchini is a good body and a friend of mine, but I would not say to him what I should not care *the Pope* should know.

I am glad you are like to see sometimes your old friends. I wish I could contribute to your mirth with some champagne,

but for the little time you stay at Rome, it would not be in a drinkable way after the jolting.

The more I see into the affair of *the Pope's money*, the less hopes I have of it. Would it not be fit you should find some way of letting *the Bishop of Rochester* know that I writ to him on *Inese's* removal, for, if *Dillon* keeps those packets as long as others and *the Bishop of Rochester* finds I have writ to *Lord Oxford* on that occasion, he'll be uneasy and not without some reason, whereas, when he knows that packets are lying for him in *Dillon's* hands, he can complain of none of us.

This being a busy week with us, I shall contrive to have all my business over on Tuesday, so my next letter will, may be, bear that date, though it parts not till Friday. I wish you may read all this, which I much doubt.

We see snow, and 'tis not hot for the season. 3 *pages. Holograph.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 10.—Last night I had yours of the 6th, which the King read and the enclosures in it. He is to write to you about *Onslow's* and *Sir H. Stirling's* letters, whereof I enclose copies. I am sorry *Dr. Erskine* is so backward in writing to *Ormonde*, which I see he takes amiss and indeed with some reason, and am the more concerned, because it is not impossible that *Mar* may be found fault with on account of his indolence.

I have kept Forman's letter and have the King's orders to answer it next post. He allows Forman to go to Spain, if he finds it for his own interest and is to order his pension to be paid to his wife, but this is to be done as if she received it only for his use, and he is to say nothing of it, for fear of introducing a bad precedent for others. As to his desiring to be recommended to the Court of Spain, I need not tell you that the King cannot conveniently comply with it at this time.

I return by the King's orders the other letters you sent, because he did not think there was anything pressing in them. He is willing to allow W. Gordon the 800 *livres per annum*, and leaves it to him to dispose of it either to a servant or any other way, so as the business be done, but, in regard this is a greater allowance than others have, who may have a better pretension to it, I presume you will be of opinion that Gordon had best take that money into his own hands, and agree with his servant the best way he can, so that nobody may take any umbrage at it.

I'll observe your commands to write to you every post, if I can find what to say. This is the fourth I have written to you, since you left us.

I likewise enclose a letter from M. Stiernhock and another from de Busi, which came yesterday. You see by them that the Russian Resident appears again at Vienna, so I presume

that the letter you ordered to be sent by his canal, which you were in some concern about, will go safe to *Dr. Erskine.* Stiernhock is very solicitous to know if you have received all his packets, and, because I believe you cannot conveniently write to him from Rome, I shall advise de Busi of the receipt of these letters and desire him to let Stiernhock know that, since your leaving this place, I have delivered all his letters to the King, because, if I remember rightly in your last letter to him, you told him that the King was to open his letters during your absence and shall refer him for further answer to your coming here. 3 *pages. Enclosed were copies of Sir H. Stirling's letter of Feb.* 10–21 *and of the Duke of Ormonde's of* 24 *Feb., calendared in the last volume, pp.* 499, 513.

David Nairne to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 10. Urbino.—I am glad you are pleased with Rome, which is more than Mr. Booth will allow anything in it deserves, barring St. Peter's. I hope you are as well with our Cardinal too as he is with you. (About packets for him being opened by his Grace and sent on.)

J. Menzies to the Duke of Mar.

1718, March 30[–April 10].—Giving an account of what letters he had received from him.—The worthy lady (Anne Oglethorpe) who takes this into her care, having told me some passages in one of yours to her relating to myself, and having showed me others in one of a later date, I make her judge of what I say, whether it consists with truth and her own knowledge. (Defending himself at great length against the charge of writing rarely to Mar and often to others, and as to the channel by which they were sent, stating his feelings about Inese's dismissal, denying that he had complained of Mar or of James Murray, and complaining that the latter had been the amanuensis of the Bishop of Rochester's accusations against himself and had never given him a hint of them and had also complained to Mar against him about Sir W. Wyndham's letter.)

We were all in great peace and harmony, when the fatal reports came from your side of your differences and divisions and that you were engrossing all, carrying everything with a high hand and that there was a design to diminish the person and interest of *Ormonde.* They extremely alarmed *the Bishop of Rochester* and soon some others and so on. *The Bishop* complained to me plainly and violently that there was such a design, that *Lord Oxford* was at the bottom of it, that you were his friend and that I was yours and must be conscious to it. I told him over and over that I wondered to see a man of his parts so disturbed with groundless jealousies. Those who created them in his mind were pernicious to our interest. I had never heard of any sort of mistake between

Lord Oxford and *Ormonde*, but on the contrary a great mutual friendship and regard. As for yourself, I was sure by all your letters and all your conduct you were incapable of any such design. *Ormonde* and you went hand in hand together in everything. You promoted his honour and interest and satisfaction as your own and more than your own. Any such design was inconsistent with your honour, your good sense, your intimate friendship and gratitude, your concern for *the King's* interest, and lastly with your own interest, since *Ormonde* and you together might do considerable things, but to separate and divide must be attended with fatal consequences.

Sometimes he answered "I have too good grounds for what I say," but never would tell his authors. Sometimes "You are *Mar's* friend and *Lord Oxford's*, you are partial." When I assured him I was not personally acquainted with *Lord Oxford* nor ever in my life spoke to him of business, he replied, "You can do business without being acquainted."

When I often repeated my most solemn asseverations that I knew nothing of any such design, this proved perhaps a little opium for two or three days, but then on the least whisper or old wife's tale, the burning fit returned, his temper and reason departed, and all I could say served only to confirm him in his suspicion of my partiality, so at last, finding me immoveable in a just impartiality and not to be altered from my unbiassed fidelity to my friends and not to be gained to go implicitly into all his notions and views, which were as variable as the wind, he gave over all hopes of making me a tool, and from that fountain proceeded all the strange usage I have met with, sometimes caressing me and trusting me, then again fears and jealousies of partiality. But still the burthen of the song was Partiality. That men of my country, which he mortally hates, are always addicted to their own countrymen. So bizarre and unaccountable is the poor man's unhappy temper that his most intimate friends, who cannot get loose, either laugh at him or lament him. Many others of our own friends mortally abhor him and tell it where they can prudently be free at present. With very quick parts and a great deal of learning and knowledge he has a restlessness of temper peculiar to himself, which in all societies and situations, in which he has been, has proved so troublesome that not a man in England has more inveterate enemies even of the side of which he is thought to be. Several of his own particular tribe and distinction would have been in with us long ago, but that they cannot bear the thoughts of being yoked with him in anything.

I say this only to *the King* and you, where it is only necessary; not to have any influence on your continuing to employ him. On the contrary, it is the utmost prudence to go on with him and caress him. Our own friends have given him a name, when he was the one only swallow, and it is not fit to take it

from him. He does good and he does hurt, and his ungovernable passions would do more hurt, if he were slighted. Let me be the sacrifice to him, and I will prophesy that ere long *James Murray* must be another, for he only took him and caressed him as a tool to shuffle out *Menzies* and I know from his most bosom intimates that he begins to repent it.

But, as I was far from partiality, yet, if there had been occasion, the choice was very easy, for, not to make any compliment to yourself, I think there is no comparison between *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Oxford*, either as to merit or usefulness, and the one can think more good sense in a quarter of an hour, when he sets himself to it, than others can in a quarter of a year or perhaps in all their life. Yet I am so far from any particular bias towards *Lord Oxford* that I am not personally acquainted with him nor ever spoke to himself immediately on any business, yet we know one another very well. You may easily judge of the channels, who are worthy friends (*i.e.* Anne Oglethorpe).

As to *the Bishop's* complaint about the *money*, when you first told me of it, I was so conscious of my own fidelity, I thought I was in a dream. When your repeated severe letters came, *the Bishop* was in the country and so was *Cæsar*, who was so necessary for my justification, being the only person of all our friends, who dealt immediately with *Gyllenborg*.

The first opportunity, when *the Bishop* was in town, I very roundly expostulated with him, how without the least insinuation to myself he could keep such a clutter and accusation on the other side, not only by letters but by messengers whom I had never heard of, far less trusted with my name and my all, as *the Bishop* had done for me without my consent, and so exposed me to their mercy, giving them at the same time a very ill idea of me, as one that would cheat people. I wondered how he that was so apprehensive of mankind would trust his own secret out of his own breast after enjoining on me the utmost secrecy. By the clutter he had made it was a wonder *Lord Stair* did not already know it, *the Bishop's* Irish envoys being sometimes pretty indiscreet. As to his own secret, he was master, but why mine, to persons utterly unknown to me?

He answered by the most sacred asseverations he had never accused or complained or doubted of my fidelity. I was loth to tell him bluntly I knew the contrary.

When I explained the truth of the matter as to *Gyllenborg* he had nothing to say, but he found out an objection on the point of punctilio that he thought I ought to have told him, before that piece of *money* was given to *Gyllenborg*. I told him: 1. That he was in the country at the nick of that most necessary and honourable opportunity. 2. Because he himself had been of the opinion, before there were any orders from *Queen Mary* about the matter, that all he knew of should be put into *Gyllenborg's* hands, and accordingly Mr. *Cæsar* was desired

to offer it and did so, but he had no powers then. 3. In the interim came *Queen Mary's* orders to send all thither to be given to *Görtz*, and *the Bishop*, being alarmed with blabbing stories at that same time sent for me in a fright and by the consent of *Sir C. Phipps* and a doctor, who is *the Bishop's* friend. I was begged to take care to transmit all, those two other gentlemen having most of the *money* in their hands and having been chiefly trusted by the owners. In short I had a discretionary unlimited power, and I assured them I should take the best methods I could to obey *Queen Mary's* orders. I took care to smuggle [it] in parcels, it being a very ticklish time. I sent what you know came thither, and I wish you had told *the Bishop* of it when he began his clutter. He would then have seen I had not sunk it all, which, had I designed any injustice, I would have done and there would have been sense at least in that. 4. At that period of transmitting and *Görtz* parting from where he was, new orders came from *Queen Mary* to stop and give what remained or could further be had to *Gyllenborg*, to whom now *Görtz* had sent powers. I offered what remained to Mr. *Cæsar* to give to *Gyllenborg*, and he designed to speak to him. But that very night the storm came, in the terror and violence of which my goods were shipwrecked. My chief owner, *the King*, would never have expected I should make up the loss. Yet I never rested till I did, knowing the circumstances and the people I had to deal with, I mean, *the Bishop*. All this I told him and of the misfortune, which I needed not have done. He was just on that point, that, since I had got the loss made up, it was all one to them, if I had thrown the other into the Thames, and he could not deny that what was given to *Gyllenborg* was well-placed, who was in trouble in a strange country cut off from all correspondence with his friends, was a man of note, had done a great deal of good, might yet do more, and had done hurt to nobody, so it seemed very just and generous and wise and seasonable to show him that *the King's* friends had honour in them and an entire trust in him, and indeed *money* was never better bestowed, of which Mr. *Cæsar* has several proofs of late. I ended that I had faithfully followed their own meaning, the plain orders of *Queen Mary*, and the essential nature and substance of the thing.

Besides all these reasons I had one which I was loth to tell him, which was, after I had got *Queen Mary's* orders and the occasion called as to *Gyllenborg*, if I had gone there to ask *the Bishop's* approbation, I did not know but one of his whims or panic fits might have taken him, and then whether shall I obey him or *Queen Mary*, in which I think there was no choice, and so indeed I thought it best never to ask the question.

I told him though that as to the punctilio it was no great wonder to see a man born so near the North Pole fail in the

science of refined punctilios, but that, if he thought I had failed in that, I humbly begged his pardon.

I got so much *money*, I sent so much of it to your side. Just so much remained. A misfortune happened. I got it repaired, which by the by not every body could have done. Then I gave it according to *Queen Mary's* orders in the best season and to the best use in the world. This is the plain substance in very few words.

As to Downes, I shall only beg you to remember that, when you opposed his being sent, which will never be forgiven you, you did not then know if ever he and I had seen one another's faces. I declare there was no mistake between him and me on my side. We never had any business together, far less any demêlée. I was consulted once in a very friendly manner about a paper of his for *the King's* use as to religion. My answer was fair and friendly, that it was learnedly and skilfully composed, but I thought it was better to have patience and let *the King* alone to his own examination, of which he was very capable, and therefore it was unfit and needless to tease him, and especially at that time when he was in the camp, a place not very fit for scholastic disputes. Mr. *C. Kinnaird* and other friends told me that D[ownes] and some of his hot friends took this unkindly and thought me popishly affected. 7½ *pages. With note by Anne Oglethorpe* that she told Mar in hers that Menzies would write and hopes it will be satisfactory.

Charles Pye to James III.

1718, April 11. Paris.—I would not have troubled your Majesty with a letter, but that I am under a necessity in several respects, first in what regards your interest and next my own honour and reputation.

In whatever affairs I have transacted for your Majesty the powers I had have been so by halves and so clipped that I have been entirely prevented of showing, as well as I could wish, my desires to serve you effectually.

In the first place as to the power given, it was so long before it came to Mr. Jerningham, that he assured me, when he was last here, that it prodigiously hindered many from doing what they had promised, but the greatest hindrance of all was Mr. Southcott's impertinent meddling, who was not content to let things go on in the just channel they were in, but, to make his court to the Queen through our sides, pretended as if your orders had been wanting and that a considerable sum would be immediately remitted, if her Majesty would give her orders for the same, though not one farthing of this money was got by his interest, in which he basely imposed on the Queen and flew in the face of your orders in a most clandestine, barbarous manner by giving positive directions to Mr. Jerningham, with an air of authority on the Queen's orders he had thus fraudulently got, not to have anything

to say to me in this affair nor to give me any answers, for I had no power to give any directions therein, which Mr. Jerningham with reason thought himself obliged to observe, but after some time, when he found Mr. Jerningham was undeceived and that, notwithstanding his writing for other great sums, they could not be obtained, he was not content to do all I have here urged, but, by the imprudence of Mr. Moore, then in England, through his directions as most believe, he so indiscreetly managed this affair as to have Mr. Jerningham taken up by the Government, after he had procured betwixt 20 and 30,000*l.* for your service, but on this trouble of his it was all drawn out again in 10 days. It may be easily made appear that by their management he was taken up, but more particularly by Mr. Jerningham's examination before the Council, where Mr. Moore by name is particularly mentioned, and, that I may more easily convince you of my conduct herein, all my letters relating to this affair were read and examined before the Council, from which they could gather not the least discovery of any kind nor anything to Mr. Jerningham's prejudice.

After all this, seeing this gentleman, whom I knew to be no ways discreet or secret, to have such a large share in the management of your affairs at present and myself so neglected, it must give me a sensible concern more on your account than my own, and cannot but give me reasons to believe I must be misrepresented to you on this base affair of Mr. Southcott's not fairly stated to you, and therefore I could not pass over the matter in silence. Therefore I humbly hope that, if what I say will have any credit with your Majesty, it must in this case and some others make a just impression on you to my advantage.

I think it my duty to acquaint you with what appears to me will prove of great consequence and advantage to your interest, the particulars of which have been as well digested by Mr. Camocke and me, as we could, and will come to you before this, and therefore I shall omit troubling you with anything particularly relating thereto otherwise than what may forward it, and consequently I must be excused if I ask for such powers and commissions as are requisite. Since my countrymen and friends desire it, I would have it in as perfect a manner as I could, and as ample as might be, and then I would endeavour to give you a good account of this affair. 'Tis our good fortune to have an acquaintance and interest with those, who, you will see in a little time, can be most serviceable to you in this affair, and that we likewise have a power of procuring a sufficient sum, to carry on this design, as also to advance some others, if your commission for the same be full enough. We hope to make the interest we have appear to your Majesty, if we can have any independent authority to the ministers both as well to empower and make choice of others as to transact ourselves, which will be necessary in this case, as you will see by the proposals.

We should be very loth to attempt such a thing if there was a reasonable possibility of failing either as to the secrecy of those we employ as also our own, or in procuring what's necessary to carry on the attempt, if our powers are full enough, and it be made known to as few of your ministers as possible, otherwise we would both desire to be excused from transacting therein.

I am going now for England, where I shall have an opportunity of transacting in a great part this affair myself, and therefore would be glad to have my powers with me, if you think me worthy or capable to serve you. I shall stay some time in Flanders, where Mr. Camocke will send me anything that's for this or any other purpose to serve you.

I must now beg you will hear me as to what in a most particular manner concerns my honour and reputation. At the same time that I complain of the person, I must plead an excuse in his behalf in regard to the natural affection he has to his family and his misfortune in being so subject to his passions and too easy in giving credit to those that are his entire enemies, who have been the cause in spite of all my endeavours to precipitate him to such rash and indiscreet proceedings. I am under a necessity for my own vindication to let you know yet further that what he has so solemnly accused me of saying is false. What could bewitch him to so absurd an invention as this I cannot imagine, unless he was that man himself which he accuses me to be, which was not a little prejudice to me in my reputation, till I was able after a second operation on my lame leg to go abroad, for he took a proper opportunity enough to make an impression in the minds of all the world, when I was so ill that I saw no company. What impressions this may have had with your Majesty to my prejudice I can't tell, but certainly it has had such weight with Lord Mar that I have not had an answer since he parted hence to a letter, that both Mr. Camocke and I thought might reasonably require one. Seeing therefore that by such influences I stand so precarious in the esteem of your ministers, I beg I may have access to you by letter in anything that more immediately concerns your interest. *Over 7 pages.*

CHARLES FORMAN MACMAHON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 11. Versailles.—Thanking him for his letter of 12 March.—His Majesty lately signified to me by Mr. Nairne his good opinion of me, and I have the additional pleasure of finding it now confirmed by you. When I threw myself by way of letter at the King's feet, I wrote to Mr. M[enzies] in London to send over some account of me, fearing that perhaps my friends had hitherto failed in that, in which I was not mistaken. His letter, I find, you have read, but one thing in it I am of opinion he was not aware of, where he says the

Duke of Ormonde bade him think of the most proper methods to have made me some suitable acknowledgement. Had I been better known to his Grace at that time, or had he been better apprised of the profits of my employments he would have waived that direction. As it was, Mr. M[enzies] never offered anything of that nature to me; he knew me to be incapable of acting on the footing of a mercenary.

It is a very great satisfaction to me that his Majesty and you approve of my giving an account of what passed betwixt Mr. Pulteney and me. I wrote nothing but the truth, and not so much as I might have done, merely to avoid prolixity. Whether he was in earnest in what he said I cannot tell, but I hope he was not. I cannot give any further account of him, because I have neither seen or writ to him since, and never intend to do so, unless I have either his Majesty's or your commands for it. As to your direction to write to you as often as anything occurs relating to his Majesty's service, as my circumstances do not allow me to live in so expensive a place as Paris, I can expect to hear but little of that nature. I acquainted Mr. Dillon as acting for his Majesty here with a few things that occurred to me last harvest. His not directing somebody about him to acknowledge three letters I wrote to him, and my not being admitted to see him several times I went expressly from Versailles to wait on him, discouraged me from meddling any more with news, and only confirmed what I was told before, that the Duke of Ormonde inquired for me when he was here, but was answered I was not to be found, though Sir John O'Brien and Capt. O'Brien, the brigadier's son, knew I was then in town. The latter made me a visit and the knight received a letter from me to let him know I was here, which he showed the captain. I wrote to you 20 March on my design of going to Spain, and also to Mr. Dicconson for her Majesty's approbation, but, as I find by his answer the war there is likely to be soon at an end, I must lay aside that project. 3 *pages.*

Charles Forman Macmahon to John Paterson.

1718, April 11. Versailles.—Acknowledging his with one enclosed from the Duke of Mar and regretting he is under any concern for not answering his letters to him from Sens, as they were of no importance and required no immediate answer, and joining with him in regretting their good old friend, Corbett.

L[aurence] C[harteris] to Father Græme.

1718, April 11. Rotterdam.—Requesting him to forward the enclosed to the Duke of Mar and General Sheldon.

Laurence Charteris to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 11. Rotterdam.—If you take no care of me I must infallibly starve or die in a gaol. I have a wife in

Brabant, but her mother and her friends are so narrow and such enemies to our religion that they'll do nothing for me. We lose half our small pension by the difference of the money and the exchange and are forced to beg as if it were charity given by the agent, which is owing to his narrow circumstances, albeit he is otherwise a very honest man. I am informed a great many substantial men here are so well-inclined to the King, that they would be vain to be employed and would not let his distressed subjects want two or three months' advance, and we are always two or three in arrear. My clothes are not like the garments of the Israelites in the wilderness that never waxed old, and I am in such a condition I am ashamed to go abroad. I dare not go home for I have not only rendered myself very obnoxious to the Government, but the merchants would throw me in gaol for the cargo.

J. Menzies to *the Duke of Mar.*

1718, Monday, March 31[–April 11].—By their staying long and yet parting at last on a sudden, I am like to lose the opportunity of writing you another long letter, for one is packed up already. I shall write the other at leisure, either by an occasion that is like to go very soon directly, or by *Sir H. Paterson.*

Your application to *Cadogan* was applauded by every friend I spoke of it to, who were very few and very close. *The Duke of Shrewsbury* advised it from the beginning. *Cadogan* showed it, which I know by the canal of Ro. Pr[in]gle, who saw it, and spoke well of it, and said it was a wise design in *Mar*. *The Bishop of Rochester* himself has been long for applying to that club, which you may wonder at, considering his friend *Ormonde*, but he knows nothing of the application.

The affair of new *money* will be very hard, if not entirely impracticable at present. Everybody shrugs up their shoulders at the risk of such smuggling, considering the last adventure. All the merchants are now gone to the country in ill humour and exhausted. I see no appearance of any quantity. What says *the Bishop of Rochester*, who undertook so fairly? *Lord Oxford* writes to you about it and says what is to be said. As to *Menzies'* meddling, you know burnt bairns dread the fire. Besides he has been much disabled by the reports of his being superseded, and he is easily rebutted, as to pretending to trust. In short that and all our matters are entirely off the hinges, without a total rectification.

The vast multitude of couriers, messengers, plenipotentiaries &c. of late have confounded everything and ruined all secrecy. Every Irish courier has been an absolute minister, however unfit and poisoned with the prejudices of the little party he likes best, and makes that his chief business. It is not in words or any colours to paint our disorders.

The loss of *the Duke of Shrewsbury* is inexpressible. He was a constant source of good sense and wisdom. He did more good than it is to be imagined. Besides one essential point, he died as many wise men do, very unwisely.

As to the poor squire *Hamilton*, I have not expressed myself clearly, if I seemed to complain of his getting trust and credit in that trade. I think him honest and inviolable in a good principle, but I wished he had not come amongst creditors and baillies again so soon. I do not remember I ever gave him my own opinion positively for it, and no man of judgment can be positive here as to the people he has to deal with, all freaks, fits and variations &c., only this is certain that it is a thousand to one, but they do what is wicked and cruel.

I forgot to say on the head of *money*, that, if that matter be thought fit to be pushed, though I lie under the foresaid and other such disadvantages, I shall heartily do everything in my power, and, if they do not do it in my method and with my particular acquaintances, there can be very little success.

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Monday night, March 31[–April 11].—I send you some of our newspapers that are most read and speak plainest. These give you the chief manner of the public talk and what is the mode to believe. The *Flying Post*, whom the Tories think furious, yet gives you always the sense of the Whigs and Dissenters and courtiers. The enclosed *Courant* and *St. James' Post* have broached some new matters of fact from Vienna and the North. One thing is certain, that we are anew alarmed from the North. Whereas we were hovering in uncertainty between sending to the Baltic and the Mediterranean, now all of a sudden the orders are given for the Baltic. Sir John Norris is to go immediately with the squadron that is ready. Eleven ships are ready and manned and most of the provisions on board, and the press begins for more seamen, who will not be easy to be had. So for the Mediterranean, God knows when. We hope and talk of an agreement between the Emperor and King Philip by our means and the Regent, unless Alberoni should be proof of our threats, by which we carry everything, and we know that the present princes of Europe are easily terrified.

The Scotch Earl of Sutherland is ordered for Inverness. Let the King of Sweden look to that and the Czar also.

But seriously, as long as your Regent is our friend, we shall fear nothing, for he must know of any design that is formed against us, and so will at least inform us, and you know, he that is warned is half armed.

It is positively said to-day that we have four new blue ribbons, the Dukes of Montague, Newcastle and St. Albans and the Earl of Berkeley, so you may see where our favour goes.

Sir H. Stirling to the Duke of Ormonde.

1718, March 31[–April 11]. Petersburg.—I received yours of 30 March and 3 April, which I communicated to Dr. Erskine, but, as he has not yet had an opportunity of discoursing with the Czar, I cannot let you know the result, but I am afraid, notwithstanding the King of Sweden's good intentions to make peace with the Czar, it will not come to pass so speedily, since the Czar stands on very hard terms, being resolved to keep all he has got, though on the other hand, since he always declared so to Görtz, before his going to Sweden, I can hardly think that gentleman and Count Gyllenborg would have taken the trouble they have, which I mentioned in my last, if the King of Sweden had not a mind to swallow the pill, and, though never so bitter, it is in my opinion better than to agree with the Duke of Hanover, since in order to that he must quit more, without the least prospect of being abler by that means to recover anything from the Czar.

They have no accounts here of any meeting to be at Danzig, nor can it well be, since the forementioned persons are elsewhere, without whom it could not well happen, or at least to little purpose. Passports will be granted as in Ezekiel Hamilton's letter, and shall be transmitted as soon as they are ready. You mentioned there was a letter for me by the person who brought you accounts lately from the King, but, if it was sent, I have not received it.

I hope the stop put to the Princess' affair will be no disappointment, as in my opinion interest was the principal motive. Now that there seems to be less hopes that way, the t'other would rather have been an inconvenience, seeing on account of her age she is altogether improper for what was chiefly designed. I shall not fail to let you hear from me, as soon as the Czar gives his answer. *Two copies, one in cipher and one deciphered, also a copy of the first paragraph in cipher.*

James III to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 12. Urbino.—That you may once read a letter from me, Johnnie is my scribe. I send you the copy of my letter to *Ormonde* which you may keep, but pray return the piece of *Queen Mary's* I send with the copy of my answer. Sir Peter's letter will make you laugh. Pray make him my compliments. I am glad Sheldon is so far well on his journey, but have heard nothing from him. Yours of the 9th just received requires little or no answer. What *Cardinal Gualterio* writes to me about *money* would be very agreeable, were any other merchant concerned but *the Pope*, but he is of such a character, that I think it against reason to conceive too great hopes of what we are not in actual possession.

I don't wonder you are a little peevish of *Inese*, but I need say no more of him or the letter of yours he stopped, but that

Sir William's accounts, which he has here, confirm *Menzies'* justification as to the money, for, as to anything else, you know my opinion of *St. Germains* and *its* adherents. You will have seen I had the same apprehension as you of *the Bishop of Rochester* being jealous, when he misses receiving letters about the same time as *Lord Oxford*, and I heartily wish you may find some expedient to prevent his uneasiness.

I am not surprised but very glad you are so well diverted at Rome. Bonum shall send the list as you desire. We see snow and feel frost. At your return you may find my family either under very good discipline or diminished, for I gave some orders to-day with calm words but grating circumstances, which I will have obeyed, for with people that have no right sense of their duty, that are incapable of friendship, or personal attachment, and not very susceptible of shame, one must take a very particular way to work.

Postscript.—I have a little project of a journey against your return from Rome. It is to meet you in a mysterious manner at Loretto on Saturday the 30th and to come back with you. I see no objection against it, but that it might be called a journey of devotion, which might be wrong taken in England. Pray tell me your mind freely on the matter. 3 *pages. In Col. Hay's hand signed by James.*

Lieut.-General Dillon to James III.

1718, Tuesday, April 12.—I enclose a letter from Mr. Camocke. If *the English fleet* be sent against *the King of Spain* in my humble opinion no expedient should be left untried to gain part of his family which would prove of great and good consequence to *the King's* interest. *The King* may lessen the recompense as shall seem to him most proper, as also give ample directions about the manner of proceeding, but in all cases I think the proposal deserves to be maturely considered. If *the King* approves of it, I hope no time will be lost in giving the necessary instructions. Mr. Camocke assures that he has influence on *Sir G. Byng*, and many of the chief people with him. He is well known to the inferior officers and seamen. His zeal for *the King* is certainly very great. If it be thought fit to confide the management of this affair to him, he is most willing to undertake it, and, though it were to be wished his moderation in temper were equal to his fidelity, he may succeed better than many others.

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 12.—This is in answer to yours of 19 March. *Mar* was right that I mistook Aylmer (*i.e.* Argyle) for Elmore (*i.e.* the Emperor), yet that does not hinder what I said of *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover*, to be very true.

I am now told by a good hand that *the Elector of Hanover* gave *the Regent* hopes that *the Emperor* would be soon brought

to acquiesce to the proposal made in relation to *the King of Spain*, which is all, I believe, as yet known of it here. A little time will let us see clearer into this, and no settled judgments can be made on it, till we are fully informed of *the King of Spain's* and *the Emperor's* determination.

I had nothing last post material from *England*, friends there referring to an ample information we are soon to receive, I presume it will be in answer to the last cargo by *James Murray*, whom I expect daily here.

The Duke of Lorraine parted hence last Friday. He spoke to me often and in a very kind manner about *the King's* concerns and promised to send me a letter to be forwarded to *the King* but, not having kept his word, I suppose he had not time to write. *The Prince de Vaudemont* asked me many questions about *the King* and particularly concerning *marriage*, which he had much at heart. I told him *the King* had taken all the measures that depended on him to settle that and that I hoped his true friends would soon have the satisfaction they so much desired on that score. This pleased him extremely and I don't question he makes mention of it in the enclosed packet under *Nairne's* cover. You'll find here one from *Menzies* which *Inese* sent me just as it is, and a letter from Mr. Camocke to *Mar*. I had none from *Ormonde* since my last, but enclose one of 11 March from *Richard Butler*. I am glad that *Ormonde* had no further warning about his removal, which in my opinion is a good omen. I hope what *Butler* writes will be very soon confirmed. I had a late letter from the good father at *Calais* telling me that *Capt. Ogilvie* was then with *England*, and that he expected him back in five or six days. I presume this voyage was by orders.

The following is by *Lord Tullibardine's* key. I had a letter of 31 March from *Tullibardine* and one of the 26th from *Brigadier Campbell*. The latter gave me a full account of *Barry's* villainous treachery and tells me he has informed *Mar* in the same manner. I thought it proper to desire both *Brigadier Campbell* and *Clanranald* to repair immediately to *Tullibardine's* neighbourhood and there to remain till they receive new orders from *Mar*. This was the only expedient I could think of to avoid further trouble, in case young *Stanhope* made a complaint on this score, as 'tis likely he did or will. *Swords'* and *targes'* affair being suspended, the thing may drop of itself, and, if time should change, we may find a more favourable opportunity for purchasing the goods we want. By what *Brigadier Campbell* says, 'tis not practicable to get them in that country without a certain allowance, and I think it would not be prudent to embark in the matter till that is had. A credit of 5,000 *livres* was already sent to *Tullibardine* for this but I wrote to him last post not to proceed till he had new directions from *Mar*. I have advertised friends at *England* to be on their guard against *Barry* supposing him to be gone thither. I believe that Charles Wogan will reach you before

this, therefore will say nothing of the last accounts he sent. 3½ *pages.*

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 12. Paris.—Acknowledging his letter of the 12th, the enclosures in which he had taken care of.—The war and rumours of it in all parts is so uncertain that I have only resolved in general that Sandie must go somewhere that he may not be altogether idle. I hope a little time will discover. As things now appear there's nothing but Hungary or Spain. I wish I could guess which was most our King's friend; that would determine him and me to make the choice.

I am told that Robert Freebairn is gone safe to the other side.

GEORGE HOME OF WHITFIELD to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 12. Rouen.—That letter to Dr. Leslie has contributed extremely to the King's interest. When he received it, I thought to have carried it to England, but it was judged inconvenient I should go over. An opportunity will be taken to signify to my chief his Grace's friendship and good inclinations towards him, of which he had former proofs. Three of his sons and a daughter are dead since he and I parted and the confinement in the Castle has much impaired his health, which has hindered him from travelling into these parts as I advised. However, I hope he will be restored to his former vigour. Your honest master, the Commissary, is dead 7 or 8 months past. After the woeful miscarriage of our last affair in Scotland he broke his heart and died of a consumption. It proves lucky for his family he came not out with some of his friends. Could I have but waited him for one day, he had surely been with us and partaken of the same fate. His eldest son is at home, and his second, Alexander, bound to an attorney in London. (Soliciting Mar's influence on behalf of Mr. Trotter for the vacant clerkship of the kitchen.) I shall transmit your respects to my chief in the manner you gave it me. All friends here are in health and longing to have an opportunity of another trial of skill on the other side. 2 *pages.*

JAMES MURRAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 1[-12]. London.—I had yesterday yours of 6 March and most heartily thank you for some hints, which I will inviolably observe, if I visit *Paris*, as to which my case stands thus.

As soon as I received *the King's* commands and your letter of 16 Feb., finding *the Bishop of Rochester* at that time had no objection to my giving them that obedience my inclination led me to, I immediately resolved to wait on *the King* as *the Bishop of Rochester* seemed to desire, and accordingly waited

on him (the Bishop) yesterday and took leave of him at his country house in order to pursue this journey. On my return to town I thought it of absolute necessity to communicate my design to *Mar's* brother-in-law (Lord Hay), *Sir W. Wyndham*, Mr. Banks (*? Lord Bathurst*) and *Mr. Shippen*, who all separately and jointly declared their opinion that it would be of the utmost ill-consequence to *the King*, if in the present situation of his affairs I should make the proposed visit. Their reasons chiefly are that they apprehend the business of the company to be at present in a pretty calm state and that the partners are at liberty to carry on their correspondence to promote their interest without great opposition from the industry of *the Elector of Hanover*. It was very plain to them that on *James Murray's* going from home, *the Elector of Hanover* would apprehend something of extraordinary importance was not only to be negotiated but soon to be executed, being assured from the opinion both *the King's* and *the Elector of Hanover's* friends have of him that people would look on him as the most likely to be chosen on such an occasion. Though *the Elector of Hanover* did not perhaps really apprehend any sudden danger at present, yet it was impossible he should lose so fair an opportunity of pretending he did, by which means jealousies and pretences for doing strong things, which for some time have been silenced, would instantly be revived to his great satisfaction. By this, *James Murray*, who has been in great confidence and familiarity with all those who are able to serve *the King* with the two *Houses of Parliament*, would render them so obnoxious to *the Elector of Hanover*, that they would have their friend's behaviour thrown in their teeth in answer to everything they could propose to *the Parliament* for *the King's* service. All this is on a presumption that it was not possible to conceal *James Murray's* visit or commission from *the Elector of Hanover* for any time, had that been managed with the utmost discretion, and this particular seems changed to the worse by *Paris* talking publicly of it, and a great many others here, who knew it and told it before yours came to me, and so before I had received any certain information in the matter. Lastly they are of opinion that what's required of *James Murray* may be equally well performed by another, but that they cannot think of any proper person for managing *James Murray's* private affairs with *England*, in whom either they or their friends would place an equal confidence. Such a one nobody has yet been able to name, though, when I took the resolution of going, I thought nothing could be easier. *The Bishop of Rochester* cannot nor will not undertake more drudgery, and, supposing he were willing, other people would not be pleased to see things entirely confined to that canal for reasons that may be guessed at, but are not fit to be named. These are the grounds of these partners being positively of opinion that, if I should make the intended visit, it would be of the utmost ill-consequence to the Company's affairs, and therefore

at their earnest desire I have delayed executing it, till they shall go to *the Bishop of Rochester* and reason this matter with him, whose directions in this I think myself more especially bound to follow. I expect to receive them fully in a few days, and shall then either begin immediately to obey *the King's* commands, or acquaint you that your partners have unanimously come to a different resolution, which, I suppose, you'll think a sufficient authority for me to stay for *the King's* further orders, notwithstanding your pressing letters on that subject. I never hesitated in determining myself to comply with your desire, which, as I mentioned before, was originally *the Bishop of Rochester's*. I had many reasons besides my duty and my vast desire to wait on *the King* and you, to prompt me to do it. I am sure I could explain some persons and things so that both of you would better understand what is passed and be in a way of being a good deal easier for the future, but by writing that is impossible.

The measures *the King* has taken with regard to *Inese* are matters of universal joy to his friends, and the good understanding he expresses on that occasion is no less charming to them. This affair must certainly produce many good consequences, and I have not heard of any ill one that can happen on it, unless he should follow *Bolingbroke's* example and endeavour to misrepresent *the King*, which would do *the King* service here, whatever it might do elsewhere. I will not attempt to answer the letters lately receive from you, till I be sure whether *James Murray* may not have an opportunity of doing it by word of mouth.

We have no very remarkable news. The stocks are fallen on a report that the Emperor has refused to acknowledge Philip's title to the Crown of Spain, and that he has demanded from the King the succours so positively stipulated by the treaty lately concluded between them. It is also reported that a treaty is carrying on between his Majesty and the King of Sweden by means of General Ducker, who is said to have been here, but I cannot answer for the truth of either of these particulars. 5 *pages*.

The Duke of Mar to James III.

1718, April 13. Rome.—I am sorry for the bad weather which yours of the 7th tells me you have had. With us it has been pretty good, though still coldish and rain for two days, but little wind. Next to a certain country, if not before it, I believe Urbino excels for that. I am very glad Tempesti is to return so soon, for, after being accustomed to music, you would miss it much I believe, and I think it one of the best remedies against the spleen, which I am very glad you were not troubled with in spite of the bad weather, and I heartily wish this post may bring you nothing to occasion it, but, when you act nothing but with reason, people's humours are the less to be minded.

Just as I am writing, the post is arrived and I opened Nairne's packet, where I found *Dillon's* and *Inese's* to me and that from *Dillon* for your Majesty, all which I enclose. "*Inese* acts the part, by what he says in his letter, of a prudent man, when he finds his designs fail and his ways found out. I do not think what *Dillon* says on it lessens what we formerly believed of his being governed by him, but, by the strain he writes in, I fear that you will find *Queen Mary* digests it but ill, which I shall be sorry for. I found there were a great many letters by this post from Paris to the British here and, since the affair of *Inese* was known there long before they were wrote, I doubted not but it would be wrote to some of them, therefore I thought it would look too much affected for me to say nothing of it, so, when some of them asked me news from thence, I told them of it over[t]ly as a thing long done and some of them seemed a good deal surprised. It will be great news to all of them when they meet in the coffee-house to-night and I shall hear what they say on it.

" What *Dillon* says of Law alters the case, if his friendship with *Stair* be so, but it was quite otherwise when I saw him and I still much doubt of it and that it was only to obtain the pardon that made him seem great with him. What was proposed about him is not to be thought of without being first sure as to that friendship and you are like to have time enough to think of it before there be any occasion for him that way.

" I have a letter from *Lady Mar* of 2 March acknowledging mine of 12 February which I sent under *Capt. Ogilvie's* cover at the same time that I wrote to *Anne Oglethorpe, Lord Oxford* and *Lord Orrery*, ... which was the last packet which F[ather] Græme wrote of having got for *Capt. Ogilvie* and which he had sent with other two over to him by the *Commis*, so to be sure all of them have gone safe, which gives me a good deal of ease about them. *Lady Mar* says she is settling her affairs to come over and that nothing will stop her.

" I have sent the other letters I had to Paterson to be laid before you, when you are at leisure. There was one in *Lord Oxford's* from the little Squire as I used to call him, but of an old date and nothing in it, so I thought it needless to send it, his news being so old. I cannot imagine what made Mr. *Jerningham* go to Holland and not to *Ormonde* and I have a good deal of apprehension that he may be taken up there, which would be unlucky, and I am sure *Ormonde* will be angry at his not coming to him, as I think he has some reason. It is likely that his fellow traveller may be come to Holland too, in which case I submit it to your consideration if it be not fit to order him to come straight to wait on you, where there may be use for him, if he be such a man as he has been represented, and he seems to have done his business very well where he was with *Jerningham* and not inclined to be saucy.

If you be for his coming, Paterson may write your commands about it to Sir Hugh [Paterson] to be signified to him or *Jerningham*. I fancy *Jerningham* would set out again to meet with *Ormonde* as soon as he got *Queen Mary's* letter, which would, it is likely, meet him in Holland.

"Your Majesty will see by *Mr. Leslie's* to me in answer to that I wrote him from Fano, how much good your letter to him has done and how little reason there was to apprehend its being taken in another sense than you really meant it. I wish your Majesty may be at the trouble to read Lord Pitsligo's letter to me and Paterson may write your commands to Gordon on what he writes. I am sure he will never ask you for more than he has absolute occasion for and, if he ask any more than what he does now, that it will not be till the time his former allowance would have made up this 7 or 800 *livres* he now proposes and I presume that your Majesty will approve of the way he intends to take for his improvement, which is certainly better than living idle in Holland, since he cannot go home.

"Miss Fanny's story about *Lord Ilay's* lady is comical and must vex him extremely but what she will have wrote to him of what is done by *the King* and in their hands will comfort him.

"I am very glad of what *James Murray* writes of those two gentlemen and of the last's going to the north, which I am persuaded is with a view to *the King's* affairs, but I am sorry their looking that way is so much talked of, which, I hope, is more by the malice of their enemies than by the imprudence of *the King's* friends and indeed what other judgment can be made by any that knows them after their having so openly left the two gentlemen they were engaged with?

"I am glad to see the part Dalmahoy takes in his friend's affair, which I know will be acceptable news to poor Clephan.

"I have but one of *Dillon's* ciphers with me, so there are some words of his letter I could not read.

"I return your Majesty the two letters you were pleased to send me.

"I wonder *Dillon* says nothing of *George Kelly's* being then gone nor of anything he had written to *England*. I still fear the long delay in *the Bishop of Rochester's* getting your letters, when *Lord Oxford* has got his so long before them, will occasion new jealousies, but it would, if *Dillon* has not written to him of their being in his hands since he thought it not safe to send them, and fully as much so if he has and has not told you what he wrote to *the Bishop of Rochester*.

"I long to know what *Sir H. Stirling* said in his to *Ormonde* and I still hope it is as I imagined it; but I wish we heard from *Ormonde* again.

"I dined with *Cardinal Gualterio* on Sunday and after dinner he was at the trouble of going himself through all his rooms of curiosities with me and a curious and vast collection it is,

which I wonder how one man could make. The things though generally are not such as I have most pleasure in, but it is such a collection as I am sure nobody else has, so the more valuable. I find he has no great esteem of Sig. Bi[anchi]ni's knowledge and thinks he pretends to more than he really knows. I was at the last's house yesterday where I saw the collection he has made and daily a-making for *the Pope's* friend. Most of it is busts and some tolerable statues, but the most curious things in it and what will be of great use in history, are old inscriptions which he is arranging in order, and [he] has a great number of them. It is that which he takes most pleasure in and I believe he has not much in statues, architecture or paintings, which give me most. I am to be with him again to see some of his experiments and glasses, but this is a busy week with him. He is exceeding civil and obliging and carried me in the evening to see the cavalcade of the Pope's going from Monte Cavallo to the Vatican, which did not at all answer my expectation. He was to have assisted us in getting a good place to-night to hear the Miserere, but, this being the day that the French post comes in and that to you goes out, I put it off till to-morrow night and in the forenoon I am to go to hear or rather, I believe, see myself and most of the world excommunicated. These sights do not give me much entertainment and I cannot help regretting their taking up the time when I might be seeing what gives me a great deal.

"To give you an account of all I have seen is almost impossible and I have not as yet seen the half, though my limbs are weary every day with going about. It will be next week before I can see any of the pictures in the churches, they being now mostly covered, and I have not yet had time to think of Frescati." 5½ *pages. Holograph.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 13. Vienna.—I received this morning yours of the 24th and delivered the enclosed from the Duke of Mar to the Swedish Resident to him, with which he is very well satisfied, and he will reply by the next post.

I enclose a letter Monsr. Stiernhock gave me yesterday for the Duke. He also returned me a letter his Excellency had enclosed to him to be sent to Monsr. Erskine at St. Petersburg, not venturing to do so, because his master is not yet at peace with *the Czar*. I am sending this letter safely this evening, and, whenever his Excellency wishes to write to the said Court, he is only to send me his letters and I shall take care to have them forwarded safely. Monsr. Stiernhock told me he will not be able to continue sending news to the King or to me, before he knows if his Majesty is in effective correspondence with the King, his master.

The congress between Sweden and Muscovy continues at Aland, but we are afraid that the English Court is carrying on an

intrigue there by means of money, offers &c. for which Monsr. Fabricius is moving heaven and earth and this Court is assisting therein in order to bring the Elector of Hanover into their interest, and the more so as the Emperor 12 days ago dispatched couriers to France and England, in order to arrange matters with the Court of Spain, which is believed to be infallible with the mediation of the said two Courts, but the Elector claims that the Emperor and France should engage to maintain him on the throne of England, on which this Court is expecting soon a decisive answer. The arrangement between the Emperor and Savoy is going on very well. Prince Eugene gives it a helping hand.

Mr. Sutton, the English ambassador plenipotentiary, is just leaving for the peace congress with the Turks. He will be followed to-morrow by the Emperor's plenipotentiaries. Also the Venetian ambassador plenipotentiary arrived here yesterday, and will start after the holidays for the said congress. The Turks appear very anxious for peace. Meanwhile the troops are marching to the general rendezvous, which will be very near Belgrade. 5 *pages. French. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

James III to the Duke of Ormonde.

1718, April 14.—Yours of 27 Feb. to *Dillon* with the enclosed from *Sir H. Stirling* was not a little surprising to me, and would have troubled me more, had I not had an account of *Jerningham*, which you were then ignorant of, for, since by that it appears that *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar's* union can alone render them effectually useful to *the King*, all that precedes that union ought not to affect us too much, and the less that I am still in hopes that agreement will be soon effected and then will be the time to judge of matters. In the meantime I must own *Dr. Erskine's* conduct is unaccountable, but that with many other things must be dissembled and borne with, and I believe a good deal is owing to natural temper. I think *Sir H. Stirling* has acted a very prudent part, and heartily wish it may be contrived that *Ormonde* may not be at too great distance just in the critical time. I pray God direct *Ormonde* for the best in all these affairs, and that, while he will, I know, omit nothing for the good of the trade, he may neglect nothing that tends to his own security, of which I am in pain, though I cannot so much as suspect it will be in danger in *the Czar's* dependence, but the point will be, if he be forced to leave it, but, till I know further, all I can say is in the dark and the air, and I shall wait with the last impatience to hear from you.

Postscript.—I expect *Mar* back within this month. I have heard no more from the *King of Spain*, nor do I expect any *money* from *the Pope* by what I see of the progress of that negotiation. All Rome was in alarm t'other day on the

accounts from Urbino of the Chevalier St. George being gone from thence, nobody could tell where, though all concluded it was on some important expedition, but people were as much disappointed, when they found he had only been to see a Roman antiquity and came back at night to his residence. The deep politicians there will have it now that he had a mind to use people to such journeys, that his motions might be less noticed hereafter, and, if that were his design, it has had and is like to have the desired effect. I hear the Spaniards have debarked some troops in Sardinia and are returned with their ships to Spain, which with the fright of a war in Italy is all the news this country affords.

I was a little startled at what you writ in a former letter about the Princess. You will be sure to neglect no enquiry on so nice a point, but I cannot but hope you are misinformed, because I never heard *the Czar's son's* birth called in question. If he be lawful, she must be, and, had he been otherwise, there had been no need of what has been lately done by him in so solemn a manner. *Holograph with words to be ciphered underlined and copy by John Paterson.*

Brigadier John Hay to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 14.—I have copied the note of the books given the King by the Pope at Rome, which I enclose. Let your Italian interpreter revise it, for I don't doubt there are several mistakes. I have added three books given the King, I think by the Jesuits.

I suppose you will have heard some good music. Yesterday and to-day Tempesti has sung in the church here. Only one mass is said to-morrow in the world and that is at Rome. There arrived here to-day from Bologna a dog very beautiful for its ugliness, that would please Sheldon mightily. Its name is Zamberlucco.

John Paterson to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Thursday night, April 14. Urbino.—Desiring him to seal and forward the enclosed, which his Majesty ordered him to send by his Grace's canal.—Several of us here have known for some days what has happened to *Inese*, but what they think of it is more than I can tell, for I have not heard a whisper about it, which I wonder at, because holding our peace when we ought and minding our own affairs only has not been always our fault, but perhaps time and experience and a few more such dispensations as that of *Inese's* may make us all grow wiser and better. A day or two ago some enquiry was made into the management of our domestic affairs and, I am afraid, but little to our friend *Lord Clermont's* satisfaction and what makes me the more sorry for him is that I expect the thing will be no secret.

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Thursday, April 3[-14].—I wrote last post under cover to W. G[ordon]. Now I send more of our chief prints. The reasons of the Lords were printed before but were not correct nor authentic.

The *Critic*, railing at the French for railing at the English, is the general sense of Whig and Tory here, but especially the first, who do and will eternally at the bottom hate the French. But at present they can very well distinguish between France and the Regent and do not consider him personally as French,—interests entirely different.

The *Post Boy* gives a great deal of Jacobite news, but wise people do not mind him except as to the changes in the Prince's family and the pensions taken away by the Court from Pembroke, Grantham &c. by all which it appears that, notwithstanding what was said and believed lately, no truce is yet made and far less a thorough peace or coalition.

You need not wonder at these contradictory reports and opinions, for people in this country know not their own minds for two days together.

Three of the chief speeches in the House against the Mutiny Bill have been lately printed, and are now publicly sold about, nor anybody yet taken up for it. The nice judges do not admire Shippen's. Though there are some bright touches, they think the whole is but splutter and loose, incoherent and hotchpotch. But Jeffrey's is admired indeed, and so is Sir T. Hanmer's except for a few very needless compliments.

News we have none, but what I told you in my last. A very strict press for seamen continues. They have taken up a great number of shoe-cleaner boys, as if our fleet were going only to clean the King of Sweden's boots.

We had a strange scene the other day at the Kingston assizes, a parson tried for *Scandalum magnatum* against Lord Sunderland. A young lad, one Moore, had made a great noise for some time in resentment of my Lord's coldness and inconstancy. He was acquainted with this parson, who, though a violent Whig, pretended a detestation of the thing and pushed the boy to accuse publicly. Many letters and particular passages happened. The boy was put in prison and died. The parson bawled and made a noise and my Lord has prosecuted him. He in his own defence has brought a great many authentic letters and witnesses and proofs &c. All this made the business of the lawyers easy, for all they pretended to do was to prove that the parson had promoted a scandal. Everything the parson brought was a proof of that, so he was condemned to a fine not yet named. This could not well be avoided, since he is a private man and not a proper person in law to accuse Lord Sunderland.

A vast number of ladies went to the trial and heard it all, and this affair is a chief subject of universal talk. I wrote fully to *Mar* the other day by *Mrs. Ogilvie*. 3 *pages*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Friday, April 15.—Recapitulating the letters received from him.—I am much troubled about the uneasiness *the Czar* seems to be in on *Ormonde's* residence in his country and quite surprised at the unexpected answer concerning *the marriage* and so much the more, that the first proposal has been made by *the Czar* or his orders, but what I find inconceivable is that *Dr. Erskine* did not write and explain all those facts himself to *Ormonde* without communicating them to his secretary. Whatever reasons *the Czar* may have, in my humble opinion this whole matter requires a more ample explication in order to clear present mistakes and to know positively what may be depended on for the future. You know by experience how difficult and even dangerous it is to make a second journey to the parts *Ormonde* is now in, therefore I think it is of the last consequence to get a final answer before his departure.

I hope mine of 5 March has reached you, giving an account in general of *Jerningham's* negotiation. I don't question but literal Sheridan has joined *Ormonde* about the beginning of this month with a more particular detail of it, by which 'tis pretty plain that *Görtz* said affirmatively that, if *the King of Sweden* could adjust matters with *the Czar*, which he had more at heart than anything else, *the King of Sweden* would then be in a condition to serve *the King* effectually. *Görtz* also pressed *Jerningham* to go straight to *Petersburg* in order to employ *the King's* good offices near *the Czar* to engage him to an accommodation, which if compassed and *the Czar* had befriended *the King*, the latter would be soon in a condition to assert his own right and consequently able to acknowledge the succour received from his true friends. If *Jerningham* had followed this advice and gone straight from *Lübeck* to *Ormonde*, the latter might then without loss of time have made *the King of Sweden's* good intentions valuable, as also offer the sum proposed by *Jerningham*, in case he thought it necessary to settle a perfect agreement 'twixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, but I hope what was deferred by *Ormonde's* not having timely notice from *Jerningham* will be resumed and represented in a strong and engaging manner to *the Czar*, if that be not already done. Though all this be but my own private opinion, if *Ormonde* be of the same sentiment, I venture to affirm that *the King* and *Queen Mary* will approve whatever he does on this score. I am also morally persuaded that *Mar* and friends with *England* will do the same. This taken for granted, I should think *Ormonde* cannot avoid making the proposal in due form and in a pressing manner. It may produce a good effect, and I see no harm it can do to *the King's* interest, nor can I imagine, if *the Czar* has a real intention to agree with *the King of Sweden*, that he will lay so hard a stress on *Ormonde* as to oblige him to depart from his territories without having an assured refuge elsewhere. If *the Czar* should persist in

Ormonde's going to *Sweden*, surely he'll charge him with some favourable proposals to that *Court* and signify his willingness to serve *the King* in case of an *agreement*. *Görtz* gave *Jerningham* the same hopes, so that *the Czar* may act in conformity, if his intentions be sincere. *Ormonde* is best judge of all this, but, whatever party he takes, I think *Sir H. Stirling* should remain near *the Czar* and *Dr. Erskine* to promote *the King's* interest and to give an account of what service may be reckoned on from that side. Though the answer about *marriage* be not favourable at present, occurrences may change *the Czar's* mind for the better, therefore it will be good to know the age and figure of the person in question. *Dr. Erskine* can clear this point, and I don't doubt his being still of the same principle in regard to *the King*. 2½ *pages*. *Copy*.

Robert Freebairn to Brigadier John Hay.

1718, April 15. Calais.—I have just received a letter from Mr. J. Murray, telling me that yours to your lady came safe to her, and that she cannot come off for a week or ten days, but it is probable he will be here sooner himself. I shall wait with patience.

People arriving here every day from England confirm the ferment that nation is in and the outcry against the government amongst all ranks, which we read in the newspapers, and indeed, if one was to make conjectures from the free way of writing of the one and the representations of the other, he would almost conclude there was not an enemy to the King out of the army and the parliament. Every day produces a new pamphlet or lampoon against George or his ministry and every day a new grievance against the government with the fears of new approaching calamities. The difference between him and his son is as great as ever. Two of the princesses are indisposed and the prince is not allowed to visit them. The fleet for the Mediterranean will not be in readiness before the end of this month or the beginning of next. They meet with difficulty in manning that fleet, though the Admiralty has again and again repeated orders for pressing seamen. The stocks have fallen 6 *per cent.* and would have fallen much lower, if a courier, which the Court says is lately arrived from Vienna with full power to mediate betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain, had not put a stand to them.

I saw a gentleman that came two days ago from Lord Seaforth. He is extremely proud of the King's having lately written to him, and he says it is the continual subject of his conversation, wishing for an opportunity for himself and his followers to distinguish themselves in his Majesty's service.

There is a great outcry amongst our people at St. Omer and Dunkirk against Mr. Dicconson. In the first place they have not received a farthing these three months, and, when they do, it is always told them that it will in all probability be the

last they are to expect. Then they have no regular establishment, sometimes more, sometimes less. Again, it is industriously insinuated to most that, if they expect to be encouraged, they ought to change their religion, and this with the indefatigable pains the Jesuits in those places are at has prevailed with most to comply, whilst others have chosen rather to go home, amongst whom are two half-pay officers and one of them, Mr. Leonards, has since been taken up, and will, they say, run a great risk. This information I have from such hands that I cannot doubt the truth of it, and I think myself obliged to transmit it, that proper methods may be fallen on to prevent his Majesty's subjects from running home with hazard of their lives and complaints in their mouths. I must do justice to Father Græme, who has shown me copies of several letters he wrote to Mr. Ord, who goes by the name of Blackwell at St. Omer, on that subject. He is agent there for Mr. Dicconson, and, I am afraid, follows his directions too closely, if he does not exceed them. It is true the people under his care are not men of great note, nor am I acquainted with any of them except Mr. Dallas, of St. Martin's, but sometimes a little fellow can do more hurt than a greater can do good and the less they are the more liable they are to indiscretions. Eight or nine of them are at St. Omer and every one is turned Roman Catholic. I would have written the same things to the Duke of Mar, had I not thought myself obliged to write to you. However, you will make what use you think best of it. *Over 3 pages.*

Sir H. Paterson to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 15. *Leyden.*—I received to-day yours of 24 March and wrote you a very long letter the 5th and 6th instant, in which I gave you all the light I could of the situation in these parts and very little remarkable has happened since. I am just returned from *the Hague*, where I went to learn what I could of the bargains going on betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar*, and, by what I could learn from *the Swedish minister*, whom I saw last night, he believes that that affair will soon be adjusted, and he assured me and bade me inform my friends that there was no foundation in what was given out of *the King of Sweden* being to settle *a peace* with *the Elector of Hanover*, which, he said, was industriously put about on purpose to prevent the other, and he himself did not stick to say so openly and to let people know it was a false and malicious report. He bade me likewise assure *the King* particularly that neither he nor his relations need be in any apprehension on account of *General Ducker's* being with *England*, for that person made that visit without any order from *the King of Sweden*, who, he believed, would not thank him for it. He further said that *Poniatowski*, who is now at *the Hague*, goes immediately to *Sweden*, and that

he was well-disposed as to our trade, and consequently as to the affair succeeding with *the Czar*. Since he told me that person was going so soon, I thought it would not be amiss to give him what information I could of the present situation of *England's* family, that *the King of Sweden* might know it, since it appeared now evident to every body that a very small assistance from *the King of Sweden* would enable *the King* effectually to carry on his trade. This *the Swedish minister* agreed to, and said he saw nothing to hinder *the King of Sweden* to make *a descent* secure even in the condition he now was, had he but *men* to manage *ships*, which is the only want he has, for he said that, as the circumstances of *England's* family were at present, he did not doubt there were as many *ships* and *transports* at present with *Gottenburg* as would do the business, had they but *men* for them. He reckoned there were *eight* good *men-of-war* with *Gottenburg* and abundance of *transports*. I told him that, when the lawsuit with *the Czar* was adjusted, I hoped *the King of Sweden* might be assisted with some *ships' men* from those parts, and, if the trade go on in this method, some assistance must be applied for that way and friends with *Petersburg* and that neighbourhood wrote to about it, though no doubt if *Görtz* makes up that bargain and *the descent* is to be done, he will see to get this want supplied. It is only common *men* that are wanted, for they have abundance of skilled marchands in that trade to manage the *men*. All this I thought it necessary to inform *Mar* of, as what passed with *the Swedish minister* and it is all I can say as to that trade since my last.

It is now 12 days since *Jerningham* left this, and I am sure he would lose no time in being with *Ormonde*, from whom the last I had was dated 21 March, and he was then hourly expecting *Jerningham's* fellow traveller with the accounts he expected with him from *Jerningham*. I have not heard from *Sir H. Stirling* since my last, but daily expect I shall and *the Czar* is certainly come to *Petersburg* before this.

I enclose a letter from *H. Straiton*, by which you'll see he received the packets *Mar* sent for him. I have not yet had these accounts from *Menzies* I told you I expected and some mistake must have happened about it. Tho latest accounts from thence say that *the King's friends in England* daily increase, and *the inferior clergy* have been very plain in several places, for which *the English ministry* threatens to take *them* to task. I have sent some clearances to *Scotland* for *ships* to assist *Sweden* with *provisions*. I wrote fully of this to *H. Straiton*, and, when I have a return, you shall know it. I still think a good part of *provisions* most wanted by *Sweden* may be had from *the King's* friends with *Scotland*, and what would be easier got there than *money* and be as useful to *Sweden*, but I shall say no more till I hear from *H. Straiton*.

I find by yours I have been in a mistake in mentioning Crammond for some other name. It is a name for *the King*

in the paper I write to *Ormonde* by, and I have either meant it for him or *Ormonde*.

I shall go to *Rotterdam* this week and will then see Mr. *Robertson*, from whom I have been for several weeks daily expecting to hear and to see his friends, and it's not my fault I have not done it before this.

It's said we are fitting out ships, but they are yet in no readiness, nor can they be for this long time. The Parliament being now up, we can expect little news from thence. Several of the clergy there are taken into custody and ordered to be prosecuted for having the boldness to preach against the government and some have had very odd expressions in their sermons and called the King in plain terms an usurper, which has very much inflamed the minds of the people against the government, which is like to come to a very great height, but no doubt they will be made examples of, which, it's feared, will yet have worse consequences among the people. A great noise is made by the Jacobites about the execution of Shippard, who, it's said, had a design to assassinate the King, and the Jacobites give out they are to publish Douglas and Macdonald's affair with some others that were employed on such a design against the Chevalier, which accounts, they say, they expect from Urbino, by some there that know the particulars of them. No doubt publishing these things at present would do these people and their cause service, for the people are now in a very strange humour. It's said the squadron for the Mediterranean is fitting out with great diligence, but they own themselves they cannot sail till the middle of May. Five regiments are to be sent to Gibraltar and some regiments of marines on board the fleet. I shall acquaint *Jerningham* of *Mar's* having wrote to him as he desires. 4¼ *pages. Enclosed,*

H. Straiton to *Sir H. Paterson.*

Yours of the 6th with the enclosures and the other little parcel of goods, I received on Thursday night from our trusty friend. I desire you will let Mar *know that all he sent is come safe and that I shall carefully observe his directions, particularly that of paying the money as ordered, though I have not so much of* the King's *effects in my hands, nor am I willing to draw as* Mar *desires, till I try what may be done here, for, though it be* 6 *or* 7 *months since he gave some short general directions concerning* the money *trade, it was thought fit by those it was then recommended to not to mention anything of it but to some few particular merchants, and so to this minute not one penny was raised on that account. If any blank passes are to be obtained and sent to me, I wish they may contain fishes as well as grain, which will be a great encouragement for merchants to hazard. Saturday, March* 22[-*April* 2], 1718.

The Duke of Mar to James III.

1718, April 16. Rome.—Your being in a peevish way, as you said, did not appear by yours of the 10th, so I hope it was not much. I am making all the haste I can to dispatch here, but seeing the functions the two days past lost me a good deal of time. Of them I shall say little, since your Majesty has seen much the same. Since I was here and they are now over, I am glad I have seen them, but, were I to be here 20 years, I should never care to see them again, and, where there is such a crowd, I can have little pleasure of seeing anything, especially when one must be in it. The Pope's civilities made me very remarkable, for he spoke to me twice, which I could have spared him at that time, it having turned the eyes of most of the company on me and set them enquiring who I was, so that I am now pretty well known in Rome. I answered his Holiness, as I did Don Carlo, who came up to me afterwards, in the best ill French I could muster up, and most of what he had time to say being about your Majesty and Urbino, I had the less difficulty. The *Miserere* in his chapel last night was very fine, as it was in another church where I went afterwards. To-day I have seen two fine things, in the morning the Baths of Caracalla, which give a noble idea of the greatness of the old Romans and indeed what I had no notion of before, the other is Don Olivio's collection, which in pictures I think is the finest I have yet seen, and some charming statues and columns are in it too.

You are very good to allow me to the end of the month and against that time I hope to have seen most of all, though I'll be more desirous of being in this place again than I was before I saw it, and one who would love to live retired and has a taste of the things to be seen here, I believe, could not pass his time more agreeably anywhere. You, I fear, will not be of my opinion, but, had I seen it in the way you did and could not avoid, I should have liked it as little as you do and probably less. I wish though I may not have time to see it again till your Majesty be on your throne.

George Kelly is certainly gone to *the Bishop of Rochester* ere now, so I think my writing to him about *Inese* is needless, and for anything else I know not what to say till we have returns to what has been already wrote to him. I shall write of those things Paterson tells me you would have your pleasure signified in to some who had written to me, but I have not much time for writing here. I had sent the newspapers last post to *the Duke of Queensberry*, who neglected to return them before it parted, so I enclose them now. 2 *pages*.

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 16.—I wrote to you the 12th and sent you *Butler's* to me of 11 March, and enclose here a letter from him of 13 March with a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to *Ormonde* of

25 Feb.[-8 March]. Both these are to disprove the news in his former, so you have a contradiction instead of the confirmation I expected, which I am very sorry for.

Monsignor Ludovico Anguissola to David Nairne.

1718, April 16. Orvieto.—Requesting him to convey his thanks to the King for recommending him for the government of Ascoli. *Italian.*

James III to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 17.—I received yesterday yours of the 13th with all the letters with it, all which I have read and those I don't return now I shall next post. Lord Pitsligo's is so reasonable that I cannot but make up what he asks to 600 *livres*, so you have but to write to Gordon accordingly and I shall make Sir Will. [Ellis] write to Mr. Dicconson to order the sum to be paid to Gordon but without naming the lord. Dalmahoy's should please Clephan, to whom it shall be showed.

You did well not to make a mystery where you are about *Inese*, whose letter to you is such as all prudent men in his case must have writ, not to give any too reasonable new handle of carping. *Queen Mary's* letter, which I had yesterday, makes me much easier as to her, for she does not drive things so far as I apprehended, but more of that when we meet. She sent me the two from Law which I send you. I shall keep *Dillon's* letters to you till next post and then return them with his to me and my answer, and after that I hope I shall write to you no more this journey. When we meet, I shall speak to you about your proposal in relation to literal Sheridan and in the meantime do nothing about him for reasons I shall tell you. On looking over your letter again I shall make Paterson write to Gordon about Lord Pitsligo. I have not yet heard from *Ormonde* the straight way. I suppose I need not tell you that *the Pope's money* is in a very precarious way again. My stomach has been again a little out of order, but is quite right now. We have had terrible weather, but to-day is again fine. Holy week put a stop to our little music, but in recompense we have had enough to-day at church, where Tempesti did wonders. Our archbishop, not allowing the President any rank in the church upon earth, his worship went in ceremony to-day to the vault under the church and regaled me after with a potent whiff of garlic or at least of that family. I reckon by this time you have seen pictures enough, and hope you will make haste in satisfying your curiosity.

Postscript.—I conclude everybody here knows *Inese's* removal from business, but I don't find 'tis spoke of and I believe most of our people here will not (?) but live and learn to be discreet. *Body in Col. Hay's hand, postscript in James'. Nearly 3 pages.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 17. Urbino.—Acknowledging a large packet from his Grace and relating how he had disposed of the contents of it and about Lord Pitsligo, as in the last letter. 2 *pages*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, Sunday, April 17.—*Mr. Sheldon*, who arrived here the 12th at night, gave me yours of 21 March. Sir Peter Redmond is actually at *St. Germains*. You'll see by the last accounts I sent you his departure does not press very much. I shall follow your directions with regard to him. Yours of the 26th came yesterday with the duplicates for *Ormonde*, *Dr. Erskine* and *Jerningham*, which I'll forward without delay. I enclose the only letter I had from *Menzies*, wherein you'll find prints that give a pertinent account of what passes in the present conjuncture. I had two lines from *James Murray* of 31 March, O.S. He says he'll lose no time in coming here.

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 17. Montargis.—You will see by the enclosed that there is as little charity at Rome as here. I can't struggle here no longer without succour. Half the 50 *livres* the Queen allowed me *per* month has been stopped to pay for the bed I lie on and that seized lately for the rents of my farm. To die at Tyburn is easier than here in a jail. It's not a great matter I seek. If his Majesty will order me 50 *pistoles*, 500 *livres*, I shall for this year stop the rage of 4 years being at my shifts. *Enclosed*,

CARDINAL GUALTERIO to *COL. PARKER*.

Acknowledging his letter of 26 February. Has executed his Majesty's orders in representing his miserable situation to the Pope, who appeared touched by it, and wished it was in his power to make it better, but at the same time assured the Cardinal that it was absolutely impossible for him to do so. 1718, *March* 29. *Rome. French.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, April 17.—*Ormonde* told me he had just received two letters from *the King* of the same date, 16 Feb., and also one from *Mar* of 19 Feb. and with them a copy of *the King's* to *the Bishop of Rochester*. I am sorry that *Dillon* is likely to leave *Paris*, for he certainly was of great use to *the King*, being so well with *the Regent*, but *the King* could not desire him to put off his journey, if *the Regent* should think he had business for him. I believe *the King* has made a very good choice in designing that *J. Murray* should reside at *Paris*, should *Dillon* be obliged to leave.

I am sorry I could not send you more satisfactory accounts concerning our trade and *the marriage*. I sent a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* last to me. I expect a letter from him by to-morrow's post, but the mail comes in just as the post leaves, so I have not time to take a copy or to write anything mentioned in it by this post.

The Duke of Ormonde to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 17.—Acknowledging his letter of 19 Feb. and expressing his regret at Dillon's departure from Paris and his approval of J. Murray's appointment as in the last letter. —I do not believe what *Menzies* has been told concerning *Ormonde* and *Danzig*, but extremely obliged to *Mar* for what he says on that subject. I am sorry *money* is so hard to be had and, unless our friends in *England* be good natured, the rest of our friends will not give us the least help, should we want it to carry on our troublesome lawsuit. I cannot imagine what *Francia* means by his behaviour. *Dillon* tells me he is not to be depended on. I wish *Argyle* could be a sharer in our joint stocks. He ought to be tried, though I do not flatter myself he will be a purchaser. I wish *Lord Panmure* good luck and am sure he will always be a fair dealer. I am glad *the King* begins to like music and hope you have some good. I hear constantly from *England*. I am obliged to *Sir H. Paterson* for the trouble and care he takes of my letters. You have all the news from that family, so I need not inform you.

The Duke of Ormonde to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, April 17.—Expressing his regret that he has been out of order and hoping his next will bring news of his perfect recovery.—I have received what you promised in yours of the 10th and hope and cannot but believe that *the Emperor* will reject the proposals that *the Elector of Hanover* makes him, which if he does, it will of consequence be for *the King's* interest. I suppose that, if *the Emperor* should agree, yet that *the King of Spain* would not be satisfied with it, considering the expense he has been at in this lawsuit. *Ormonde* will be impatient to hear of more of this from you. I wish I could confirm what you say is talked of concerning *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar*. I expect to hear from *Sir H. Stirling* by to-morrow's post. If it comes in time enough, you shall have an account of what he informs me of. *Ormonde* received the copy of *the King's* to *the Bishop of Rochester* in one from *the King*. *Ormonde* cannot wish that *Dillon* should be hindered from taking the air, if it be for his good, but sorry that *the King* should lose so faithful and useful a friend.

Lieut.-General Dillon to James III.

1718, Monday, April 18.—*Mr. Sheldon* arrived here last Tuesday, the 12th. He delivered me your note of 20 March

with the enclosed power. Your orders in regard to the latter shall be strictly observed. I hope with God's grace there will be no need of producing it for many years to come. My great acknowledgement for the daily proofs of your confidence cannot be expressed. I send *Mar* the accounts we have here, and am very sorry they are not as favourable as we expected. I hope *the King* will not disapprove my letter to *Ormonde* of the 15th. 1½ *page.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, April 18.—I had a letter from *Ormonde* of 24 March with an enclosed from him to *the King*, wherein he says there is one for *Mar*. This packet is under *the King's* cover. You'll find here a copy of my answer to *Ormonde* dated the 15th. I hope what I wrote will meet with *the King's* and your approbation.

Last Friday arrived here a courier from *the Emperor* with an account of his having entirely consented to the proposals made in relation to *the King of Spain* and *the King of Sicily*. This is matter of fact, and gaining so essential a point rejoices extremely our Court favourites. The great question now is whether *the King of Spain* will submit to this new contract, and if *the King of Sicily* will accept the exchange proposed for him and, as presumed, without his participation. There are various opinions on this score, but many thinking people believe that *the King of Spain* and *the King of Sicily* after making some representations will be obliged to acquiesce, though the bargain is most offensive to the latter. A little time will show us how this scene will end. *Mar* will easily conceive how much this uncomfortable news occasions the spleen and ill humour. We must, however, still hope for a favourable conjuncture and pursue our trade with more earnestness and vigour than ever.

Though I don't doubt but *Ormonde* gives you ample information, for greater security I enclose copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to *Ormonde* of 3 March, O.S. 3 *pages.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to [? JAMES III].

1718, April 18.—*Sheldon* arrived at Paris the 18th (mistake for 12th) in the evening and alighted at *Dillon's* lodgings and had a long conversation with him that evening and next morning. He assured *Dillon* of the entire confidence both *the King* and *Mar* had in him. His answer was that he would endeavour the continuation of it from both, and that he had of late writ so amply to *the King* on that subject that it could be no fault of his, if any distrust remained on either side for the future, but owned he could not charge himself with more business than he could go through with, that not only his health but sight were of late impaired by the constant application he was forced to have to it, and truly that is but

too visible. I could not perceive that any insinuations of *Inese* had made any impression on him as to *Mar*, but he owned their informations from *England* did not always agree, and that, when that happened, he thought the safest way would be to rely on those who were probably best informed, and best capable of judging. He seemed also to wish that matters not essential might not be too much insisted on, but I did not press him to explain himself on that head, for fear he should think I desired to pry too far. In short he was so far from expressing any distrust of *Mar* to me, that he owned no friend of *the King's* could advise his removal.

I waited on *Queen Mary* the same day immediately after *her* dinner, and, having told *her* the true reasons for my coming, which by all I have heard yet of my own concerns are more pressing than ever, *she* immediately and without opening the packet I brought asked me whether I knew of the removal of *Inese* and others from business. I owned I did and that I believed that *the King* had made his intentions further known to her by the letters I brought, because he told me he had writ to *Queen Mary* at large on all matters. On this *she* began to tell me how impossible it would be for *her* to undertake what *the King* required of *her* without some assistance. I begged *her* to consent to the method proposed, and told *her*, as well as I could, the inconveniencies that would arise from *her* quitting of business and the constructions the world would make of *the King's* being dissatisfied with *Queen Mary*, which alone, I was sure, was sufficient to endanger *her* health. After this I was dismissed, but to-day I was with *her* again, and, after repeating what I had said before concerning both *the King* and *Mar*, *she* told me that, since the first was resolved to have it so, *she* would acquiesce and do what *she* could, but that *she* thought it impossible for *Dillon*, who will be here to-night, to do all that was expected from him.

I could not avoid hearing *Inese* on his own subject, which to the best of my remembrance amounted to what follows :— That he is entirely satisfied with his being discharged from business, only he wishes the manner of it had not exposed him so much as it seems to have done ; that he is still in the dark as to what occasioned this change at this time, but that, without asking questions, it was sufficient he knew it was *the King's* pleasure ; that he is extremely troubled to find *the King* displeased with him and can never be easy till he has recovered his favour, which he hopes so good and just a master will not refuse, since he is ready to make any submission whatsoever rather than remain under his displeasure. 2½ *pages*.

Mrs. Ogilvie to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 18.—My private affairs having called me here. I am proud of an opportunity of assuring *Mar* that none can be more faithfully attached to his interest than I am,

and of returning my most grateful thanks for his advice to me in a letter to *Capt. Ogilvie*. I have followed it, and it's my own inclination to avoid being in any one party more than another. As for *James Murray* and *Menzies*, since both are well-wishers to *the King's* interest, I wish them both well. All the difference between them to me is my being very well acquainted with the latter, and I never was in company with the former but once, on my delivering him the parcel of goods Mr. *Dillon* desired might be given him out of my own hand. Not then dreaming of any emulation between *Menzies* and him, I applied to *Menzies* to know of the other where I should wait on him, and they determined it should be at *Anne Oglethorpe's* lodging, where I now understand he had not been for some time before, nor never has since. Being entirely a stranger to all their animosities I was in hopes of seeing *James Murray* again. I told Mrs. Crescit (? Lady Mar), whom I knew was not concerned in any of their little piques, that I should be very glad to see *James Murray* before I left *England*, though I had been teased with stories that he should have talked unkindly of me ; to which I gave no credit, because I was conscious I had never deserved ill usage from him, and, as my authors were really more his enemies than my friends, I concluded it was more to do him a diskindness than to oblige me, but I balked their fancy, for I'll defy any of them to accuse me of speaking a disrespectful word of him, for I think it a justice due to all the world to be heard before they are condemned. It's true he is above wanting my friendship, but it's natural for everybody that has sense to wish rather for friends than enemies.

Now as to what I wrote to *Capt. Ogilvie* on Mr. *Dillon's* having, I was informed, been very far from practising the friendship he professed to *Mar*, I did not advance one syllable, but what I shall sustain and give my authors for, nor do I desire *Mar* to have any regard to them or me as to secrecy, if it's for *Mar's* interest to inquire further into it, for, if Mr. *Dillon* can clear himself of what they lay to his charge, God forbid I should wish the contrary, for I have no pique at him nor no interest in the matter, further than in general abhorring all underhand dealing. I thought myself in gratitude obliged to let *Mar* know the inconveniency he lay under in contracting a friendship with a man that was said to be giving him up to the censure of every little underling. Some busy people may have said more of Mr. *Dillon* than he deserves, but I thought a very circumstantial proof against him was this. It's most certain he sent over either *Mar's* original letter from Liége or a copy of it to *England*, with remarks on it for some there of his correspondents to have their wise commentaries on it. It was a peevish letter and indeed with too good reason, since all the message sent over to our side proved false. I shant load Mr. *Dillon* with sending such stuff, but he ought to have picked out a more faithful

messenger, who, he was sure, would not so egregiously exaggerate his commission. Among other favours to me, I was like to be brought in for that news, who was very luckily in *England* the time they came over. Yet some well-wisher of mine had the malice to make *Queen Mary* believe I was the author of them. I was surprised to see it under her hand in a letter to *Anne Oglethorpe*, after I had, as I thought, undeceived her, before I left *Paris*.

Mr. *Dillon* is said to have written to *the Bishop of Rochester* that he would take care the Scotch interest should not prevail, in which interest *Lord Oxford* is included, and that it was absolutely necessary at present to keep measures with *Mar*, he being useful in some things, and having ingratiated himself very much in *the King's* favours, even to the length of being called the favourite, yet, when it came to be determined who shall be the great man, it should be soon seen that he would decide in *Ormonde's* favours. Mr. *Dillon* is said to have let a thousand little mean stories escape him among his little council of Irish officers, not worth your hearing, but indeed his sending *Mar's* letter was not right. They tell the story in *England* with too aggravating circumstances to give any credit to, for they pretend that Mr. *Dillon* should have treated *Mar* very cavalierly on his believing what *Mrs. Ogilvie* told him at Liége. This they certainly wrong him in, because it's what he durst not have done and would not have ventured to brag of. They tax him with some other follies which I know he is not guilty of, but, as they don't directly concern you, I shall leave them till I write again. *Anne Oglethorpe* is my author for most of what I have heard concerning Mr. *Dillon*, and hers is one Charlton, a privy counsellor of *the Bishop of Rochester*, a very busy spark, and pretty much a tool of *the Bishop of Rochester's* party, but keeps in with all sides. Another thing of more importance I must mention. It's generally thought a word is enough to the wise, but that rule is not without an exception, for last time I saw *Mar* I told him that *Anne Oglethorpe* did and would certainly see whatever was writ to *Lord Oxford*. It straitens me much to meddle in this, I having not only a sincere friendship for *Mar*, but a particular esteem and affection for *Lord Oxford*. But of two evils I think the least is advertising *Mar* once more, and begging him both for his own sake and *Lord Oxford's* to take care what is writ, for the very last packet was sent to her the moment after he read it. I regret with all my soul *Lord Oxford* drawing himself into this unhappy necessity of letting her know so much. On their first acquaintance, I believe what they had to tell one another was not of extraordinary consequence to any but themselves, and then he accustomed her out of love to let her into some things of small moment, and now he is forced out of fear to let her know more than he would wish, if it could be helped. This I know to be true, and, if ever I see you, I shall convince you of it

by undeniable proofs. *Lord Oxford* lies under the greatest misfortune imaginable, because none of his friends dare put him on his guard, he really believing her to be in his interest only. God grant for his sake she may deserve his good opinion, but some things I don't admire, particularly her being much more fond of magnifying her own merit than his, for she takes care to make the world believe that what he does is entirely owing to her. It's true I believe her to be perfectly loyal and she has done her endeavours to gain as many friends as possible to *the King's* interest, but I know well *Lord Oxford* wants no prompter, he being as sincere and assiduous as *the King* himself could wish, and would to my certain knowledge be so, if she were not on the earth. She undoubtedly has some very good properties, but that's not argument enough for *Lord Oxford* to put the lives and fortunes of himself and others so much in the power of a woman, that possibly may one time or other be disobliged, and is but too apt to be so, for, on her reading to me what *Mar* wrote to *Lord Oxford*, she asked me with a very particular air: "Are not the Scots mighty friendly and sincere to one another? Here is a long and full account of poor *Menzies* to *Lord Oxford*, who till now scarce knew he had been impeached. This is an epistle from one of your great men, three sheets stuffed with fiddle faddle and an account of kicking out men who have for three years served faithfully. Are not those," she added, "sufficient warnings for young beginners to take care of embarking too deep? Don't you perceive me," said she, "a good deal shocked at all this, for those people's fate will soon be the case of us all? but for my partI won't put it in their power. Since my cousin, Lord Lexington has invited me to go to Yorkshire, I shall accept that offer, or at least have the pleasure of making the best of them give it me under their hand that I am too considerable to be laid aside." Now I know she is resolved to demand this, that she may have it to show and perhaps on occasion to upbraid you with it. Therefore I believe *Mar* will let no wheedle catch him, for, pretend what she will, some things stick in her stomach. I know she resents and seems to ridicule very much a paragraph in *Mar's* letter to *Lord Oxford*, viz.: As to *James Murray's* going to *Paris*, I have taken no notice either to *Menzies* or *Anne Oglethorpe*, and desire it may be a secret to all but yourself. You are very wise, *Mar*, said she, there are no secrets between us. I answered, that's more than *Mar* knows, for I dare say he thinks that both *the King's* and his own are always burnt when read, unless the keeping of them could do service. A plain demonstration of her being piqued at what you had writ was the very next morning *Menzies* told me the story, which at that time I am sure he could learn from none but her. However, in a few days it was very industriously given out that *James Murray's* vanity had prompted him to tell half the town that he was going to supersede *Dillon*. Now *James Murray* has too good sense

for such a folly. I saw *Anne Oglethorpe* again before she returned the letters to *Lord Oxford*, and, on her beginning to read me some more of them, I said: I beg you not entrust me with things which I find are already going round, and it is not unlikely I may be blamed for what I would not readily be guilty of, which is telling one body's secret to another, when there's no necessity for it. I know this both surprised and vexed her, for afterwards in all her discourses she had a more discreet reserve than formerly, but in a manner stood in fear of me more than I would wish to do of her or any other.

The way to prevent *Anne Oglethorpe* knowing all you write to *Lord Oxford* will be, when there is anything of moment, to let it be on a slip of paper enclosed by itself, and I am assured no mortal besides himself will see it, none having more honour nor less inclination to make discoveries, if it could be helped without worse consequences, for, as she knows of course every letter he receives from this side, I am persuaded the least reserve she could perceive in him would cost him too dear. It's but of late he was so entirely in her power, for, till he was a prisoner and *Capt. Ogilvie* not in town, and he under a necessity of trusting somebody, he was not very much in her reverence. It grieves to the heart for his sake. Heaven send him a good delivery. She made me a compliment on giving me the packets, assuring me she had wrote perfectly kind to *Mar* of *Capt. Ogilvie* and me. I told her, we were extremely obliged to her or anybody that would do us justice and that I would take care that *Mar* nor none else should ever find me guilty of either a dishonourable or dishonest action and that I was sure *Capt. Ogilvie* would do the same.

I ought to have begun by telling you I saw *Lady Mar* and both the children some days ago, who are all perfectly well. Those of the family that are come the length of writing have sent their letters by *Mrs. Ogilvie* to be forwarded to *Mar*. *Capt. Ogilvie* has sent *Queen Mary's* packet under cover to Mr. *Dillon*. I sent you a poem on the Earl of Oxford, which I think mighty pretty. 4 *pages*.

Capt. John Ogilvie to *the Duke of Mar*.

1718, April 18. Dunkirk.—I received yours of 12 Feb. and 3 and 10 March and took much care, before I parted, that none of your letters lay 48 hours for want of passage. I was not capable to have gone away without having taken care of every thing that might regard *the King's* affairs or yours. You will be convinced of what I tell you by the answers of your letters. I am necessitated to divide them in several packets, for in one they would be too big, nor dare I send them all this post, for the postmaster of Calais, where they must pass, is known to be a pensioner of Lord Stair; but I send the most material this post, and the next you shall have

the rest. Had I money, I would have carried them to Paris myself, but I have none and am above 600 *livres* in debt.

I send you the speech of Shepherd, who was quartered at Tyburn, I may say while he was alive, for he did not hang one minute. *Mrs. Ogilvie* saw him. *Lord Oxford* knows his family. He was a neighbour's son of his. He had studied very well, in short he was one of the noblest spirits that ever England bred, and beautiful like an angel. He was but 19. Never man went through his sufferings with more fortitude and sedateness. I send some other ballads and I have given Mr. Fairbairn (Freebairn) a snuff-box for you. It's of small value, but there is a picture of George in it, showing him as the tester of a bed lately fell down on him, when he was on the top of her that he has created Duchess of Munster. It's matter of fact, for he had been almost smothered. He roared out most furiously, and the captain of the guard and the Turks all came. They found him lying betwixt her legs, and one of the Turks endeavouring to hold up the tester and the others a drawing him out by the feet and a young rogue, one of the Turk's sons, standing by, like to split himself with laughter. All this show is painted on horn boxes and sold about, so I have sent you one.

I am heartily sorry you should be angry with me or have the least reason to chide me, for God knows whether or not I would do willingly anything that I thought would give you reason to be disobliged at me ; but, if I think I can render the best service to my friend, I never mind the danger nor will I ask his consent. (Story of Sextus Pompeius' reply to the captain of his ship, when he asked him whether he should carry off Octavianus who had gone on board his ship.) If I had asked *Lord Oxford's* consent, when I seized Lord Godolphin's nephew and took away his papers, you may be sure he would never have given it me, but on the contrary would have been affrighted at the proposal, for I did but once ask his consent in a matter where there was no great danger, and then he opposed me with that violence I was forced to give it over. The thing was I proposed to beat soundly Mr Richard Steele. This is my nature and, if you think it a fault, I cannot, for I never met with mankind that has that true notion of friendship I have. This is all the apology I shall ever make you for my fault as you conceive it. It grieved me to find you had complained of me to *Anne Oglethorpe*, for I shall ever think that *Mar* has power to chastise me himself, whenever I transgress, and am so far from taking any reproof from him ill, that it's entirely welcome, because I am persuaded he is my true friend and I love him, for I had rather that God would annihilate me, than suffer me to have so mean a soul as to be afraid of any I do not love. I tell you this, because *Anne Oglethorpe's* vanity pushed her to show that *Mar* had complained to her of my conduct, but that she would write and make my peace. On this I wrote

and prayed her not to give herself the trouble to be a mediator for me to *Mar*, for I would have none of her intercession, for I submitted myself entirely to *Mar* and would thank nobody to meddle betwixt him and me. This did not agree with her vanity. Another thing put her mightily out of humour, which was, when I came over, I told her that *Mar* knew of my coming over. This I had a politic reason for, for I had a mind to learn all that was possible from her, and the lie was not much out of the way, for I had writ to you of it, and consequently it was with your knowledge, though not with your consent. This she made a mighty quarrel of, but told me she would not let you know of it for the world, but I did not mind much what she said, for I am no great favourite of hers. As she would have both *Lord Oxford* and you believe she is my particular friend, she was frighted out of her wits that I should speak with *Lord Oxford*, for fear some things might have passed that would not have been agreeable to her, but I was not very fond of meeting with him, since it could not be done with secrecy enough. However, I took my measures the best way that was possible for me, and easily found out all I had a mind to know.

When I first arrived, there was nothing but complaints of *Mar's* usage of those that had stood by him and that he did not know who were his friends, for his ways were unaccountable, for those that were his friends he neglected, and those he caressed betrayed him, and made it their business to make him look little in every action he did. You may judge this made me terribly uneasy to know the meaning of it ; so I was made to understand that *the Bishop of Rochester* was resolved to break the neck of the Scots interest, as he called it, *Lord Oxford* being included in that number, and that *Dillon* had declared himself freely on that head, but as to all that I refer you to *Mrs. Ogilvie's* letter I send you. So all this continued till yours of 3 Feb. came. I delivered your letter to *Menzies* after I had read my own. I observed his countenance when he read it, and, when he had done, asked how *Mar* did. I must tell you that *Anne Oglethorpe* and all were in a great huff, that they could not see what *Mar* wrote to me first, but for that I begged their pardon. I then asked : Did *Mar* tell you no news ? No, said he, I am now the best man in the world ; indeed I am ashamed he should write in such a strain to one he has used so ill. This nettled me, for well did I know the contrary, but *Anne Oglethorpe* sent for him and showed him *Mar's* letter to her, and there was nothing but roaring against *Mar*, for *Menzies* has found a way to insinuate himself entirely into *her* favours, but all her interest could never bring *Lord Oxford* to admit him to converse with with him. I cannot but blame *James Murray* for allowing *Menzies* to open your packet for *James Murray*. Being in the country, he wrote to *Menzies* to open the letters, which he did and read *Mar's* letters. This made him cry out that he was sacrificed

by *Mar*, and he would have fain persuaded *Capt. Ogilvie* that he was the same and *Anne Oglethorpe* would have persuaded *Mrs. Ogilvie* she was the same, but I very quickly undeceived them, which made them more shy, both of *Mrs. Ogilvie* and me. This continued for a little. *James Murray*, they said, had spoken a little indiscreetly of *Anne Oglethorpe*, and you know women are revengeful. Stories went and came, for there is a chaplain to *the Earl of Arran*, a very pragmatic, busy fellow, as all that sort are. He fetches and carries stories between *the Bishop of Rochester's* party and *Anne Oglethorpe*. She believes him her faithful friend, but he is the contrary, for he only comes with a lie or clash to set her in a passion, and then her vanity makes her tell all she knows, and, if she has any letters, they are showed, so *the Bishop of Rochester* knows every thing she knows immediately. I tell you this that *Mar* may remember what he writes to her. All this continued till *Mar's* letters of 10 March came. Then they found that both the *King* and *Mar* were awake and in earnest to correct those who deserved it. Then all were striving who should speak best of *Mar*. The cavalier letter that was writ before was burnt, and a more flattering one writ. *Menzies* was sent for and great consultations were held, and it was decreed that *Menzies* should write a long letter to *Mar*, which I send you. Then it was spread abroad that *James Murray* was to go abroad to be in *Dillon's* place, but was first to go to *Mar*. This was very industriously spread and the fault laid on *James Murray* himself, that his vanity had made him talk of it to everybody, so full was he of his going to be a minister, but I believe this came abroad another way, and *James Murray's* enemies took advantage of it to do him an injury, but it's a fact that *Lord Oxford* was persuaded to have nothing to do with *James Murray*, for *Lord Oxford* said, if ever he came to see him, his first question would be to inquire how his friend *Bolingbroke* did, and when he heard from him. Just now came over the same person that *Dillon* uses to send over. He goes by the name of Johnson. His true name is Kelly. He was a preacher in Dublin and was suspended for getting a woman with child. This fellow is one of the greatest liars that ever was sent. Every packet that *Dillon* sends, he comes by the packet-boat after it with his verbal messages. *The Earl of Arran* came to *Lord Oxford* and prayed him to admit Johnson to see him, but *Lord Oxford* absolutely would not, but said he had heard of that man's character and would not be acquainted with him, but, to be plain with you, he gave another reason, and even as to *Dillon*, he said their country might produce very stout men, but he, for his part, could never be persuaded to have any opinion of their brains, so in short he will have to do with nobody but *the King* and you. He is entirely yours, and is very sensible it is his interest to be so. He is overjoyed that *the King* takes upon him, as is proper for him to do.

You would wonder to hear how *the King's* friends extol him on this occasion, but they want it to go a greater length.

One favour I beg of you is, that you will mind *Mrs. Ogilvie's* letter, for it is writ with a sincere heart, and the next is, that, when you are angry with me, you will chastise me yourself.

Now as to the boat. *Anne Oglethorpe* has proposed this method. A man at *England* has a pretty little hoy. It's him that Sir R. Ev[era]rd and *the Bishop of Rochester* employ. He is the man I wrote you word of, when my friend thought he might be super-cargo himself. The man I like well, and he would have been very proper to have been entertained in *the King's* service, but it would have cost too dear. However, it will be proper to have one that may be depended on, for this man belongs to the Admiralty and must attend whenever they call for him, unless he should leave them for good and all, but then he must be entertained by the year. Now the bargain is, that, when they send him, if there were any packet for us, he will carry it at the same time for 5 *guineas*, and, if there be any answer, 5 *guineas* more, so there is 10 *guineas*, besides his being paid by them, and, if we should have occasion to send for him, he must have 10 *guineas*, and, if he carry a passenger, he must have 10 *guineas*, so that, should you have occasion but for four times a year, it will come to more than the 600 *livres* allowed, but, the worst of it is, all the summer he is employed otherwise and cannot be had.

As for the delivery of the letters *Anne Oglethorpe* has been long pressing that they may be delivered to one Lacy. He is an Irishman and lives in the Temple. He is a lawyer and was a great acquaintance of *Marlborough's*, and I have been often advertised to beware of him and by Macnamara. Capt. Maghie gave me the same advertisement, who is married to one of his sisters. *Lord Oxford* defended it as long as he could, but at length laid the burden of it on me, and told her I would not have anything to do with him. You must know her mother is an Irish lady and she is entirely interested in those people and would have them employed in everything. Besides this Lacy is a near relation of *Mr. Macmahon's*, whom she has a great veneration for. Therefore take care he learn nothing from you but what you would have her know immediately, for he advertises her of all he can know or learn. That about the boat is a wild fancy, for, as soon as *the Bishop of Rochester* came to know our goods came and went that way, he would storm and make no more use of it, so it would do harm. *Menzies* and some others made this proposal to me. Capt. Urquhart is always about *Lord Portmore*. I suppose you know him. He is an M.P. for Cromarty. I think he has a brother who was bred a seaman. He was a lieutenant in a man-of-war in the Queen's time, as they called her, and after that commanded a man-of-war in the East Indies and brought her home, but would not serve George, but went to Holland to meet Capt. Thomas Gordon to go to the Czar's

service, but they could not agree as to the conditions, so he is come home again. Him they propose. His brother will buy him a ship and he shall drive a trade back and fore and have a convenient place made, where he can put our goods, and he will demand but very little more than the salary allowed. He can be depended on, and is a brave man and a man of honour. Therefore let me have your orders, since we lay aside our own boat.

As to myself, I know *Lord Oxford* has writ to *the King* to beg something for me. I doubt not I shall have your assistance notwithstanding your being angry with me. *Lord Oxford* would not name the thing, but it is a querry's place about him that I wish for. It's a thing I am capable of. It's hard, if 34 years' service to *the King's* father and himself cannot plead something for me with your assistance. I am sorry you have defended me to come up. I had a thousand things to say that I cannot write, but as to my own affair I am hopeful you will not suffer me to be at a loss since you will not allow me to come up.

Postscript.—I almost forgot to write to you anent poor Father Græme. If you saw the poor creature you would have compassion on him. His heart is almost broke to think you should be offended with him.

He has sworn he never showed a letter of yours to any person, but the account of the whole affair he has writ with his own hand, which I send you. You may remember I ridiculed him, till I found the poor creature loved you. Then I took an affection for him and I do not believe there is a more true sincere creature on the earth. The deil a priest or minister that ever I loved but himself, and I am persuaded that he is innocent, for I know he would not swear unjustly for the universe, but I know the malice of the Court of St. G[ermai]ns against him and *Dillon's* also. They have the same against me, if they could find a hair in my neck, as the saying is, but it's not only against us, but against all that's entirely attached to *Mar*. It's very odd that the word of a known rogue and villain should be taken before Father Græme's, but I shall say no more of his character. I shall only send you an original paper that Mr. Harvey of Combes gave me. This is what he sent to Lord Townshend. It's his son's hand, but Mr. Rous, the keeper, did not deliver this, but brought it to Mr. Harvey, and, could he have found another evidence, he had hanged poor Harvey. Mr. Harvey begged me to give you this deposition of his, and to let you know that you'll fright every body, if you trust him, for he is certainly employed by Lord Sunderland. For all his projects that he proposed, I can tell you they are all chimeras and villainies, I am afraid, at the bottom. *The Bishop of Rochester* told me he could hang him for a robbery he committed, when he was last at Paris. 14 *pages*.

Lord Balmerino to Capt. H. Straiton.

1718, Monday [April 7–18 ?].—This being the second letter I have had from *the King*, I think I am bound to write to him. Tell *Mar* I have seen nobody but *H. Straiton* and *the Bishop of Edinburgh*, who could tell me nothing but such generals as could not afford me ground to write to him. I like his proposal very well that anything he has to say to me, he'll do it by *H. Straiton*. I wish things may be as well disposed in England as here and that I know he is so well acquainted with all the coast of England as well as of Scotland that he should never be from *the King's* elbow. *With note by Capt. Straiton* that the best account he can give of what *Lord Balmerino* desires him to write is to send his letter. *Endorsed*, as received, 18 June, 1718, the same day that Straiton's of 12–23 April was.

News from the Hague.

1718, April 19.—Giving an account of what was known or supposed there about the negotiations for bringing about an accommodation between the Emperor and the King of Spain and reports of the negotiations between England and Sweden. 6½ *pages*. *French*.

The Duke of Mar to James III.

1718, 9, Wednesday night, April 20.—I have been kept longer than I intended this afternoon at the Villa Pamphili, where we were walking and drinking syllabubs, so I have scarce time to say anything before the post goes.

I enclose what I had this post from Dillon and *Jerningham*, which last came by two different canals. The letter enclosed in Sir Hugh's to Mr. Inese was only a note from my servant in Scotland about my private affairs. By my having few of the ciphers I can make out very little of what *Ormonde*, *Jerningham* or Sir Hugh says. A paragraph in *Ormonde's* letter refers to something he had bid Sir Hugh write, that makes me wish you would be at the trouble of unciphering these two letters yourself, in case anything should be in them not fit to be seen by others. I can scarce though think Sir Hugh would have wrote any such thing but directly to myself. I have no letter from him this post and 'tis ten to one but he has written to me what *Ormonde* charged him with by way of Germany and not in this to Mr. Inese, which if he has, I wish nobody may uncipher it but yourself. I hope I may be mistaken in what I apprehend about it and you'll easily guess what makes me advise all this caution. I'll long much to know what's in those letters. I send you also one from Lord Panmure and that to me in which it was enclosed. He is in his old peevish way, and what is somewhat odd, he does not so much as mention *Inese's* affair to me, though I wrote of it to him pretty fully. It would be

comical, should he now fall in with those of *St. Germains*, with whom he used to be so angry, and 'tis ten to one but it may so happen. Those people will see him out of humour and will be at pains to flatter him. *Queen Mary* was certainly in the right to speak him fair, but I wish *she* had not said quite so much as Pan says *she* did, and it will be far from having the good effects *Queen Mary*, I am persuaded, intended by it. It is impossible to please some folks. I have sent a heap of other letters to Paterson to be laid before you at your leisure, and I return the Queen's letter and your answer. I wrote last post a long letter to *Dillon*, but it's too late now to give you an account of it. I am sorry *Lord Clermont* does not do his business more to your liking, though perhaps he would scarce believe I am so.

I would be very glad to have the pleasure of meeting you anywhere on the road as I return, but, since you order me to write you freely my opinion of the jaunt you mention to Loretto, I cannot but say that I very much apprehend it would have the turn given to it at home that you mention, and, though it be foolish it should, yet it might be of prejudice to your interest there, and 'tis hard that should be put even in danger of suffering for nothing. The least motion you make makes a noise as you have lately seen, and, when it should come to be known you had been at Loretto, having seen it before, the people of this country themselves would be apt to believe you had come on the design you mention, and, even without any handle from them your enemies at home would not fail of giving it that turn, and, since your friends could give no other reason for your going but diversion, or what you really intend by it, the others would be more credited than they and even by some of the apprehensive people, who are inclinable to wish you well, but startled every now and then, when they are told any story about religion. When you think fully on this, I fancy you'll not make it. The time will now be soon when the opera is to be at Bologna, where you had some thoughts of going, and a much prettier jaunt it would be.

I thought not of going to Frescati till next week, not having yet seen all here by a good deal, but, since you bid me make haste, I intend to go to-morrow. We are to stay there a night and be back Friday evening or Saturday if we cannot see it all sooner. It will take me all next week to see the rest of the things here, and to make the necessary visits besides waiting on the Pope, for which I must take his time, and those will be as few as I can, so the beginning of the week after will be the soonest I can set out, and I hope to do it then. That is a few days later than you allowed me, which I beg you'll excuse. I have a great mind to see Caprarola and Perugia in my return, and perhaps it is not amiss you had an account of the last place, for, if you be obliged to be another winter in Italy, passing it at Urbino would, I really believe, kill

most of those who attend you, so I believe you would not incline to it, notwithstanding the goodness of the house there. By the account I have of Perugia it would be the properest place for you on this side of Italy, as I believe Bologna would be on the other, and this summer's scene will show you which side of Italy you had best be on. But I heartily wish you may be sooner than that quite out of it and never to return. It grows very hot within these three days past, so that there's scarce being abroad in the middle of the day, and I got vapours by it terribly two days ago. 4 *pages.*

The Duke of Mar to John Paterson.

1718, April 20, 10 p.m. Rome.—Requesting him to lay the letters he sends before the King and hoping Mr. Hay takes the Doctor's advice, and does not neglect it as the writer has seen him.

Theophilus Oglethorpe to James III.

1718, April 20. Rome.—Thanking him for giving him the title of earl, as the Duke of Mar has told him, who at the same time desired him not to divulge it and assuring his Majesty that he will not take the title till it is his pleasure.

The Count of Castelblanco to [? David Nairne].

1718, April 20. Montpellier.—I informed you by my last letter from Turin that I was to be at Paris by the 15th of this month. The day after I had the honour to see the King and the Queen of Sicily and Madame Royale, who, having questioned me about my journey to Bourbon, decided me to prefer the advice of the doctors of this town and the waters of Baleruc, which are only half a day from this. Having consulted the doctors they have assured me that by taking these with the proper preparations I shall get rid of the trouble which caused the illness I had at Rome and entirely guaranteed against it in future, which has decided me to remain here. I reckon it will take me May and part of June. I beg you always to send me news of the King's health and to assure him of my profound respects. I found here a report that the King had left Italy, and yesterday a letter from Avignon would have persuaded me to take it for a certainty. I wish with all my heart that God may bring him to that which is due to him. *French.*

Baron de Walef to James III.

1718, April 20. Madrid.—Requesting him to send him a letter of recommendation for Cardinal Alberoni, from whom the only favour he asks is to contribute by his authority to his having justice done him. His grandfather was the last

male child of the illustrious house of Alagon, the property of which family is entailed so as to exclude daughters as long as there are sons. The writer has been assured by the ablest lawyers in Madrid that his right is indisputable. *French.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 20. Vienna.—On the 13th I acknowledged yours of the 24 March with the enclosed from the Duke of Mar to M. Stiernhock, which I delivered to him. The day before yesterday I had yours of the 27th and did not fail to make the compliments you charged me with from the Duke of Mar to M. Stiernhock, who assures him of his respects and also of his devotion to King James's interests. I do not believe that his answer will be ready for this post, for he wishes to write at length and with my cipher, but he has assured me it will without fail go by the next. He has sent, *mutatis mutandis*, an extract from the Duke's letter to the King, his master, to ascertain his Majesty's opinion about this correspondence and to receive his order about continuing it or how he is to behave, I may tell you in confidence to be certain whether King James or any of his ministers are in correspondence with his master's Court. I shall not fail to keep him firm on our side. (About sending on the letter to Dr. Erskine and about sending and receiving letters to and from him as in his last.)

The Czar still remains at Moscow and is making great executions among those who have been plundering the finances. There has been a report here for about eight days that the Czarovitch, who has been obliged lately to renounce the Crown, has escaped, but this false report is not to be believed, especially as I have received no news from the Court of Muscovy about it. The appearances of an accommodation between this Court and that of Madrid are vanishing, for it seems that England and Holland, jealous of King Philip's power, are inclined to assist the Emperor and to send a considerable fleet into the Mediterranean immediately, and it is said that the Marquis de Monteleone, the said King's minister, has withdrawn from London. The said succours, with the approaching accommodation between the Emperor and Savoy and the appearance of peace being at hand between the Emperor and the Porte, are making that monarch, far from renouncing his claims in the Spanish monarchy, think of maintaining them by force, and with that object 16 regiments are on the point of marching towards Italy, and, if peace be made with the Turks, it is intended to send a strong army into Italy, which will be commanded by Prince Eugene. The ministers of Savoy keep themselves always *incognito* here and have frequent conference with the Emperor's ministers. The Emperor's plenipotentiary for the treaty with the Turks, with the Venetian plenipotentiary, will set out the day after to-morrow for the place of congress. Prince Eugene towards

the end of next month at furthest will be at Semlin, near Belgrade, where is the general rendezvous of the imperial army, to facilitate, *manu armata*, the arrangement with the Turks. The differences between this Court and that of Rome are increasing more and more. The Nuncio does not venture to appear at Court, and perhaps will soon leave this for the reasons given in the enclosed printed papers. The negotiations in Finland between Muscovy and Sweden continue, but we are not yet informed that M. Fabricius, the Hanoverian envoy, has effected any thing with his offers.

According to your orders I return the two letters for Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan) with an envelope of Mr. Connell (*i.e.* O'Brien). This Court remains entirely Hanoverian on account of the assistance hoped for against Spain. I return you a thousand thanks for the generous offers in your last letter, and recommend myself to your remembrance while waiting for the answer to mine of 9 March. *French. Partly in cipher.* 7 *pages.*

ANNE OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 9[–20].—The chief design of this is to remind you of a picture of *the King* as he is now, that you promised I should have for L ———*. As you mention nothing of it in your last, I fear you may have forgot it.

We are very full here of a piece of news sent by Lord Stair of the Emperor's acquiescing to all the plan of peace we and France sent him. We do not doubt being able to force Spain to accept it, in case they should be refractory, so we look on that affair as daily to be at an end and our stocks rise extremely on it. We also flatter ourselves of finishing that of the North by the management of General Ducker. I hope all this is not calculated for the meridian of Change Alley and the filling the million and a half subscription.

The home news is the King is not well; the Prince has an ague. The German governess is turned away from the children; the Countess Dowager of Portland is made governante. Richmond House, belonging formerly to the D[uke of] O[rmonde], the Prince had taken from Lord Grantham and was purchasing it from the Commissioners. The King has taken a fancy to it and lays down the money, so will have the house.

JAMES III.

1718, April 20.—Appointment of Giovanni Battista Rondoni to be his Majesty's preacher. *French.* There is also a copy in *Entry Book* 5, *p.* 78.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 21. Urbino.—Yours of the 16th affords me little to answer and the enclosed copy will leave you little

* Illegible, but probably means Mrs. Cæsar. See *Vol. IV. p.* 554, *Vol. V. pp.* 124, 556.

to say to *Dillon*. I easily believed the Pope would be very gracious to you, and as easily imagine his compliments in such a crowd would be very remarkable. I reckon I shall write to you no more at Rome and wait for your answer to determine my little jaunt. I shall end this, that you may once read a letter from me cleverly, for I am quite tired of writing well.

Postscript.—If, although you object nothing against my little journey, I should chance not to make it, I shall write to *Mar* to Foligno, but, in case that should miss him and he should go on to Loretto, he may reckon I expect him here, and come on on Sunday, if I am not at Loretto Saturday night. *Holograph*.

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Thursday night, April 21. Urbino.—I had last post a packet from you with some newspapers &c. enclosed, which I delivered to the King. He continues to keep his health perfectly well, and I really think has for some days looked better than ever I saw him. I enclose Lord Pitsligo's letter and mine to William Gordon upon it, which I think is agreeable to what Lord Pitsligo desires in his. In case his Lordship should be straitened in his time, I don't know whether you had not as good send my letter directly to him, because he will be able on seeing it to take his measures accordingly, and may, if necessary, draw for the money at the same time he transmits my letter to Gordon.

You also enclosed Gordon's last letter to me. It is not worth sending you on any other account but that it mentions some packets in which you were concerned. If this be the old story, I remember hearing of it, but, if it be anything that has happened since, I know nothing of the matter, though, be it how it will, I don't offer to excuse my brother's part in it.

For public news I must refer you to the enclosed from Monsr. Stiernhock and de Busi, which came last post. I don't much like their accounts of matters, particularly with regard to Spain, but, if any accommodation is like to take place, it must appear soon. I have written to de Busi in the manner mentioned in one of my former letters to you.

Macmahon showed me t'other day a letter from *Anne Oglethorpe* dated, I think, the 3rd past. Speaking of *Menzies* she says that time will show he is an honest man, and has acted the part of such, though she does not pretend to vindicate his not giving due satisfaction in the point you know of to his superiors. She says that even *Lord Arran* is satisfied of this, though *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Sir William Wyndham* are not so much pleased with his conduct, but their opinion, she says, will have weight with her, when she find they can hold any opinion for a week together. I wish she would spare her wit on such occasions, which, I am satisfied, must do hurt and can never

do any good, for these things no doubt go round and can have no other consequence but that of increasing the misunderstandings between the factors, which must always have bad effects ; besides, if some folks there consider her as a friend and correspondent of *Mar* and as having sometimes letters from him, and so knowing something of his mind, I think it but natural for them to suspect her proceeding in this way to be at least not disagreeable to, if not encouraged by him, and I really believe some people's jealousies and misunderstandings have no other real foundation but such idle stories as these, which I think unhappy enough. If *Mar* were on the place, I would not have had the courage to take this liberty with him, but, as we are now at some distance, I hope, if he should be angry with me, he will forget it, before we meet again.

Anne Oglethorpe says in the same letter that *Capt. Ogilvie* was still at *London*, but they concealed his being there from *Lord Oxford*, in regard that he would be certainly angry with him for leaving his station without orders. She adds that *Capt. Ogilvie* was ill of the gout, but would return to his station as soon as he was able to travel, and would, she hoped, bring some accounts with him that would put *Mar* in better humour than he seems to have been for some time. I have said nothing of all this to *the King*, because I promised *Macmahon* I would not, for he said he did not know whether *the King* knew of *Anne Oglethorpe* writing to him on these points, and neither do I, but, had I found anything in it that I could have judged to have any immediate relation to *the King's* service, he should have known it, and I had *Macmahon's* allowance to write it to you. 3½ *pages*. *Enclosed is a copy of the next letter.*

John Paterson to William Gordon.

1718, April 21. Urbino.—In the Duke of Mar's absence, I have the King's orders to let you know, if Lord Pitsligo should have occasion for a little money, which 'tis very probable he will, you are to furnish him with it, as far as 6, 7, or 800 *livres* French, and to charge it in your accounts to Mr. Dicconson, who has orders to allow it you. He does not know to whose use the money is to be applied, nor need you say anything of it to him, but only to state this article in your accounts as so much advanced by you for the King's service by his special orders, which he is directed to allow without further enquiry.

I am sorry you have so just reason to complain of my brother, but perhaps he is the more timorous and shy of corresponding with anybody on this side of the water on account of my situation and the concern he has in me, though I don't mean by this to excuse him. He has, as you say, got the start of his elder brother. I'm glad of his good fortune ; if ever I'm so lucky as to overtake him, 'tis well,

and, though I should not, I hope I shall be contented, but I'll never despair of it, so long as my master is in good health, which he is at present and very likely to continue so. 2 *pages*. *Copy*.

JOHN PATERSON to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, April 21. Urbino.—Informing him that he has received all his letters, which he communicated to the Duke of Mar, and since his departure to the King.—I hope shortly to see him returned here, and will then endeavour to answer some private matters in your letters, not being able to do so till then. At his departure he ordered me to deliver all Monsr. Stiernhock's letters directly to the King and that only he should open them, so that I cannot acknowledge them by their different dates, but as they were all enclosed in yours, which we have duly received, none of them can have gone astray, of which you will kindly inform Monsr. Stiernhock, and also that the Duke's absence has been the cause of his not having heard from him for some time and that he will write to him on his arrival, which will be in 10 or 12 days. He may be assured that the King and his Excellency are very much obliged to him for the detailed advices he has sent them. His Majesty believes it will be better for you in future to address your letters to me under a borrowed name (directions how he is to do so), and for the same reason to send me your address under another name. I am impatient to learn how you have disposed of the letter addressed to Dr. Erskine enclosed in mine of 27 March. I am expecting the letter you have for Monsr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan), having asked you to return it, as he has taken another route instead of passing by you. *Nearly* 2 *pages*. *French*. *Copy*.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, April 21.—I received yours of 8 March with an enclosed to *the Bishop of Rochester* the 19th instant, and by the same post duplicates of both by way of *Prague*. I am sorry that *Mr. Cæsar's* accounts and *Jerningham's* are so different. I am very much obliged to *the King* for his trouble in informing me of what relates to *Inese*. No doubt *the King* has just cause for what he has done. As to *Dillon*, I cannot think he can be influenced by any person to entertain jealousies that may make *the King* uneasy or create any uneasiness in his affairs, he being ready to sacrifice his own interest for *the King's* service, and they that know *the King* cannot believe he can be influenced to any person to do any thing but what is right.

I wish I could send you any agreeable news, but there is no likelihood of a *speedy agreement between the Czar and the King of Sweden*, as *the King* will see by a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's*, which I enclose.

By *Queen Mary's* order I made a proposal to *Dr. Erskine* of 254 (hundred) 254 (hundred) 533 (thousand) 444 (pounds)* *to be paid by the King after* his *restoration, as equivalent to the Czar* for the *abatement* he should *make* to *the King of Sweden*. I much doubted the success and *the King* will see by the enclosed that *Dr. Erskine* has not yet had any opportunity to acquaint *the Czar* with it, so I suppose there is nothing more to be said on that matter.

Upon *the Czar* ordering *Dr. Erskine* to acquaint me that he was very *uneasy at my being here, I* wrote to *Sir H. Stirling for passports to return*, in case there was no *appearance of agreement with the King of Sweden*, and *Sir H. Stirling* sends me account that they will *be granted*, though they are not yet sent. I expect *Jerningham* every day, but I don't see that he can be of any use.

I am very glad *the King* is in good health, and pleased to see *he* grows a lover of music. I hope *he* is well diverted.

Ormonde will write to *the King* as soon as he has taken his measures how to proceed in his *journey*, unless *the Czar* should change his mind, which, I fear, he is not likely to do.

Madame Chigi in a letter *Dillon* sent me desired me to beg of you to be her friend in her lawsuit. 6 *pages*.

The Duke of Ormonde to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 21.—I had yours of 11 March the 19th instant and must refer you to mine to *the King* to avoid repetition.

I wish *Mr. Cæsar's* informations had been of a piece with what *Jerningham* says. I cannot imagine why our friends should wonder that I only write about my private concerns. They might easily believe that I had not heard from *Jerningham*, and that that was the reason of my not sending them any account from those factors with him. I informed them that, as soon as I had any thing to acquaint them with that came from *Jerningham*, I would let them know it, but you will see by the enclosed copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* that there is no present want of *money*, *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* not being likely *to agree* very *soon*. I am sorry that *Wogan* has not brought a pleasing account of the things that he was to view, and the more so, since there is nothing to be done with *marriage* here.

I was surprised with what *the King* acquainted me with concerning *Inese*. It can have no ill effect as to *England*.

Sure these broils must produce some *good effect* for *the King*, for, if the *war of Italy* goes on, *France and England cannot* continue long in *friendship*. I am obliged to you for your trouble in sending the accounts you had from *Rome* and *the Emperor's* house.

* *Sic* in original, deciphered as 100,000*l.*, the real sum being 200,000*l.* (See *ante, p.* 247.)

I wish you well diverted when at *Rome*, and am glad that *the King* is a lover of music. I hope you have your eunuchs with you and that you won't be tired of them. 5 *pages*.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 21. Paris.—At our arrival at Paris we found all things in a hurry; the news of the league made, as you know without doubt, between the Emperor, England, Holland and France at the expense of Spain and the King of Sicily, the Hanover succession and the renunciation of the King of Spain secured mutually; but what touched me much more sensibly was the report that the King was embarked with the King of Sweden and 1,500 men, that he had had passports for Germany and that he and the Duke of Mar were gone *incognito*. This report was confirmed at the Palais Royal, Lord Stair's and over all Paris among the English. Many of them pretended they had letters and repeated all the detail, and Lord Stair said he had dogged them to Switzerland, but that his spies could follow them no further.

Two days ago we received the enclosed. You may easily believe I should have obeyed with pleasure the summons, since it's what you always wished for, but the "if" and the following words makes the friend (M. de Mezières) believe my journey would be needless, since he desires it but in case there's something on foot, as 'twould be of very dangerous consequence to tell him reports for certainties. After having considered ont this two days he makes me answer that, not knowing the situation of affairs to be able to give him an account of anything, and that what he desires of me is but in case I do, I don't do what he desires but have writ you word of it. You see plainly that, if you want him, you can reckon on him. He cannot give a better proof of his good designs, and we cannot now complain that he acts reservedly. He is going into his own country; most people think him already gone. He waits for my answer. I believe he wanted to know how things stood to take his measures with his at home and act accordingly, but, as I had nothing to say to him, you see my going is entirely needless, for 'tis but in that supposition he desires it. Though I am unwilling to make such a journey when it can't be of use, I shall never hesitate a moment when it can be of the least service to *the King*, and we've writ him word that, as we are not able to answer his question, which is the reason I don't follow his commands, yet, if he has anything to say from himself, and notwithstanding wants to see me, I'll part on his letter immediately, though I'm persuaded he'll not want me in that case. It's very unhappy you're at such a distance. Before your answer comes, things change quite, but there is no remedy. It's plain that man has a design to serve you and has it in his power, for it's not out of a pure

curiosity to know that makes him write the enclosed nor out of an ill design. He has too much honour to do an ill thing, and it's now grown by his late manner of acting his interest for you to succeed. You now know you may depend on him for, though his letters are short, they're more than enough from him. If you've any use to put him to, when it's necessary, you'll give us your orders, and, if you think it proper for me to carry them, you'll always find me ready. We should be too happy to find greater occasions to prove our gratitude and zeal to *the King*. I believe *Lord Ilay's* friend knows of the letter I send you.

We saw Lord Panmure and told him the charge you had given us. He has promised to spend some of his time with us, which we'll endeavour to make him pass as well as we can.

It's said that M. de Nancre threatened Alberoni with the King of Spain's losing his dominions, in case he did not consent to the treaty. The other told him his *pis aller* was to return home and be Regent. They say there are disputes between M. d'Argencon and the Re[gent]. Wagers are laid that he will not be long chancellor. Law is in love with Mademoiselle de Nail (? Nesle) and gives her 10,000 *livres* a month to visit her, when Prince Soubise is not there. It's a good revenue. Douglas was arrested yesterday for making false money and is in prison. I'm told the Re[gent] talked to Lord Peterborough on his accident in Italy. He answered he had nothing to say about it, because it interested three people, the Pope, whom he could not complain of, and that he was obliged to the Prince at Urbino, whom he would never speak ill or well of, and the Cardinal Al[bani], who was his friend. We have not seen him.

I long for your opinion of the enclosed, if you approve of my not going, which I would have done, but that he desires it but in case things are in a certain way. As we know nothing of it, both he and you would have blamed my venturing. The neighbour (Sparre), as to be sure you know, has had three attacks of the apoplexy and a palsy on half his body. If you do travel, which I wish, remember to send back these letters of his. By this time he ought to have received the account I sent him of yours and of *the King's* of 10 March, but I have not had an answer. Lord Edward [Drummond] is just arrived.

I forgot to tell you it's not in answer to anything we had writ to *Lord Ilay* that makes him send his last letter, but I suppose there are reports there as here that you're doing something. I wish you can read my epistle. I don't well know what I write, for I'm ill and in bed. The friend bids me tell you, he can't but think that *Lord Ilay* and his friends are in a design to help you effectually, when things come to a push. *Over 4 pages.*

Sir Hugh Paterson to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 21. *Rotterdam.*—This is chiefly to convoy the enclosed, which I received last night from *James Murray* in return to that you sent me to him. By what he writes to me, he is yet somewhat doubtful about his journey. I had a letter of the 9th from *Jerningham* from the place where *the King of Prussia* resides, so I hope he is by this time near being with *Ormonde*, from whom I have one dated the 31st, in which he mentions the arrival of the person *Jerningham* sent to him, on which he had wrote fully to *Dr. Erskine*. I have heard twice from *Menzies* since my last to you, but there is nothing of any consequence in them. He acknowledges that I sent him from *Mar*. He proposes going to the country for his health, which looks as if he inclined to give over meddling in the Company's affairs. I have advised him not to take any resolutions that way, till he at least hear again from *Mar* on it. He knows of *James Murray's* intended journey, but I have not mentioned *James Murray* to him nor taken any notice that I had heard of his journey.

I find by a letter of yesterday from *the Earl Marischal* to one here, he is to be soon at *Aix la Chapelle* or that way, and is to expect there *the King's* orders, how he is to be disposed of. He seems pleased with what has happened to *Inese*, whom, I know he had no good opinion of, but he suspects he still continues to meddle in *the King's* affairs. I have a letter to-day from E[nglan]d from a pretty good hand, which says ten men-of-war are ordered to go immediately to the Baltic, but that they are very indifferently fitted out and ill-manned. There is great difficulty in finding seamen to man the fleet for the Mediterranean, though there has been a great press for this week past, and it's thought the ships cannot be ready to go out so soon as has been given out, and it may be yet a month before they can sail. *Capt. T. Gordon* has, it seems, by *the Czar's* orders wrote to some others of his trade that are in *England* to come immediately to *Petersburg*, on which some are going, and I expect to see them here as they pass. They are all such as *the King* may depend on, whenever he has any occasion to employ them, and their *ships* were taken from them on account of their inclinations that way. Their being to be disposed of this way may, I hope, be for *the King's* service, and I am sure they will follow whatever orders he thinks fit to give them. The naval preparations here are like to turn to nothing. We long to hear that *the King of Spain's* friends have made you a visit, and it's believed here they will have time enough to do it, before *ships* can arrive there from England. I hope this will find you returned from *Rome*. We have heard of *H. Maule's* brother (*i.e.* Lord Panmure) being come to *Paris*. *H. Maule* proposes to go and see him, as soon as he comes to *Flanders*, in order to propose some things about their

private affairs, which I fear will not have the wished-for effect.

I came here this morning and design to see *Mr. Robertson*, before I return, and thought it best not to give him the letter you sent me for him, till I saw him myself. I have just now letters from *Ormonde* of the 4th. I suppose *Dillon* hears from him by the same post. 2½ *pages*.

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, April 10[–21].—The prints will give you our public discourse and particularly the great news from Vienna sent by Lord Stair, which is also confirmed by letters that Pentenreider himself has received. This is a dismal story to the Jacobites, who hoped for a quarrel between England and Spain and imagined great friendship and help from King Philip. The news too from the North is very mortifying to them. Apologizing for a mistake in the direction of his last letter.

J. Menzies to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Thursday, April 10[–21].—I wrote you several letters by *Mrs. Ogilvie* and *Capt. Ogilvie*, which, I hope, are now pretty far advanced on their way. They gave my plain and sincere sentiments on every subject I touched, but I meant them only to yourself and *the King*, and I hope they go no further, nor friends in any new danger of an inquisition.

James Murray parted, I am told, three days ago. In obedience to your commands I waited on him, but he was gone to *the Bishop of Rochester*. I left a letter at his lodgings to be given him, when he should come to town and enclose a *verbatim* copy of it and his answer. I leave both to your judgment, only I believe the grandest of all the Grand Seigneurs nor Alexander, nor Richelieu, never wrote in higher airs to one of their dependents, and I hope you will be satisfied that our meeting on this foot could be of very little use in friendship or in business, nor do I think it a time for quarrels, so I must only let such great men alone. I sent it to Mr. Primrose (? Lord Oxford), who owns he never saw the like ont. I owe him nothing and, though loyalty almost entirely crushed us, I am of as good a family as himself. Let me get rid of those briars and clear of those mighty men and those flaming mountains which destroy, but do good to nothing. You will find at the long run that I am an honest plain-dealer, nor have I ever been mistaken in the substance of our affairs.

You have had, and have and will have mighty memorials and fine stories told you of fine persons and things for your service. I could tell you of all those very same persons and ten thousand more, and, when I had done, it signifies not one straw to your service. Intriguing and talking and drinking will just do as much, as you had an experience of in your own

case. When you bring the effects you will have more friends than you can well manage, and till then all Mrs. Cann's (the Church of England's) fine doings will end in a can. Yet the spirit of trade ought to be kept up till the effects come. I have done more for that than fifty of your fine flatterers.

I know not what to say of some of our promising partners. You know long since I had but an indifferent opinion of *Görtz*, and I am very sorry now to assure you a letter is come from *the Czar* to *King George* with his own hand with the utmost assurances and that *Ormonde* and all such shall be gone. One that was sometimes a merchant in Amsterdam, whom you know well, had it from an intimate friend of his, a Dutchman, whom *Baron Bothmar* showed the letter to. On the other hand *Capt. Thomas Gordon* has sent just lately for some of his own profession from hence to go in all diligence, and they are gone.

The mighty news that Lord Stair has sent to the Court here from Prince Eugene, as you will see it in the prints, is our great subject of discourse, has raised the stocks, rejoiced the friends of the Government and quite confounded the Jacobites. *Enclosed*,

J. Menzies to *James Murray*.

I believe you know I have had reason to retire a little out of the unfortunate bustle and be very much a spectator, and for some considerable time have often earnestly begged to be excused, my health also being very much broke by a long and constant drudgery. But by my last letters I have received new commands to have a little patience, and Lord Mar orders me to wait on you to discourse on anything that may be the common concern. If you will appoint me your most convenient time, I shall be sure to wait on you with the best of my humble opinion or endeavours, and pray let Lord Mar know the first time you write, that I have made this offer cheerfully.

James Murray to *John Menzies*.

I received last night a very politic and mysterious letter from you, which, I suppose, is meant as a favour from a person who has behaved so remarkably as you have done with regard to me for some months past. If you have any inclination to explain it, you know I am to be found every day at home between 9 and 10. Had I imagined you had not known my lodgings, I would have given you my address. This is all I think proper to say at present on this subject.

James III. to *Lieut.-General Dillon*.

1718, April 22. Urbino.—Acknowledging his letters of 26 and 28 March to himself and those of 27 and 28 to Mar.—

I am heartily glad *Dillon* is better and hope he may be now quite recovered. I take most kindly what he says in relation to himself and am as sensible of the great load of business he has now on him, and shall be therefore always ready to agree to any reasonable thing he can propose for his ease, but at present nothing more occurs to me than what I bid *Sheldon* tell you. I hope he is got safe to you now.

" The accounts you send me in relation to *the Regent* are, I fear, as well-grounded, as they are little surprising to me, I think indeed that there is no need to inform *England* of every little detail of disagreeable matters, but I think it would be deceiving *them* and not for my service to keep from *them* any material point such as this now in relation to *the Regent*, for their ignorance of such matters may run them into inconveniences, and deprive me of their advice on such occasions. I am therefore of opinion you should let them know that nothing can be now expected from *the Regent*, but apropos of him, if on that or any other subject you would have any particular thing go no further than myself, write it in a note apart, and at the top say it is for myself alone.

" By all I see in *James Murray's* letters of late, I think it necessary you should be as particular as you can in your letters to his friends. You see how many idle stories they hear, and, though a little uneasiness and jealousy in them is pardonable, I think it is both on their account and mine fit to prevent it as much as we can. I perceive *Mar's* letters and mine to *Lord Oxford's* are generally like to come to his hands before ours to *the Bishop of Rochester*, though writ at the same time. Now, though this proceeds from accidents and from the different opportunities their different canals have of transmitting letters, yet I fear it may cause uneasiness, to prevent which I wish that, whenever you receive any letters from me to *the Bishop of Rochester* and cannot send them immediately, you would write by the post that you have a letter of mine in your hands, which waits for a good occasion to be forwarded. I would have you also send me the copies of your letters to *England*, as I have and generally shall do mine to you that go to your correspondents, it being, I think, a mutual precaution necessary to avoid all mistakes, and for the good of my service. I am sorry for the report that is spread in relation to *Argyle*, but the thought was so natural that I hope, though he should hear it, he will not be disgusted at it, or suspect those he trusts, since it is impossible to hinder men from talking and thinking.

" I never doubted of *Inese's* dutiful submission to the orders sent you about him. He has written to *Mar* a very submissive prudent letter, for it is very natural and pardonable for a man that is not told the true reasons of displeasure to guess at others, though I can assure you that his telling his opinion and mind freely to me neither did shock me in him, nor never can in any I confide in, since that is not only their

duty, but what I require of them. I heartily wish I could have discarded *Inese* with yet more mildness, but I smarted too much for that I said (?) formerly to poor Du[ke?] Hamilton for to fall again into the same fault, when from it I apprehended the same inconveniences. I am far from blaming you in letting me know the good opinion you have of *Inese*, of whom it is needless for me to say more. I have done in that matter what was reasonable, just and necessary, and am therefore not in the least any more concerned about it, since it may do my interest good but cannot do it hurt.

"I should have said before that that what you wrote to *James Murray* and the other friend about *Abbé du Bois* was necessary in itself and prudent in the manner. You will to be sure have cleared the mistake in relation to the *marriage James Murray* mentions and which I understand not to be for *the Czar's* daughter but other relation. I must confess I am very impatient to hear from *Ormonde* on that head, for till then I can fix on nothing.

"Law hath written his thanks to *Mar* and me, just compliments and no more, though I believe sincere. As to Lorme (? Law), I think he is called, after all you say of him there is certainly no thinking of employing him in anything but *money* till we can see clearer into his conduct, but I hope we shall have no occasion for him soon in other matters, since *Dillon's* journey is no more talked of, I mean, what would certainly occasion it, as a thing near at hand. You say nothing of the *money the Regent* was to have given last February, but sure it will come at last. As for *Francia's* affair, I own I despair of it, and as much of getting any *money* from *the Pope* by all I see in relation to that affair with him. What *the King of Spain* will do time only can show, and that certainly will develope many things, of which it is not possible now to form any judgment in this uncertainty and, as our hopes would be vain and groundless, too much desponding would be the same. I desire you will, however, continue to inform me of what comes to your knowledge. Were it worth my pains, or were I in humour for such things, I could make a very comical recital of all that hath happened in my journey to see the Furlo. It has, I am sure, made noise enough, but I don't see any other effect that trifle can have but to use people to such things, and prevent noise when it would be hurtful." 6 *pages*. *Holograph*.

Colin Campbell of Glendarule to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 22. Near Bordeaux.—In mine of 28 Feb. I told you I had writ to a friend concerning *Glengarry*. It was to *J. Macleod junior*, his near relation and thoroughly trusted by him, and also that I had writ to *Glengarry* himself and at the same time to Sir Du[nca]n C[ampbell], Ardshiel and *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck]. I now transmit *J. Macleod junior's*

return, for it will be some time before I can have *Glengarry's*. I would not have troubled you, did I not think you will be content to find by what *J. Macleod junior* writes that *Glengarry's* omission proceeds not from want of duty.

It's pretty plain by *J. Macleod junior's* letter that *Argyle* has had his tools at work. Your hints as to him came seasonably, for it appears well-meaning honest men might have been deluded by him so far as to take him to be one of *the King's* friends, for no other handle could work for him in these parts. Indeed, it seems not a good symptom in *Argyle* to be tampering or gaining on *the King's* servants without his own permission, nor will he find it turn to any great account, for, I am persuaded, the advertisement given will make all there avoid him, so far as not to be entangled. I know *J. Macleod junior* will not only shun any more tampering that way but will also in the discreetest manner put all *the Highlanders'* friends on their guard, so as to have nothing to do with him.

I expect no return from *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck] till he is at home and *J. Macleod junior* and he meet ; I know *Argyle* and *Lord Ilay* are at pains to have him considered as in friendship with them, but, as he is an honest man, so he is a man of that discretion as not to be over-reached by them, though it's very like he might all the time he was settling his marriage and during his stay there have been very fair with them. His brother-in-law, Calder, goes down with him. As all accounts agree that that young gentleman has very good inclinations towards trading with *the King*, I know *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck] will not be wanting to encourage him to it. In my letters to him and Sir Du[nca]n, I advise them to fall in with *Lord Glenorchy* as a youth of good sense, whom I judged to have no ill disposition towards trading, and desired they might encourage him and take the first opportunity in it. His staying in *England* made me not write to them sooner, judging the country the fittest place for them to apply to him, but I did not tell them anything further than that I had reason to hope he had strong inclinations that way, which is enough to induce them to make the first advances towards him, which may be necessary, he being very reserved and cautious in his way, which, I judge, is the greatest ground for the suspicion he is under at present. You see *J. Macleod junior* writes doubtfully about him. I have sent you all I had from him on that subject, which you'll find in the last paragraph of a letter from a friend at London of 28 Feb. That letter is from an honest man, but at present well with *Argyle*, which, I suppose, *Lord Glenorchy* is not. His marriage is all it founds on, and his going sometimes to see *the Elector of Hanover*, which he could not well avoid at present. As to the young lady, I think it more probable he may turn her than she him, and, if he be a hawk of the right nest, as I think he is, he will turn her to purpose and wants

not an argument that may be a good means to make her a very early convert, and as to his father-in-law, I have no great fear of him, for I hope *Lord Glenorchy* has too much sense to be brought over by him.

(Mentions a letter from Inese, giving an account of his removal from *the King's* affairs.) I wrote him a return and gave up the correspondence in the most respectful and obliging manner I could.

A letter I received last night from *Scotland* says they never were in such a forward disposition to serve *the King*, and that they are full of hopes to see him soon, for he could never come more opportunely to make a good market, some things having happened of late that give the greatest resentment to men of all persuasions. 3 *pages. Enclosed,*

J. Macleod junior to Glendarule.

Acknowledging his letter of 5 *March and another of* 15 *Feb. which he answered the* 8*th current.—I have dispatched your commands as directed, only Mr. C's* (*i.e.* Campbell [of Auchinbreck]) *I have not sent, because he's soon expected home, and I did not judge it secure enough to use the common method. However, he'll know its contents to as good purpose and in a safer way.*

You seem surprised that Glengarry *has not been so punctual in his returns to your lieutenant* (*i.e.* Mar), *and, when he understands by the express I've sent him that some umbrage is taken at that omission I persuade myself he'll be no less concerned. He has certainly been misled into that neglect by an apprehension his returns might perhaps not come safe, or he judged it not necessary, since, as he resolved always to act consistent with himself, so he rested secure that the neglect of a ceremony would never be misconstrued. I'll venture to say that, as his attachment to your captain's* (the King's) *interest began very early and seems rather innate than acquired, so nothing but the common fate of mortals can alter his fixed resolutions of contributing all in his power to ascertain what he believes founded on the most indisputable principles of justice. I wish all your creditors had the same motives of honour and honesty.*

I was not a little alarmed with your account of Argyle, *for, though I could not say positively that my endeavours had any certain effect, yet others would persuade me to believe that he was a well-wisher of your's* (the King's), *nay, further that he had advanced money in relief of some that were your captain's;* (the King's) *servants and thrown into prison on your* (the King's) *account, and many of his friends not far from here believe the reverse of what you write, at least propagate it, for what purpose time must determine. Meanwhile on the faith of what*

you wrote I've acquainted my friends to take care of him, which, I believe, will have the wished-for effect, and I am much indifferent, if your affairs can be got effectuate without him what course he will take, for a person who wilfully acts an ill part deserves very little compassion, though I must assure you that his opposing the Elector of Hanover *in some extravagant courses has gained him much favour everywhere. He's expected hither very soon. You'll understand by my last that some of your friends are afraid of a change of resolutions in the old trader's grandchild* (Lord Glenorchy), *but I'm glad you seem of another opinion and to be sure your affairs will go on the better in these parts that you have his countenance. Though you have given me no orders to go to the country, I'm resolved 'gainst the 27th instant to take journey, because it is absolutely necessary I advise with my own friends anent your affairs. What incites me the more to this is that it may not perhaps be in my power to get at them, when your affairs may come to be tabled, since you know I am not always master of my own time, and therefore I'm resolved to concert matters so, while the opportunity offers, so as to make it less material whether I am with them at the ranking of your creditors. I flatter myself, however, that you'll acquaint me timeously when your business may offer, which will be as much improven to your advantage as possible. Your commands for me will be safely got my length from here, so you may address as formerly. Your nephew,* Sir Hector Maclean, *is very well, a pretty boy and pleasant. I have recommended him to the gentleman who attends* Glengarry's *son, who is very careful and a bright gentleman, so pray thank him for his care and encourage him to go on. Capt. Straiton disburses the money as he sees necessary.—March* 18[–29].

——— to *J. Macleod junior.*

By the public papers you will see that the Court has carried the Mutiny Bill in both Houses and the bill establishing the Commissioners of Inquiry in the House of Commons, which many here are pleased with. The Court doubtless are, since these bills are preliminary to arbitrary power, which in the same way has been introduced wherever it is, by pretending a necessity to support a standing army in time of peace and by having the private property of many subjects in their power, which none can deny now is, since by this last Act not only the unfortunate gentlemen concerned in the late insurrection are ruined, but most of all their creditors. The ministers are no better pleased with their success than the enemies of the present government, for mild measures might have brought several over, but by what is and has been done, they daily lose many who were their friends,

for, did a Sunderland or Father Petre prompt behind the scenes, they could not advise measures more likely to overturn the present constitution with respect to affairs either abroad or at home, and what seems to preserve it is rather owing to its enemies neglecting to improve many favourable opportunities than the administration of a ministry who are become objects of contempt.

They indeed tell us of an alliance with the Emperor, by which, as Lord Stanhope expressed himself in the House of Lords, in the strongest terms we are obliged to support him if invaded in any part of his dominions in Italy, but this alliance can have no other consequence than to entangle us in a new war, by which we will in all probability have the most considerable powers of Europe to oppose us, and then, to use Lord Stanhope's own words, the succession to the Crown of Britain may come to be disputed as well as that of Spain, in which case his Danish Majesty's alliance will be of as little use as their sinking divided High and Mightinesses, overcharged with debt and torn to pieces by faction.

The Regent is not spoke so well of at Court for some time; whether this proceeds from a discovery of any change in him, or that, knowing how little use a weak ministry and divided family &c. can be to him, I know not, but it's not probable that prince expects support from a ministry that in their own country are not able to support themselves without a standing army.

No public minister here makes that figure as the Spanish ambassador. His assemblies are crowded three days in the week, so that six large rooms are full of company and an acquaintance of yours has been half an hour in getting from the middle of one of the rooms to the door. He is obliging to all and by much the ablest minister residing at this Court. The Sicilian minister is much with him, which is not agreeable to the friends of our present government.

There is a story in town, as if a young lord of your country lately married to a duke's daughter was a convert to his father-in-law's principles, but, being a stranger to that lord and his father, I can only tell you what is said, which from several circumstances appears to be true. He is much at Court, and on his marriage sent K[in]g G[eor]ge a favour, who did him the honour to wear it. With note by Macleod: *This comes from a person of honour of your acquaintance. I know you'll make no bad use of it, but rather lament the melancholy situation of your expiring native country. 'Tis strange that under the best of Kings we should be thus treated.*

DAVID NAIRNE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 23. Urbino.—Thanking him for his letter of the 20th and sending the enclosed from his Majesty, who is

very well and was this evening at a music meeting at Madame Staccoli's.—Neither Sir John O'Brien nor *Dillon* write anything of business to me, nor do I desire that anybody should at present from that part of the world.

Capt. H. Straiton to *the Duke of Mar.*

1718, April 12[–23]. Edinburgh.—Yours of 3, 4 and 8 Jan. with all the others therein mentioned came safe to me 20[–31] March and, though I was then and for two weeks after confined to bed, I soon found means to get them all safely delivered, and I have since seen all the persons at my bedside, *Lord Eglinton* only excepted, but some days ago I received from *Mr. Lockhart* a little packet for you, containing his and *Lord Eglinton's* answer, which shall be herewith sent to Johnnie's (? Mar's) brother[-in-law] in Holland (*i.e.* Sir H. Paterson). I know nothing of particulars in them, only *Lockhart* writes they are to my heart's content, and I heartily wish they may be so to your cousin (the King) and you, and, being on the subject of letters, I think you need not have made the least apology for sealing *Sir J. Erskine's* letter. If you send me a hundred so, and I receive as many returns sealed, I will be as careful of every one, as if I knew the contents of all. I never was a grumbler and I hope I never shall be, and I never did, nor ever shall omit anything in my power, that can promote *the King's* interest and service. If I do anything amiss, it will be a defect of my judgment, not of my intention.

As soon as it was possible for me, I delivered with my own hands the sum ordered to each of those mentioned in yours of 3 Jan., but neither I, nor any other that I know of, have as yet received one farthing on account of the *collection of money* proposed. However, I shall use my best endeavours to persuade those you have writ to soon to meet and concert methods to get in stock for that trade, as much as can be had without noise or observation, and I shall frequently remind them to meet, and, were I once in any tolerable condition to go out, I shall push it as far as decency and discretion can allow, perhaps some little further.

I cannot promise you a particular account of what money your servant *H. Straiton* has received and disbursed on the Company's account, for he has not his papers at hand, neither is it yet convenient to name so many persons as are concerned in giving or taking, but in general he received in the end of the year 1715 only 500 and some few odd guineas, and he then and the beginning of next year faithfully disbursed that sum, and of the above mentioned sum he received from Simson's (H. Straiton's) * eldest son-in-law 100*l.* sterling, and he is still

* This must be a mistake for Symons' (Lord Sinclair's), whose eldest son-in-law was John Paterson of Preston Hall, *i.e.* namesake of John Paterson, Mar's secretary. *See* Mar's letter in the last volume, *p.* 361, where the cipher name is correctly given "Symons."

frank and willing to do more, and you may easily guess his losses otherways are not small. I told him what you wrote concerning him and his namesake, your bookkeeper, and he desired me to make his hearty and sincere compliments to you.

H. Straiton received about two years ago as he remembers from Mr. C[a]r in Dundee 170*l.* sterling, which was left there by Col. C[? lepha]n, of which he then paid to *Lady Stormont* 43*l.*, to *the Duke of Perth's* cousin and namesake 70*l.*, to *the Duke of Argyle's* namesake, the B[riga]d[ie]r, 20 guineas and to one that returned with him that brought you the seals 5 guineas, in all 139*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* sterling. Other small payments at that time cannot now conveniently be particularly mentioned, and many are forgot, but the remainder of that sum was all given out except some trifle I do not distinctly remember.

When I wrote you a long letter last December I sent one copy to the Doctor (Menzies) and another to *Inese*, and in a postscript to the first gave you account that I had received from Willson of *Mackintosh's* money 200 guineas, and I am confident I wrote you the same account before, but either that letter miscarried or you have forgot it. However, I despair of getting any more out of Willson, for he was much concussed to what he did by a gentleman of *Mr. Grant's* name, who has done several good offices besides that and will, I hope, do more. He is nephew to old Gen. T[hom]as B[uch]an.

When I see him, I will endeavour to cause him to try once more what he can do with Willson. I have been inquiring if *Mackintosh's* doers are buying land or clearing old scores, and can learn nothing of it; on the contrary, some tell me his family is under difficulties at present.

As to the last mentioned sum, according to your letter of 3 Jan., I have paid to three persons therein mentioned 200*l.* sterling and have lately paid 20*l.* sterling on *Sir Hector Maclean's* account, besides the 30*l.* I formerly gave you account of.

H. Straiton received besides the sums above mentioned 100*l.* sterling, which by what *Inese* then wrote *H. Straiton* judged was for his own particular use, and yet I believe much of it was applied for those then in distress on the Company's account. However, if it was not designed for *H. Straiton*, please let me know and I will do my best to make him accountable for every farthing of it.

I have been a little puzzled how to behave with the young advocate (J. Macleod junior). That you may the better judge of matters, I must lay the whole matters of fact before you on that subject. As I told you, I delivered him the end of last August 30*l.* sterling, but *Sir Hector Maclean* was not brought to town till the last week of December, and then the advocate bought him a suit of plain cloth clothes, four Holland shirts, four cravats and one pair of stockings and shoes and, the beginning of January, brought him to the eldest *Macdonald's* son's governor, with whom it was concerted *Sir Hector Maclean* should be

boarded, and the governor had promised me to be very careful of him and kind to him, and, for what I can learn, he is as good as his word, and indeed his pupil, who is a sturdy, handsome young fellow, is in a singular manner kind to *Sir Hector Maclean* and always supports him on the streets, to the meeting-house and on all other occasions and frequently carries him under his arm where it's difficult for the boy to walk, for his right ankle is quite out of joint from his infancy. I am really charmed with his humanity and friendship to his young comrade.

Though the common method for all boarders here is to pay quarterly and in advance, yet the advocate made no offer of money for board or other necessaries the boy might want, so the governor complained to me of it, and I desired him to ask it in the discreetest manner he could, which he did, but got neither money nor any distinct answer, on which I desired him to tell him in plain English that I desired him to deliver to the governor whatever he had over the payment for the clothes and the charge of bringing the boy to town, which the governor told him, and then he said he was exhausted, and, though I desired to see him, he came not near me till he knew I had paid the first and second quarter's board for *Sir Hector Maclean* and his servant, for he is not well able to go and come from school without one. I have paid the governor 20*l.* sterling (then follows a detailed account of the boy's expenses for board, school, clothes, pocket money &c. amounting to 55*l.* sterling a year). I really think the charge cannot be less and I am for encouraging the boy and would have him gratified in all harmless matters, for, though he has a weakly little body, the governor assures me he has a brisk, lively spirit and is a pretty good scholar and very well-principled for his years. The governor is a well-principled honest gentleman and will be useful in managing correspondence with *Macdonald* and other relations of *the Highlanders*.

When at length the advocate came to me, I said nothing of the money matters, expecting he might first say something but, when I found him going and like to say nothing, I told shortly, it could not be doubted your cousin (*i.e.* the King) in his present circumstances was much straitened for money and it was a wonder he was able to provide for so many as he did, and therefore I thought it highly reasonable his money should be managed with the greatest frugality, at which he seemed much out of countenance and in a confused stammering manner said he could give a good account of what he received, so I said no more, nor shall I without your further directions, but hereafter it's reasonable to put the money into the governor's hands and he to give account how it's disbursed.

By accounts from all hands, *the* poor *Highlanders* will this summer be in great want of bread, and therefore *Sir J. Erskine* and I are on a project to get *them* supplied. We shall do our best to get something effectually done, as soon as occasions

require it. That poor family had an ill crop last year and most of their cattle died.

I am truly amazed at *Lord Seaforth's* shameful conduct about *money* matters and have inquired about his affairs here and, by all I can learn, his effects here cannot be reached either by his old or new creditors, and this I have from Johnnie's (Mar's) friend and namesake's (L[ord] D[un]) own mouth. I am now very near him and he has seen me several times, and allows me to send for him whenever I have anything to say; he is in a few days obliged to go to *Lord Aberdeen's* country and will use his best endeavours to bring in *Lord Haddo* to trade, particularly that of *money*.

Soon after *the Earl of Erroll* died, I told you *the Countess* was to be married, and she is married and now she and her husband design in a short time to go and stay in her old residence, and I am confident both can and will be useful in promoting trade of *money* and other matters for the advantage of the Company. I cannot tell if the husband be known to you, but I know him well and am fully persuaded of his good intentions, capacity and great integrity, and that both will use their utmost endeavours to promote *the King's* interest, and therefore I most heartily wish your cousin (*i.e.* the King) may make some compliment to that worthy lady, which will certainly make her and her husband more active. Before he goes hence, I am to establish a method of correspondence with him, which, I am confident, will have no ill effect, and I hope it will be no objection against him that he is my particular and intimate friend.

The Earl of Wigton has been several times with me lately, and I find him most hearty and frank for the *money* and other branches of trade, and I cannot but wish some compliment were made him.

The Duke of Gordon's conduct from the first to the last has been indeed so very odd that it will not be easy for a man of much reading to find the exact parallel in history or romance. However, it's convenient to make the best that can be made of him. If *Lord Haddo* come heartily into trade, he will be of much use that way, and so will my friend *Grant's* namesake, who is one of *the Duke of Gordon's* chief trustees. I shall on this subject have a full conference with Johnnie's (Mar's) friend D[un], before he goes off, and am confident he will in that and everything else that's for the advantage of the Company do his best.

When Mr. *Lockhart* may see *Argyle* or what he will make of him when he does, I shall not pretend to divine, but it's known almost to everybody that *Argyle* is not easily to be satisfied either in his ambition or love to money; and how far it will add to the advantage of his character that he seems to be pinned to a light, empty, ill-natured thing, I leave it to you to judge.

I have a particular concern and respect for *the Duke of Montrose's* family, and would fain have him retrieved, if

possible. At the same time I declare I never had any further obligation to him or his than common civility, and my chief reason is for the merit of his ancestors and their great services to your cousin's (*i.e.* the King) family, and besides I think *the Duke of Montrose* much better-natured than any of the Sq[uadron]y set he is engaged with, so, if your cousin (*i.e.* the King) or you think fit to say anything to him, I will find several sufficient and sure hands that can deal with him, in case he come here. One I shall name, and that is a lawyer of his own name, whom I suppose you know and who has done much service and kindness to the distressed friends of the Company here.

If you incline that anything should be said to *the Duke of Athole*, I suppose the eldest *Macdonald* may be a fit hand and with him I have a safe correspondence by means of the son and governor, who assure me that *Macdonald* is still the old man and will stand firm.

I have likewise a pretty secure correspondence with *Sir Hector Maclean's* chief relations, particularly him that's called tutor and next in succession to *Sir Hector Maclean*, and I had lately a letter from him, and in his own way he is hearty and frank. I shall repeat one sentence of his letter. Speaking of himself and his relations, he says, There is no people better known to do their duty, and it is so much bred in their blood that it cannot be drained.

Mar's letter to *the Earl of Balcarres* was carefully delivered, but it's so long ago that I cannot perfectly mind the verbal answer the trusty bearer then brought me, yet, to the best of my remembrance it was that he would always be ready to serve those that were kind to his children. Whether that letter was from *Mar* or some other, it's probable he knows the subject and may easily guess if that be a proper answer or not. If *Mar* has anything further to say to *the Earl of Balcarres*, I can easily get it delivered.

Johnnie's (Mar's) last method of writing was most convenient and I most earnestly beg he may continue the same method, that is, to write one letter for the view of the chief trustees and co-partners here, and what particular directions he may have for his servant may be in a paper apart, but do not think I mean or in the least desire that other letters should be left open for my perusal.

Though in one of your last you desired me to draw on *the Duke of Gordon's* namesake at *Paris*, I have some unwillingness to do it, unless *Sir Hector Maclean's* wants or some other necessity constrain me, and I wish you would rather give direction to *the Duke of Gordon's* namesake to remit me what you think fit to trust in my hands, which he can with greater ease and safety do than I can, for all his correspondents here are honest men and I am pretty well known to all or most of them.

I had lately a letter from Mr. *Inese*, desiring me to write no more to him nor expect from him anything concerning *the King's*

affairs, for he is no more to meddle that way, with which he seems well satisfied, and says it was always his opinion that those of his character should not meddle. I always had and still have a particular respect and esteem for him, and think him one of the best and most sufficient of his character that I know, but, since he's laid aside, I shall not be sorry if others of his tribe were so, especially on this side of the water.

About the end of February I sent you a letter from Mr. *Rait*, but since have not seen him, for he is in the country and, I suppose, not yet perfectly recovered.

Your servant *H. Straiton* has never yet been able to make further progress than the gardens close by his house and not that for some months past. However, there was a necessity to carry him to Edinburgh to be near physicians and surgeons, who much differed in opinion about the nature of his malady, but all agreed it was necessary to open it, which was performed some weeks ago, and out of it came full three Scots mutchkins of water, which has given much ease, and he hopes time will make him better. This malady the men of skill call Hydrocele. 5½ *pages.*

James III to the King of Spain.

1718, April 24. Urbino.—In reply to his letter of 31 March assuring him of the interest he takes in everything that concerns him and requesting him to give his most sincere compliments to the Queen on that happy occurrence (the birth of a princess). *French. Copy.*

James III to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 24. Urbino.—"The very sight of yesterday's packets almost turned my head. I have not near read all my letters, so can yet less answer them, I mean, speak of them to you. I shall only say that the letters you were so curious to know the contents of contain nothing extraordinary as Paterson tells me, for I was forced to give them to him, the ciphering was so *embrouillé*. I shall read them and send them you next post. I have a long letter from *Ormonde* which I have given to uncipher and nothing very vexing from *Queen Mary*, who, if I may say so of *her*, will, I find, do well. *Her* heart is, I am sure, good, and I believe a friend of mine, whom you have heard of, has helped to soften matters there. I send you some strange projects the Queen sent me from Camocke, they'll divert you on the road. Think of them and bring them back to me with your opinion of them. I shall not go to Loretto, as you advise, and with reason, but shall expect you here, where, I hope, you will be before our Cardinal, who leaves Rome the 5th of next month. I shall that post send you back some of your letters and write of what 'tis necessary you should be informed of before our meeting, for which I am very impatient, though I am far from disapproving a few days' delay, for,

if you be here the 5th, it will answer for the post as well as the 1st. I am well, thank God, and drove out of my little room now with the sun.

"John [Hay] desires me to tell you he hath got a squeenzy (quinsy), but I don't advise you to believe him. He is very good and careful of himself and, I hope, you'll find him very well." *Holograph.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Sunday night, April 24.—Yesterday I had yours of the 20th and will, as soon as I can find an opportunity, lay your letters before the King, because hitherto he has not had leisure to hear them read. He is now at a conversatione in Madame Staccoli's, but told me he was to write to you this post. I delivered your commands to Mr. Hay, who is not yet so well as I could wish. I hope he'll observe your directions in following the doctor's advice, but I wish the Lord may advise the doctor, which I think I may say without offence, if he was the best in Christendom. Yesterday the Duke of Salviati's son arrived here, and his uncle, the President, five or six days ago charged me with a great many compliments for you, which I forgot to mention, but I believe you will be at no loss, for I am told you have plenty where you are. However, I shall wait on him the next time the post comes in and return him your compliments as by your orders. It is now late, and I have nothing to say, besides that I am almost blind with the agreeable diversion of unciphering. I pray God send us a time when we may freely call a spade a spade.

I had letters yesterday from Stiernhock and de Busi, but they are of an older date than those I sent you last post.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 24. *St. Germains.*—My letters of the 17th and 18th will come to hand before this. I forwarded the duplicates for *Ormonde, Dr. Erskine* and *Jerningham. Sir H. Paterson* writes that the latter parted from *Holland* about 15 days ago to join *Ormonde.* Having given me no account of this journey, I can't tell on what grounds he undertook it, but presume he informed *Mar* of his reasons. I had a short letter from *Ormonde* of 31 March, telling me that he wrote to *the King* by way of Germany, but desires I should send you the enlosed copy of his letter to *Sir H. Stirling.* I believe you'll find it very succinct and dry, as indeed it appears to me, and apprehend much that *the Czar* will send the passports as required without further examination. In that case *Ormonde* will be obliged to remove from where he is now, which, in my weak opinion, may prove of ill consequence, especially in the present conjuncture. I write my mind very plainly to my friend *Ormonde* on this. I wish it may reach him before

he parts from *the Czar's* neighbourhood and cannot help being sorry that *Jerningham* did not go straight from Lübeck to *Ormonde* instead of coming to *Holland*. You'll perceive an air of peevishness in what I say here, and must own I am not in so good a humour as usual.

I don't hear that *the King of Spain's* final answer is yet come to *the Regent*. I'll go to *Paris* to-morrow, whence I shall write at large what accounts I can learn on that head. I enclose *Menzies'* last letter with some prints as also one *Inese* gave me.

James Murray brought no answer to the last cargo sent to *England*, but I suppose we shall soon have it by *George Kelly's* return. I send *Sir John O'Brien* this moment to *Paris*, both to provide a post-chair and what money may be wanting to *James Murray* and to give him instructions about his journey, that he may not be imposed on by the road for want of knowing the custom of the country. He'll part to-morrow morning and, I hope, will find *Mar* safely returned from *Rome*.

Lieut.-General Dominick Sheldon to James III.

1718, April 24. St. Germain.—Last week I gave *the King* an account of what passed betwixt *Queen Mary*, *Dillon* and me, and I hope their resolutions will be to *the King's* satisfaction. *Queen Mary* seems desirous I should tell *Lord Middleton* and *Dicconson* what *the King* told me concerning them. I have already done it to the latter, with which he seemed not displeased, and I hope the other will be so too, when I can speak to him at leisure.

'Tis true Flanagan is not dead, but is unable, as far as I can understand, to do any business. My chief concern will be to recover my pension, which others who were in the same predicament with me have got these two years and in but one and the same *ordonnance* to Mr. Nihill for the payment. When I see him, I hope he will explain this to me.

I could wish *the King* would by the return of this bearer send *Queen Mary* some preserved cedrats, for on my mentioning them one day *she* asked why I did not bring *her* some. *She* seems to be in good health.

Lieut.-General Dominick Sheldon to David Nairne.

1718, April 24. St. Germain.—When I wrote the letter I sent to you this day sevennight my hand shook so much that I could not add anything to you as I intended in the cover. I have since taken physic and am better, but do not find travelling agrees with me as well as formerly, though we met with no ill accident and had the best weather in the world. I gave *the King* an account of what I had done since my arrival with *Queen Mary* and *Dillon*, the first being willing to do what the other desired and the latter all he can and in the manner, I hope, *the King* expects from him.

(About his pension as in the last letter.) Flanagan intends to come here as soon as his health will permit, from whom I hope to have an account of my other concerns and advice what to do with my *billets d'estat* that are now at a very low ebb.

I cannot forbear transcribing a paragraph from the letter you sent me back from Dr. Ingleton : " As to the King's letter to Mr. Leslie, when I first heard from the Queen and Mr. Inese that sentence apart which raised the difficulty, I own I was alarmed as they were, but, when I afterwards saw the whole letter, I was convinced both from the design of the letter and from the context, that the King in that sentence spoke not his own sense but the sense of Protestants without appropriating to himself anything of that expression."

Pray let the President know I have not been wanting to give the Queen an account of his zeal and attention to all that relates to the King. Lord Edward [Drummond] arrived here the 21st.

W. Gordon to John Paterson.

1718, April 24. Paris.—Sending the enclosed, which came yesternight.

Lord Tullibardine to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 24.—I had yours of 24 March three or four days ago. My last was on 2 April. *Glendarule's* opinion and mine to *Clanranald* and *Brigadier Campbell* was that, as things stood, they should return hither, with which I acquainted Mr. *Dillon*, who since approved of it, and sent his directions accordingly. We expect them soon and *Brigadier Campbell's* name shall be filled up, when he comes, as oversman in the papers sent me by Mr. *Inese*, who lately wrote to *Glendarule* and me that he was not to meddle more with *the King's* affairs. It's not probable *Brigadier Campbell* will decline what is now enjoined, but rather endeavour to go through with it carefully and nothing else possible shall be neglected in diligently executing what's commanded concerning this. *Glendarule* and *Tullibardine* were not to go hence, till they had met the two gentlemen from *Bayonne*, but now, though several things are uneasy to them, particularly the inquiry these about *Marlborough's* nephew (*i.e.* Berwick) make, yet they cannot think of stirring so long as there is a probability of seeing the gentleman you mention in these parts, in case their meeting with him may be of any use. Therefore *Tullibardine* wrote to Mr. *Dillon*, desiring he would, if not improper, let them know if that gentleman be to pass this way in any time, that they may endeavour not to miss him. *Glendarule* and I are very sensible of your extraordinary kindness to us, particularly in the instructions you send us about the laird's affair, and we should be unworthy of your

protection, were our part black, as there have been pains to represent it. If there were any expressions too hard in my letter to *R. Gordon* concerning his cabal, it could not well be avoided as I was then stated with them. As carefully as possible I write to you of everything that was doing here which might procure new light how to behave, for according to instructions there was no answering to have done otherwise, especially had things continued as they were. I shall never meddle with anything but orders nor presume to take upon me in the least when I am not authorized, nor had any of us ever a thought of troubling the laird, with whom we had no concern or any kind of grudge, which I am very well satisfied *Glendarule* never gave him the least grounds to suspect. However, it's no wonder what his friends in *Scotland* write, since, as I noticed formerly, he has never been from *Bordeaux*, only for a little while at Cahors, but continually in company with skippers of every kind and other people of all sorts. In their assemblies he preached nothing but discontent and reflections on everybody. Though in the main he is a very honest man, yet that way of doing might very easily occasion folks inquiring into the reasons of his uneasiness, but it's not unlikely much of that proceeded from *Smith of Methven's* brother being much with him at that time. He is now in a pretty good humour, for on your former advice, which I sent him, he has returned me very civil compliments and we are to meet in a few days. *Nearly* 3 *pages.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 24.—*Jerningham* came here yesterday. He designs staying here till Wednesday's post comes, expecting to hear from *Dr. Erskine* by *Sir H. Stirling* in answer to a letter he wrote to *Dr. Erskine* from *Holland*. According to the answer he will take his measures, but, if neither he nor *Ormonde* hear from *Sir H. Stirling* or his friend, he intends to proceed to *Petersburg*. I wish the pains he has taken may not be lost, but I fear it.

(About money not being wanted immediately, as in his letter of the 21st), for should *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* adjust their accounts, which I do not see much likelihood of, and *the King of Sweden* should be willing to join in our stocks, he could not *attempt anything before the latter end of October*, the *fleet of England not* leaving *the Baltic* until *mid[d]le of that month.*

Ormonde wishes that *the Elector of Hanover* does *not spoil all by* advantageous *offers to the King of Sweden.*

As *Ormonde* mentioned in his last, he cannot but believe that these broils in *Europe* must produce some good to *the King*, for it seems impracticable, if the *war go on, that France and England can be good friends.* I suppose *Sir H. Stirling* gives you an account of what passes *in the Czar's Court*, which has been very extraordinary.

I have not heard from *Sir H. Stirling* since his of 31 March, and have had but two letters from *Dr. Erskine* since I came here, his last being of 14 Nov. O.S.

I hope *the King* will think of *marriage*. It is what all his relations desire of him.

The Duke of Ormonde to [Lieut.-General Dillon].

1718, April 24.—(About Jerningham, as in the last letter.) I suppose you must have received mine of 24 March with a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's*. In that letter you will see there is no present want of *money*, so I believe you will have wrote to our *friends in England* to *contradict* what you desired *George Kelly* to tell them concerning their getting the *money* with all haste. (Reasons why money is not wanted immediately and hopes that the Duke of Hanover will not make good offers to Sweden, as in the last.) *Ormonde* hears that *General Ducker is gone back from Sweden to England.* I hope to-morrow's post from *Riga* will bring me some news from my friend *Dillon*. *Ormonde* told me he was impatient to be informed of the *Emperor's answer* to *the Duke of Hanover*. My compliments to *Queen Mary*. When I have heard from *Sir H. Stirling*, you shall be informed of what resolutions I take.

James III to Cardinal Gozzadini.

1718, April 24. Urbino.—I cannot let the Abbé Rondoni return to you without testifying that he has acquitted himself here of his duty of preacher during Lent with universal applause. I could not attend his sermons, as I should have wished, because I am not sufficiently good at Italian to understand him well at a distance, but he preached one at the Capuchins, where I heard him from near with pleasure. On giving me your letter he faithfully discharged the duty of delivering all the obliging expressions you had entrusted him with, for which I return my most sincere thanks. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 234.

Cardinal de Noailles to [James III].

1718, April 25.—If I did not fear to trouble you, my letters would be more frequent. *Cardinal Gualterio* has sent me your letter of 15 March, which I received with much pleasure and gratitude. "Je suis tres faché du besoin ou vous etes tousjours tous d'*argent*, mais il est tousjours tres difficile de venir a bout de ce que l'on souhaitteroit sur cela. *Le Duc de Noailles* n'a plus que de la bonne volonté et point de pouvoir. J'en ai encore moins, mais nous ne laisserons pas de faire, l'un et l'autre, tout ce que nous pourons. Il est bien certain que *la Reine* ne neglige rien, mais les obstacles sont si grands, qu'il est difficile de les vaincre. Quand elle s'approchera de ce pais, nous pourons prendre des mesures, et il ne tiendra pas a moi qu'elles ne soient efficaces.

"Il court des bruits qui me resjouissent, j'en attens la confirmation avec grande impatience. On disoit aujourdhui que *le roi de Suede* est a *Ecosse*, et qu'il a des amis considerables avec qu'il est lié, qui l'aideront a soutenir la cause qu'il entreprend d'appuier, et qui pouront bien la faire gaigner. Dieu le veuille et fasse enfin rendre justice ; Il le fait souvent dans le tems qu'on s'y attend le moins.

"Je voudrois bien que vous n'eussiés point de desagrément du coté de *le Pape*. J'avoue que j'en suis touché, et que je ne m'accommode point que Pivot (les Protestants) vous serve mieux que lui, mais je connois votre foi et votre courage, et, soit que rien ne vous abbat, que vous profités de tout pour votre salut. C'est la plus grande de toutes les fortunes, et la gloire la plus solide qu'on puisse acquerir. Je ne vois rien de plus consolant que cette parole par laquelle St. Paul asseure si fortement que tout contribue au bien de ceux qui aiment Dieu. Il n'y a donc qu'a l'aimer pour changer les plus grans maux en biens, et les adversités de cette vie en des prosperités eternelles. L'affaire personnelle, dont vous croiés que le decision ne sauroit beaucoup tarder, n'est plus secrette. Je souhaitte fort qu'elle finisse promtement et heureusement."

I did not know that Mr. *Inese* was removed from the business with which he was charged. As you were the sole author of it, I do not doubt it was with good reason. I will keep it secret most religiously, and shall not be less desirous to procure for his brother all possible advantages. I praise God that your health is so good. 3½ *pages*.

Fanny Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 25. Paris.—Since I wrote last post, we received a long letter from my m[other]. I send you the copy of the article relating to your affair, that you may judge in what situation it is. I wish it may please you and that you may have occasion now for his service.

The report continues so strong that you're gone that we were in pain for fear the letter we sent you last post were fallen into ill hands, but Mr. Gordon assures me that we need not be apprehensive. I wish to God the news was true.

Yesterday I met Col. Nugent in a company full of English. He was entertaining them with politics and assured them that now *Lord Ilay* and his relation had changed party, for they were disobliged, and it was a very happy thing that he could answer the master would give them a pardon, and a great deal more of the same nature but as a thing concluded on, for words with him cost nothing. I interrupted him and told him I knew those gentlemen very well and could answer that they would never be for any of that family, and that they would sooner be for the Turk than our master, and that they and you did not agree formerly nor never would, for they

did not love our master nor you. On that he said that all he had been talking of was pure conjecture, but that it was very extraordinary that I knew anybody of such a character. I told him that he that was a man of importance was right to be cautious of his acquaintance, but that I, that was very insignificant, did not weigh the qualities of every person I knew. The rest of the conversation was spent in his and the company's railing at them and Mr. Nugent's wishing to see them receive the fate of their grandfather. I told them I was persuaded they'd merit it. I don't know if I did right, but 'twas with a good intention, for, as he's the trumpet of St. Germ[ains], I thought 'twas better putting him on that scent. I'm sure he'll be big till he makes a story of it to our mistress, so I give you notice ont, for I've made him a mortal enemy to poor Lord Ilay. Lord Stair has bailed Douglas out of prison. *Enclosed,*

Copy of the said Article from her M[other's] Letter.

Mr. ——— is not in town. When he comes, which will be in some days, I'll send him yours. I hope the young gentleman will think of returning soon home. His friends and relations are more impatient than ever to see him, and I'm satisfied the doctor (Lord Ilay) has so true a friendship and so great an opinion of him at present that he will make him his heir, though he's very shy in showing his good intentions to him, because he would give no jealousy to the rest of his relations, who are apt to be in furies against him on that head, because they begin to suspect it.

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Monday, April 14[-25]. London.—Our public prints may always show you how the wind blows here, for they are most obsequious to the government, except sometimes that they blunder.

We have had for some days a flood of accounts of two very material points: 1. The Emperor's agreeing to all the articles as to Spain prescribed by England and France. 2. The Czar's declaration to King George against the Pretender and having anything whatsoever to do with him, but on the contrary no alliance with him, and the Duke of Ormonde and the other gentlemen there shall be all turned away. At first it was whispered that this was by a letter under the Czar's own hand, but the enclosed Postman gives it another turn, which gives the Jacobites a handle to say the whole is a fiction, to support our stocks and money matters, which were indeed tumbling, but now are up again a little higher. A few posts must show us more of these matters, but at present the Jacobites are sadly down.

There has been very severe search for Shepherd's speech, and a strange paper that has given great offence, The Character of the present Cham of Tartary, but we do not find that anybody has been found out, and many wonder why our great ministers should trouble themselves with Tartary, except it be to take a Tartar, as some are pleased to pun. The town grows extremely thin, parliament men all gone home, no trade but stockjobbing, and that is performed by brokers.

The Squire (James Hamilton) to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 14[-25].—Our most remarkable news for some days was the Emperor's and Spain's accepting the mediations of France and England. This considerably raised our stocks, which were sinking very fast, and contributed mainly to the filling up the Bank subscriptions for 1,500,000*l*. About the same time Baron Bothmar showed a letter to a Dutch merchant in the City, signifying that the Czar had assured King George he had no thoughts of marrying his niece to the Pretender, nor of giving any encouragement to him or his adherents and that he had given orders to the late Duke of Ormonde and others there to depart his territories. These things strangely knocked down the Tories and Jacobites, who have nothing now to support their spirits but disbelieving these reports. Yesterday and to-day the stocks are on the decline. 'Tis certain, if a war should be with England and Spain, the public funds would not long stand without something more imaginary than their imaginary bottom, for the trade up the Straits is the only branch now left that is considerable to England.

I do not hear that K[ing] G[eorge] and his Highness are in any good way of being reconciled, for lately a scuffle happened between the Duke of Newcastle's footmen and his Highness'. The next day the Duchess sent a gentleman to make an apology, but the doors were shut against him, and orders were given to forbid the Prince from coming to Drury Lane playhouse. The 15th the Lord Chancellor resigned. Lord Parker or Lechmere is talked of to supply his place. We hear of six regiments to be sent to Port Mahon. *Undated, but date endorsed as above.*

Lord Balmerino to James III.

1718, April 14[-25].—I have little to say, save to inform you of my faithful humble service. As for the process you mention, I hope well of it, but I cannot form a very distinct judgment of it, till I get a more particular account, which I expect from your solicitor, and then no assistance I can give shall be wanting.

The BISHOP OF EDINBURGH to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 14[-25].—Having since last Christmas been sadly afflicted by a severe rheumatism, I have been in no condition to act in the affair you recommend to me, however much I have it at heart, but, now that I begin to recover, I shall exert myself with the utmost zeal in it, only both I and others of your friends want to know with respect to what particulars it is that we are to contribute to carry on your trade, for we may readily mistake as to those commodities you specially aim at, and much need particular directions.

The ties of my relation to *the King* are more binding on me than the late no less seasonable than obliging favour I had by his order on *H. Straiton* or any further prospect I may have by his prosperity, however I must own with the profoundest gratitude his being mindful of me. Because I have nothing at this time worthy of his trouble, I earnestly beg of you to make my most just and grateful acknowledgements to him.

QUEEN MARY to [the COUNTESS OF NITHSDALE].

[1718,] April 26. St. Germain.—"I am so guilty towards you in point of writting that I must beggin by asking your pardon for it, and assure you that it is not for want of kyndnesse, but I have so mucch to writt to the King that I seldom have time or strength left for other letters, and this I hope you will beleeve, and excuse once for all. I am sorry the King has not granted your request, however his letter is kynd and the leave he gives you to go, and stay wherever he shall settle with his Queen, I think ought to be accepted by you without your saying, that you will expect to be sent for, this I tell you as a friend, and only to yourself, for I would not so mucch as have you writt to your Lord that I say so, but only, that, when the time coms, you will make use with pleasure of the permission given you. The King had sent me your letter to him, and the copy of his to you befor you sent it me, for he knows the kyndnesse I have for you, and how mucch I wish you about his wife, as soon as he has one, for I writt to him about it befor you did, and I was glad to be able to tell him, that you knew nothing of it, nor had not asked it of me, as in truth you had not then, but I am sorry I have succeeded no better, and I desire nobody may know this but yourself, unless it be F[?ather] Maxwell, to whom I shall explain this matter, to shorten my letter, and only tell you that you may count upon my kyndnesse, whicch I shall always show you when in my power, but this matter dos not depend on me, if it did, you would have reason to be pleased, as well as with my giving you som succour in the hard circumstances you are in, if I were able to do it, but my own are succh, that at present I cannot give the least help to my best friends, which is no small grief to me, but, if ever I am in a better condition, you shall be so too." 2 *pages. Holograph.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 26. *Paris.*—I came to town last night and an hour ago received the enclosed from *Ormonde.* His note to *Sir H. Stirling* is quite in the succinct style. I wish that may not be displeasing. *The Regent* has not yet received *the King of Spain's* final answer in relation to *the Emperor's* late concession. *James Murray* parted hence yesterday and I hope he'll be soon with you.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 26. Paris.—Acknowledging his letter of the 5th and stating that by *Mr. Murray,* who parted the day before, he had sent all the packets and letters then by him, and sending some which came since *Mr. Murray's* departure.

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 26. Vienna.—(The contents sufficiently appear by the following note.) 26 *pages. French. Partly in cipher.*

JOHN PATERSON.

Note of the preceding letter. He acknowledges Lord Mar's of 24 March and says he had sent an extract of it to his Court and directly to the King, his master, because he did not know whether it was proper in the present conjuncture to own to any of the ministers there his having a regular correspondence with Lord Mar. He had mentioned Lord Mar's good offices towards facilitating the peace, particularly by means of Dr. Erskine. He repeats his desire to know with whom of the Swedish Court Lord Mar has a correspondence. He will write hereafter in cipher and sign his letters Frank for fear of accidents. De Busi's cipher not being full enough, he desires Lord Mar will send him another, or he will send Lord Mar one. He mentions some letters of Comte de la Marck of 10 March, and that it is said for certain the King of Sweden is in negotiation with both the Czar and King George and will be determined by his own interest to agree with whichever of them he finds most flexible, that the Emperor is angry with the Czar &c.

SIR J. ERSKINE to *JAMES III.*

1718, April 15[-26.]—Expressing his joy and respect at receiving his letter.—I have been in pain from the reports that *the Elector of Hanover's* friends have often circulated about you, for, though I did not altogether believe them, I was much afraid, and now I see that there was something in them, but the very agreeable news of your good condition, of your health, and of the prospect of a happy marriage, and the hope you give me of my being able to kiss your hands have delighted me, but I shall be still more, if it shall please heaven to grant me my most ardent desires of seeing you in

all these points the most happy person in the world. "Le bonheur, dont Mademoiselle. . . veut bien prendre part, n'est pas si grand a mon gré qu'elle le croit. Il est vrai que des accidens m'ont arrive . . . par lesquelles le pouvoir de me nuire a été derobée à des gens, qui en avoient bien la volonté, par eux-mêmes, quand ils n'en croioient rien. Mais l'utilité de la seule circonstance de ma vie, par laquelle je croiois vous pouvoir un jour servir a quelque chose, m'a été volé par la trahison d'un malheureux et sans l'esperance de quoi je ne m'aurois jamais scu resoudre de quitter ce que j'estimois mon plus grand bonheur. J'ay pourtant le plaisir de me voir cause qu'un qui me hait ne tire point d'avantage d'une affaire, qui sans moi aura, peut-etre, rendu à quelqu'un de ses amis plus que je n'aurai pu bien entendre avec plaisir, quand même ce n'etoit pas grande chose. Cette affaire est à l'heur qu'il est en proces entre nous, et, quoiqu'on croit de voir bientôt un proprietaire qui ne sera pas si rigid, on m'a persuadé de finir le proces au plustot, ce qui je tache de faire avec empressement, quand même il me couteroit bien cher, puisqu' il est possible mais loin de certain, que quelques mois d'avance en cette affaire pourra donner a moi et à mes amis un plaisir qui vaudra bien le depense. Mais quel que mon sort puisse etre en cette affaire, qu'il m'en revienne du bonheur . . . ou du chagrin, cela n'otera rien de l'extreme grandeur de l'obligation que je vous en dois." My inviolable attachment to you will end only with my days and will have no other limits than those of my power.

"Permettez, que je vous felicite sur votre bon gout en fait de musique. Mais, s'il y a ce changement en vous, il y en a un bien plus grand en beaucoup des gens sur votre conte, depuis que j'ai eu l'honneur de voir, qui ne songoient guère a vous en ce tems là, mais à l'heur qu' il est se rejouiroient avec moi de vous voir à l'opera en Haymercatt prenant plaisir en nôtre musique à la manière Italienne et de vous y voir la bonne fille, que Mademoiselle a nommée dans sa lettre, . . . iroit cent lieux à pied."

The orders of which Mr. Manley (? Mar) has informed me shall be followed, as far as I can. 2½ *pages. French. Enclosed in the next.*

Sir J. Erskine to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 15[-26].—Explaining why he had not written oftener and acknowledging his letter with *the King's* of 1 Jan. enclosed.—I need not tell you my satisfaction from the remembrance of that friend, and I hope you will help me with such a thankful acknowledgement as it deserves, and that *he* will bear with any escapes which the want of the thorough knowledge of the language and the way of writing the enclosed may occasion.

I was mightily pleased to see your hand-writing again, though I drew no bad conclusions from your silence, for I reckoned

there had been some part of trade fit to be concealed, but, though it is not altogether so, yet the prospect of the co-partnery's affairs being soon in a very good way was very agreeable, and the more for what *the King* says on that head as well as to his establishment in the way of doing well. Some aver positively it's in *the Regent's* family, others in Mr. Mansfield's (? Duke of Modena's), some, but few, pretend to be let into the secret of its being in *the Emperor's* house, because though *the Elector of Hanover*, say they, and *the Emperor* seem to be in the strictest friendship, that's only carried on to prevent suspicion, and others confidently affirm it to be in *the Czar's*. Whatever I guess, I say nothing, nor am I in any uneasiness about it, because I know *the King* so well and that he is so perfectly able to judge what is best, that all his friends may rest satisfied that he will do what is fittest for him in his present circumstances and will tend to the real interest and good of his family. May it be soon and happy!

I am so far from envying you the good entertainment you and my namesake received at *Venice* that, though I would have been very fond to have been of your party there, and yet more so when you found that good old acquaintance you mention in such perfect health, yet I think all the pleasures and comforts you can have are little enough, when you are taking so much trouble for the good of your friends. I was mightily pleased you were so well diverted too where you then were and so merry even without drink and return my thanks for the specimen you let me share of it. My neighbour in the coalpit, as you call him, shall very soon have it, and then we shall make a rehearsal, though I'm afraid it will be a sorry one. However, we'll make up the rest by drinking all your healths, in Burgundy I cannot say, but in as good Bordeaux as need be, and, though I never exceeded much that way, yet I never lived so sober in that article in all my life, though a body would think to drown care one would now then have " recours

Au prompt secours
Que contre la tristesse
Le vin, le dieu des amours
Offrent sans cesse."

I am sure long ere now you have one I sent under *H. Straiton's* cover. I am still as earnest to do service in the affair of the *money* or what else may be useful to the co-partnery, as you can imagine, but the salt (? silver) affair, which should chiefly have enabled me, has hitherto by our friend Johnson's (? Haldane of Glenagies) kind doings been a charge to me, but it will, I hope (I mean the salt on hand) soon yield something, though 1,000*l.* sterling less than it would have done, had Johnson been where he well deserves to be. However, I will most cheerfully do what I can. Mr. Skinner (? H. Straiton) and I were both of your opinion as to the manner of providing the *money* and that a less quantity sent to the right mercat,

before others learn the knack of that trade, will yield more profit than a much greater quantity if the trade come to be understood, and so you may be assured of its being done cautiously.

Sir J. Erskine is endeavouring to renew his lease of the salt pans (? silver mines), which he's advised he can procure by law. What success he will have, or whether he's in the wrong for endeavouring it with this landlord, I shall not say, but all his friends concur in advising it, because, though the salt trade be now much shut up by the northern war, yet, if he can have his lease finished, and but some few months' salt on hand, when the trade comes to be opened, it may be more valuable than several times so much afterwards, and he's so much convinced it is so, that he spares neither pains nor charge to compass it, and only the hopes of that can comfort him for having lost the company of his dear friends he left at *Avignon*, which he as often repents, as he has grounds to fear stops to be put to that affair, which made him think of taking that resolution and then again grows easy when he gets hopes of ending it.

Ely (? Sir J. Erskine) spoke to Mr. Skinner about meeting with those merchants to talk of their common concern. He has no difficulty to do it with anybody *the King* employs, nor by what Mr. Skinner tells me, have they, I believe, any as to him, and I believe in some days some of them will meet about an affair which Ely has much at heart, relating to a gentleman you mentioned to Skinner called *the Highlanders*, who so much wants necessaries at present that even bread must be provided for him; but, as you well know, he's a greedy fellow and would be sure, if he believed other people were taking care of him, to endeavour to have it for nothing. It must be so ordered as to make him thankful and pay the merchant too, which I hope may be done, but have it he must, for without it he cannot stir half a day's journey from his own house, which were pity, for you know, he's a rumbling, useful fellow and can serve his friends in his own way, and never could there be a better conjuncture for setting trade afoot, if once you had settled matters with your foreign partners, for, though that company you have most to fear as rivals be strong in the family of the Harrisons (a thousand men) and want not *money*, yet all the partners are so terribly divided in factions and parties, and so heartily hate one another, that I believe even the loss of their trade could not frighten them into an agreement, and I suppose *Argyle* would never be so hearty as formerly (and then *the Highlanders* could do something), if I may guess by some of his friends, who to myself wished for an opportunity to resent their own and his treatment by *the Elector of Hanover*, but how far they are to be trusted I shall not determine.

The treaty with *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* has been much longer on the anvil than we thought could have been

expected, but I suppose, at least I'd fain hope, it will soon be ended now, and that nothing but that stops their advancing their share of the stock for trade. I'm mightily pleased *Dr. Erskine* has the occasion to do service ; I always was sure of his good will. I haven't heard from *Sir H. Stirling* nor him, since *Sir H. Stirling* left *Holland*, but I often hear of their being well and going on in the same way. I reckon *Ormonde* hears pretty often from them, who are now at Mr. Skelton's.

May his message succeed and the Company's affairs be bettered by it, and so I hope they will be by *the King of Spain's* difference, which is probable will soon appear with *the Elector of Hanover*. You would be surprised, if you knew how far *the Elector of Hanover* is in disrepute even amongst his own friends. *The Prince of Wales*, who, you know, is just as cunning as himself, has got some of them, but many more who appeared fond of both are now very indifferent to them and weary of their company as well as they are of *the House of Commons*, whom they think a rascally fellow, and believe *the Elector of Hanover* and he will never part, but, had *the Prince of Wales* acted with as much spirit as *Argyle* would have had him, *the House of Commons* would have been sent a packing. However, if he soon get *the King's* pass, it will be as good.

I was very vexed when I saw *Mar* had been in such perplexity about *Lady Mar's* affairs here, because, though they have not been so punctually discharged, because of some unforeseen difficulties, as I'd wish, yet they are far from being in the condition he imagined, as you'll find by the enclosed from James *Erskine*, to whom I read that part of yours as I had also done to David Couley his partner (? David Erskine, Lord Dun) and that occasioned James' writing thus. I have already written to *Lady Mar* how uneasy *Mar* had been, and what he desired of *Sir J. Erskine*, assuring her that she could not oblige him more than by laying her commands on him in anything he could serve her in and that her security was most undoubtedly good, unless Mr. Johnson's son Duddel (? Drummond) and his worthy society did her most palpable injustice, for, before *the House of Commons* gave them this new warrant, by which I doubt they'll prove uneasy to many I'm in great concern about, her affairs were putting on such a foot as they could not have failed to go as just as any pendulum clock, but what effect that may have as to arrears or in time coming it lies in their breast only to tell. I saw to-day Mr. *Rait*, who is just getting out of his painful rheumatic disease. He says he wrote to *Mar* about two months ago and gave it to *H. Straiton*, the factor. He desired me to tell *Mar* that he hopes in a few days to remit *Lady Mar* what will make her perfectly easy and added that he believed Duddel and company would be so far from disordering her affairs that they would make them as right

as I could wish. I heartily wish the event may answer his expectation. Jo. Morrice (? Erskine) was in some concern about his woods, parks, and policy, of which he has now turned greive. I have lately heard of sweet Tam Morrice's being very well. Those of this country *Mar* mentioned often remember him very wishfully. Poor Frank's family are much distressed by the loss of the two young handsomest lasses.

I hope to hear from or of you sooner than you can get this, by what your brother[-in-law] with *Holland* (*i.e.* Sir H. Paterson) told Mr. Skinner. 6 *pages*.

James III to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, April 27.—Yours of the 4th to *the King* and to *Mar* are come safe. You will, I suppose, know before this that *Jerningham* is gone to *Ormonde* and I think he has been very much in the right, as he also prevented your directions as to his leaving Holland.

Our late accounts from thence you will also be sure to have had. They are comfortable and we may now reasonably hope *à quoy nous en tenir*. I send you not *Ormonde's* to me, there being nothing material in it but his explaining what he said before about *the Czar's daughter*, who is, it seems, *daughter* to the present wife born before marriage and during the life of the first. This is what he has heard ; he adds that according to the custom of that country *she* has, though born before marriage, been made legitimate. Pray forward the enclosed to *Ormonde*, who seems to be in very good humour, though in a dismal place and way of living. I think you should let him know we can expect no good at present from *the Regent*, for such disagreeable truths 'tis fit both he and our friends with *England* should be acquainted with. I am though in hopes in a few days to send him some comfortable account in relation to *the Pope*, about whom I did not care to write but on sure grounds, and those we are like to have soon as appears by the Italian letters I send *Queen Mary*. I think I always forgot to mention to him that some months ago I had *Luc*[*c*]*a's* pulse indirectly felt in relation to *the King's* living on his small estate, but I found that gentleman's great dependence on *the Emperor* made that impracticable at present. I should be very sorry this last should make up entirely with *the King of Spain* and think you do well to inform *Ormonde* in general of all those matters.

I am very glad *George Kelly* with his cargo was at last arrived and shall be very impatient to have a return to it. You are very much in the right not to be uneasy about the story of the picture, for friends will soon see they have no reason to complain of you. It is a very unaccountable story indeed ; I shall endeavour to come at the bottom of it, and certainly disapprove the conduct of the authors of it. I cannot but remark here that I have heard no more from *the King of Sicily* since what I wrote to *Queen Mary* about him. His silence is,

I think, remarkable in this juncture, especially considering that his last letter denoted the contrary.

You did very well not to communicate to *Inese* my letter of 25 Feb. about himself, and as well to leave in his hands my order about the delivery of my papers, which 'tis very reasonable he should keep. I should be the more concerned at the ill reports you mention to be spread at *Paris* about him, had I or mine given any occasion for them. His conduct on that occasion is very commendable, and, if your discountenancing on occasion such reports can do him any good, you will do well to do it, for it was never my intention that his exclusion from business should be looked on by the public as a disgrace.

On second thoughts, if there is time to get *Ormonde's* letter to me copied you shall have it this post from *Mar*, whom I expect back in a few days.

The Czar's domestic affairs make a great noise. All I know of the son's extravagancy is his having carried from Bologna some months ago 22 dogins.

I suppose you know the part Barry of Bayonne has acted. I do not see any hurt it can do, and, now the parliament is up, I believe they will not think it worth their while to make a plot of it, though they could. All the effect it can have will be to make the knight (Sir Peter Redmond) now employed in it go the more cautiously to work, for you easily see the ill consequence it would be, should *the King of Spain* be able to tax us at present with any light or imprudent proceeding. If the knight be with you, you will do well to preach a little prudence to him, and in the meantime *the King of Spain's* agent with *Rome* shall be informed of what relates to Barry's affair, to take away all handle of complaint that might thereafter be made against me in that respect. I cannot but be in great pain for your health and beg you to take great care of it, and not to apply more than is absolutely necessary, when you are unwell. 4 *pages. Copy in Nairne's hand.*

The Duke of Mar to James III.

1718, April 27. Rome.—As I told you in my last of the 20th I intended, "I went next day to Frescati, where I was so pleased with the place, by its natural as well as artificial beauties, and by its putting me so much in mind of Richmond, a favourite place to me, and not unlike another I am more nearly concerned in, that I could not persuade myself to leave it sooner than Saturday, and then, being so far in the way, I thought it better to go from thence to Tivoli than to return here and make a new work of it, which would have cost me a day more, so we went there on Saturday afternoon, but by no means did I find that place to come up to the beauties of the other and we returned to town on Sunday. The good Cardinal came to me that night without sending before and told me that the Pope desired to see me on Tuesday forenoon,

so, when that time came, to Montecavallo I went with Mr. Stewart just as the Cardinal had directed me in all. When I came there, Cardinal Aquaviva was with his Holiness and was in the outward room as I was carried in. We bowed to one another only as I passed, I not being sure it was he, but after I had passed he made a compliment to Steuart about me, so that I find myself obliged to go and wait on him upon this, beside other reasons, before I leave this place, as I told our Cardinal to-day, who is to make the appointment. His Holiness was exceeding gracious and not a little facetious. Steuart explained in Italian what I said in English and *vice versa* to me. You'll easily imagine that most of what passed was in relation to your Majesty and his beloved Urbin, which last puzzled me a little. He spoke of my liking architecture and made me a present of the Book of St. Peter's, which he had lying ready on his table, for which I returned the best Scots compliment I could. Upon his expressing his great desire to serve your Majesty, and his wishes that the settlement of the affairs of Europe may terminate in your restoration, I thought it was not amiss to tell him that I was sure your Majesty did not doubt of his good inclinations and that I was almost morally sure that within a twelvemonth from this it would be in his power to restore you, with which thoughts I was the more pleased, because I was fully persuaded that he would omit no opportunity to serve you, which would not only be a great glory to him, but also by his doing so, he would would have an opportunity of removing in a great measure the prejudices in England against the church of which he is head. This seemed to surprise his Holiness a little and after a little pause he made Steuart repeat it again and thereafter asked in how long a time I had said, which after his telling, his Holiness thought fit to say that I had told him good news, and that nothing which depended on him would be wanting; to which I seemed in no manner to doubt of. A good deal of other discourse passed both of the affairs of Europe, of which in our part of it he seems not very well informed, and of bagatelles, and so we parted, in his charging me to assure your Majesty of a great many fine things. After that I called for Cardinal Paulucci, but missed him as I expected, so our Cardinal is to get a time appointed for that visit, as he is to do for that of Imperiali, who I thought to have seen to-day, but he is gone out of town, as Albani is, and return not till the end of the week. I am to see too by our Cardinal's direction Sacripanti as a Scotsman and to call for the two nephews, which are all the visits I think I shall make besides my old acquaintance Geraldi, who has been with me often.

"I was with our Cardinal to-day and gave him an account of what had passed with his Holiness and I had the pleasure to have his approbation as to what I had said to him, thinking it right and well-placed and timed. I wish your Majesty may be of that opinion too, but, if it do no good, I hope it can do

no hurt. The Cardinal is to see the Pope on Monday, when he will see how he took what I said and I confess I long [to] know it."

(About his having been very much out of order in his stomach and the remedies he had taken.)

The weather here begins to be very hot, which they say is earlier than usual, so they expect a very hot summer and their apprehensions about lying out of Rome are already begun. Geraldi told me that a strong young fellow of his acquaintance, who had lain but one night out of town towards Ostia, had died of a violent fever, and this morning a cook we have got fell down dead on the floor and, though brought to life again by blooding, is not yet recovered. All this is a spur to my leaving, but you would not, I fancy, think I would do right to set out, till I find myself pretty well, which just now I am a good deal from being. You will see it will take me all this week at least to make my visits. I think to take leave of our good Cardinal on Tuesday, when he will be able to tell me what the Pope said. On Wednesday morning the French post comes in and I wish to see the letters as they pass, so I propose to set out that afternoon or Thursday morning early, if I be as well as I hope I shall, and go the route mentioned in my last, unless I receive your commands to the contrary. I hope you will excuse the short time I am like to be longer absent than you proposed, and that no business will suffer by it. There will be no travelling, I fear, in the middle of the day to one who is not in a better way than I am, so my journey may not be so quick as I would wish, but I shall make all the haste I can and ask pardon for its not being sooner. I shall not be here to receive a return to this, but, if you have any commands for me, it is but addressing à M. Gerard to be left at any post on the road till called for. I have now seen most of what's to be seen here to my taste and I really long to have the happiness of waiting on you again, so I shall make all the haste I can.

I was honoured with your letter of the 17th at Frescati and with that of the 21st since I returned. My not coming to town on Saturday was the reason of my not acknowledging the first by last post, but I had little to say and hoped you would forgive my not writing and see the reason of it. I return *Dillon's* to your Majesty and your answer. It is mighty well. Enclosed is the Queen's packet and what I had to-day from Mr. Dillon and there's one from him to yourself in Nairne's packet. You will see by his to me how jealous he is about *Capt. Ogilvie's* going over and you know how little reason there is for it. It seems too he thinks he has been oftener there by directions of late, in which he is also mistaken, but of this kind we shall soon see more, I'm afraid, by the impressions that he has got. I cannot but take some notice of this to him, though I'll do it gently, and I am much mistaken, if I did not write to him of *Capt. Ogilvie's*

having gone over of himself without the knowledge of any here, as soon as I knew it, and expressed my being angry with *Capt. Ogilvie* upon it. If you think it worth your while, Paterson may look out the copies of my letters to Mr. Dillon and see if it be so.

The other letters I had I have sent to Paterson to be laid before you. 'Tis little I can make of them here for want of the ciphers, but I believe most of the answers to them will be time enough after I am with you. Your Majesty is very gracious to Lord Pitsligo, of which I have informed him.

It was no small pleasure to me to have your last in so good a hand by yourself, and, if you will be pleased to mind it but a little for some time, writing so will come as easy to you as ever or as the hand you commonly now write, which, forgive me for saying, mostly requires a cipher and takes away great deal of the beauty from the good sense as well as from the clearness and conciseness of the expression your letters always have without any compliment really in themselves. Be so good as to pardon this freedom, which is more 'tis like than others will use, whatever they think and much more, I know, than becomes me.

The more I see of this fine country, the greater pity I think it is that you should be in so bad a place of it during the time your hard fortune obliges you to continue here, which has made me be turning it in my head ever since I left you how to remedy it, if you should be forced to stay another winter, and, though you be, I hope your family will be increased and then, I am sure, your present habitation will be still more disagreeable, especially to the new comer. Besides what I ventured to write on this in my last, I have had several thoughts and projects, which I will not trouble you with now, but reserve them for talking when I see you, which will do better than by writing, only I must say that, if ill fortune oblige you to stay longer in this country, it is hard if things cannot be so contrived that you may at least have all the agreements it is capable of giving, but I would hope there will still be no occasion for these thoughts by your going soon where it will be more agreeable to you and all that belong to you.

If I understand *Mr. Butler's* letter right, I hope things betwixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* are quite adjusted ere now, which I hope will soon produce good effects.

I think, and so does *Cardinal Gualterio*, that *the English fleet's* being to come to this place of the world is very lucky. It is impossible but it will make *the Regent* alter his way of thinking and doing, and, since he has none of *the French fleet* to send at the same time hither, I am persuaded he will think it necessary to send some of his *army* to prevent *the Elector of Hanover's* having it in his power to determine things as his caprice pleases.

Cardinal Gualterio told me a piece of news to-day which, I believe, was not expected by any, that the old lady who

formerly had so great credit with *the King of Spain* is allowed to return thither, by which people believe he and *the Regent* are in a good correspondence.

What has happened as to *the English fleet* will certainly make *the Emperor* more uppish and stick closer to *his* points than *he* might otherwise have done, and, though *he* should offer to renounce *his* claim, people here do not believe that *the King of Spain* will rest satisfied with that. 5 *pages. Holograph.*

The Duke of Mar to John Paterson.

1718, April 27. Rome.—I have all yours, but have little to say in return, had I time, as I have but little, What's in Gordon's letter was all this day's post brought for you. It brought me some, which I send to be laid before the King, when he's at leisure. I cannot conceive who writes so familiarly to him as the two in Gordon's letter seem to be without anything being said of them to anybody. I have made little of the enclosed, not having the ciphers, but I hope to see them again with you before most of them require any answer and I shall have left this before I could have a return to this. There's another letter from Glendarule enclosed, so I shall have many of his to answer, not having had time to write to him yet. I sent yours to Gordon last post and wrote to Lord Pitsligo. I know not what Gordon means about your brother, nor have I heard any more about him since the two letters you mention sent to him last year. Tell Mr. Nairne I took nothing out of his packet but Mr. Dillon's to myself and there was none from O'Brien to him enclosing it.

Charles François de Busi to John Paterson.

1718, April 27. Vienna.—M. Stiernhock having promised to send me to-day his answer to the Duke of Mar, I would not fail to accompany it with this to tell you, that there is a report here as if King James had suddenly left Italy, and the Grand Chancellor of the Emperor told a minister this morning that the Court had certain information of his departure for Livonia for his marriage with the widowed Princess of Courland, the Czar's niece. However, the Nuncio assured me this morning that his Majesty was still at Urbino and that all these reports were false. The English ministers here continue to represent to this Court the prejudice to the peace of Germany, should this marriage come about. The Emperor is apparently inclined to the interests of the Elector of Hanover, on account of the fleet, which he hopes to have soon in the Mediterranean to check the progress of King Philip, with whom, add the said English ministers, King James is in close friendship and perfect intelligence. In short, they do all they can to make the Emperor join with them in interrupting everything that may tend to assist King James. However, "tout cela reste icy

dans une certaine indifference" and I can assure you that Prince Eugene is always "dans son interieur" for his Majesty's interests.

Yesterday arrived here a courier from the French Court, who has brought but little good, and at present people here begin to believe that France is more and more in King Philip's interests. The Emperor therefore endeavours to arrange peace with the Turks, which is looked on as certain, and, as all the plenipotentiaries will be at the congress within three weeks at furthest, I shall be able to advise you of what shall happen with regard thereto. The Czar should by this time be returned to Petersburg, and the peace conferences with Sweden are going on, though not with much success. The report of the escape of the Czarovitch is not confirmed; on the contrary, he is closely guarded in a convent in Muscovy. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.* 3 *pages.*

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 28. Urbino.—I was not surprised not to hear from you last post, for I reckoned you in the country, as I still reckon this will be my last to you at Rome, and that you will be back the 7th or 8th. You might have saved yourself some unquietness about your Dutch letters, for you will find nothing in them. I join to them two I received last Tuesday's post. There was none from *Lady Mar*, who, I hope, will be well with you this summer. John [Hay] is in pain not to hear from his beloved. He is himself in a very good way and walks about with a white face as narrow as a knife. Clermont is in steel, so you see how the troublesome planets reign here, for the sun doth not spare us neither, but in recompense we have excellent white and red Burgundy besides our champagne, and good beer, small and strong. We have Tempesti with Italian *vaudevilles*, and the daughter of the Doge of San Marino with a voice that, I believe, will drive live guard man into her garret. If all this joined to curious weather be not preferable to old stones and brass, give me leave to say you have a very antique taste, but enough of bagatelle.

I bid Paterson write you the smaller matters, and here you have in different bundles your letters back and those to you with some I send you to bring back with you. You know I have retrenched remarks, but you'll easily see one reason of my desiring you to forward to *Dillon* the copy I send you of *Ormonde's* to me. I see no great need of sending him yours except to show confidence to *Dillon* and to let him see how well *Ormonde* and *Mar* agree. You'll see what a noble blunder Oglethorpe has made. Pray make my compliments to your uncle (Lord Panmure), for his letter to me requires no answer, nor does, I think, his to you much. Did I not love myself and you, as well as I do, you would not have in me so exact a correspondent, but I hope our mutual friendship won't have

much occasion to show itself in writing and that I shall soon embrace you here. I suppose you know our Cardinal has delayed his visit here a little as well as the apparent pleasing reason for it, though I am such an unbeliever that I never think myself sure with some people, till I have in possession the effects of their words. You'll do very well to see Perugia, if it be not too much out of your way, for I am such an Urbinist that I would fain have others convinced by themselves, that after Rome and Bologna the rest is hang choice. 3 *pages*. *Holograph*.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, April 28.—I cannot but acknowledge myself your long letter of 3 March. It grieves me to find by yours to *Mar* what a dismal life you lead at Mittau, and the more when I see how little you regard any personal uneasiness, where the good of the trade is concerned, but I hope our present uncertainty will not be long by the accounts from Holland from Jerningham, who was going to you with Sheridan. If the last be any ways useful to you, keep him, as I have no immediate or particular use for him, I only ask him if he be useless to you. Dr. Erskine's ways are really unaccountable, but, if the wished union be once compassed, I hope all will go as we wish, and 'tis certain my going to Muscovy can never be advisable but on great and good grounds, such as the marriage, to which I own I should have great reluctancy, if the person be downright a bastard, but on all these heads I can say no more, till you send me further accounts, which I pray may be satisfactory, for I can send you nothing new from these parts, and I fear *Dillon* can give you no very good account of *the Regent's* dispositions. God send us better days and patience in the meantime and you all health and success. I am very well as I hope this will find you, but you must take great care of your health in that, I fear, sad climate, especially if you can't take much air. I expect the Duke of Mar back here next week and Cardinal Gualterio is also to be here about that time.

I made your compliments to Clermont and our poor good President, who received them with tears in his eyes and returns them heartily as does t'other. I refer to *Dillon* for everything. 2 *pages*. *Holograph and copy*.

BRIGADIER JOHN HAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 28. Urbino.—Thanking him for his good advice in his note to Paterson.—I shall endeavour to profit of it, though I can't think that doctors' opinions are always to be followed *à la lettre*. Yet I believe I shall be able to persuade you that I have given entire faith to them for once, which I don't yet repent and, I hope, shan't. I am now almost perfectly well. I beg pardon for not sending the enclosed last post, but I was so much out of order that I quite forgot it, and

so very busy cursing all physicians and quacks that I could think of nothing else.

The weather here is turned excessively hot so as to be troublesome, which, they say, happens very rarely here so soon. There is great appearance of the summer's being intolerable. We have had two of the President's nephews here from Florence. One is gone, the other, the Duke de Salviati's son, is here still. There is come to town from the republic of St. Marino a girl that charms everybody with her singing, and has touched Creagh so much that he says he would marry her, if he thought she would please the King, which I don't at all doubt of, as matters stand at present, for they say she is not disagreeable. Cristini will be here the beginning of the month. The King is perfectly well.

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Thursday night, April 28. Urbino.—Since my last, which was, I believe, the 24th, I have read to the King the letters you transmitted me with yours of the 20th, most of which do not seem to require an immediate answer. If you think fit to write to Powrie or W. Gordon about that affair of Mr. Trotter's, 'tis well, but, lest you have no leisure to answer their letters, I have left mine to Gordon open, by which you will know the King's pleasure about it.

'Tis evident enough by Tullibardine's and Brigadier Campbell's letters that Barry must be a very abandoned rogue, but I believe that need give nobody any great uneasiness, for I don't apprehend he can do much hurt. As for what they write about the a[r]ms, that is now out of doors, being, as you know, put into other hands, and so I do not see what further orders you can give about them, till you have heard from Sir Peter on his arrival in these parts, or from some of these gentlemen after they have discoursed with him. I have though returned their letters, lest you should think fit to write to any of them. I likewise return Miss Fanny's letter. *Argyle's* brother is, I think, but in a very indifferent taking, but, when one reflects how that m[arria]ge was brought about and what part he has acted since its consummation, if ever it was consummate at all, one may say without being ill-natured he has deserved it richly. However, they say, there is never a great loss but there is some advantage to be got by it, and so his l[ordshi]p may now come to find out that the love of money is the root of all evil, besides that, while this process is depending, he'll have an opportunity of becoming experimentally learned in a point of the law, which possibly he might never have understood so well had this not happened, but I pity his friend Glendarule. Should this story come to his ears, it will break the very heart of him.

(Enclosing the letter from Vienna calendared *ante, p.* 282.) I wish their intelligence may prove false, but I begin to have my own fears about it.

The Jew must be a very strange, inconsistent fellow, if what Father Græme says of him be true, and the King thinks it may not be improper you let Mr. Dillon know what accounts you have of the Jew, that so he may be the more cautious about him.

His Majesty is to send you under his cover what other letters came for you last post, amongst others one from Sir Hugh Paterson. His Majesty will write you himself what he finds proper to be said on them, only as to that article in Sir Hugh's letter about Mr. Dundas he ordered me to tell you he would concert it with you, after you came here.

Will you pardon me for charging your packet with the enclosed for W. Gordon. It is from Clephan, I believe to his wife, and he's anxious to have it go safe.

You will see by Busi's letter he has forwarded yours to *Dr. Erskine*, though he does not mention by what canal. I wish it may go safe, and the rather because, if I remember, you in that letter recommended to *Dr. Erskine* to write more frequently to *Ormonde*, which I wish he may observe. The King is, I believe, to send you a copy of *Ormonde's* letter to him, which I have put into the Queen's cipher. I wish you may not think I have given you an unnecessary trouble in putting so much of it in cipher. It is, however, the safest side to err on, and, it being to go on to Paris, I could not well do it otherwise in case of accidents. Speaking of *Ormonde* reminds me that Macmahon some days ago said that Wogan had told him that *Ormonde* and *David Kennedy* were no more together and that he had reasons for what he said. This I fancied might be a mistake, but I begin now to think there may be something in it, because you'll see in *Ormonde's* letter to *the King* that he mentions a letter written by Butler to Wogan, and so it is not impossible but Wogan may have authority for what he says, and the authority too of a minister. (About the hot weather, as in other letters.)

Some few days ago arrived here a young lady of Bologna, who, they say, is pretty enough and sings to a miracle, as I am told by our virtuosos. She sang at a conversatione at Signor Bonaventura's the night before last, where the King was present and all his subjects except Sir W. Ellis and myself, and lucky it was for us. Never any lady, I believe, made a more universal conquest. Not a single man escaped her, I mean of a subject, for such as were not killed dead on the spot came home mortally wounded, and still there is nothing talked of but her amongst those that have life enough to speak at all. Of the wounded Nairne and Creagh seem to be in the most desperate condition ; Forster was very bad, but it happened luckily to be his blooding night, and there are now good hopes of his recovery. I believe, if Sir William and I had been there, we would have had our share of the common calamity. Sir William very justly pretends that the number of pensions should be reduced, as thinking it unjust to continue dead

men on the list, but this is not yet determined. I pray she may be gone before you arrive for fear of further mischief.

I wish you would order some of your servants to buy some paper, both for letters and warrants, a hundred or two of good quills, some good ink and two or three pounds of fine wax. This place affords nothing good of any kind.

Though I had nothing to say to Lord Panmure, I durst not take the liberty with him I sometimes do with others, so I have wrote to him and Sheldon under Gordon's cover. He is in a strange peevish way. I think the King told me you were to write to him, which I presume you will not find an easy task. I would not for something have been ordered to do it. 6½ *pages*.

JOHN PATERSON to W. GORDON.

1718, April 28. Urbino.—Informing him that he had mentioned to his Majesty what he had recommended about Mr. Trotter in his of the 5th, but that the King can do nothing in that matter, having taken the resolution in general not to fill up any of these places when they fall vacant, and that but for this he believes Mr. Trotter would have stood as fair for that employment as anybody, for the King said he knew Mr. Trotter to be a very honest man and to deserve very well of him.

RICHARD BUTLER to [LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON].

1718, April 28.—Since my last to you of the 14th I had yours of 23 March. *Ormonde* writ to you the 24th. He has not yet received the *passes* nor any other news or letters from *Petersburg* since his last to you. He wonders much at the delay, considering how eager they lately seemed to send him away and the unusual uneasiness *the Czar* was said to be in at his being here. *Jerningham* is still here, waiting for letters from the same place, but, if they do not come next post, he'll stay no longer. I find by yours of 1 April that mine of 6 March got safe.

JAMES HAMILTON to MADAM (? the DUKE OF MAR).

1718, April 17[-28]. London.—I have yours of the 5th and delivered yours enclosed. The wisdom you lay at my door proceeded from that sense of duty I shall ever owe to *the King* and the warmth I bear to *Mar*. These only were my motives nor had I those hints at first from *Menzies*. I heard relations reasoning that way. I am in hopes and most ardently wish that all mistakes between *Menzies* and *Mar* are before this happily removed, and were the effects of a mutual friendship, because I've heard both express a peculiar desire for an interview in order to a right understanding, nor can I help thinking a good harmony between them of the last importance to their lawsuit. I had no power from *Menzies* to write on these

heads, and I was never inquisitive about particulars but always obeyed implicitly. I am afflicted at giving *Menzies* any grounds of diffidence of *Hamilton*. If any such thing was, it was a sin of ignorance, nor can I think how I gave cause to so heavy a charge, being tied to him by long and the greatest of obligations as well as to his indefatigable labours for what is dearest to me, besides being employed and daily entrusted by *Menzies*, nor can I ever forget the honour and trust done me by *Mar*, which makes me the more afflicted to hear of any misunderstanding betwixt the two.

I had the discontents I mentioned from other hands and those that have a just esteem for *Mar*, nor are they any secret, which *James Murray* can testify, if he pleases. I have reasons to infer they might originally have come from some interested in those at *St. Germains* with the grumbling that was against *Mar*. Many came to town this winter that averred their being employed by some relation, and those spoke of things and gave characters according to their different views and benefactors. I have been frequently asked if I knew of such and such being employed in the family, which I answered in the manner I thought might lessen any credit being given to those imprudent reports.

It seems evident that *the King* will trade the securer, that many of *St. Germains* are not concerned ; but the manner it has been brought to bear God forbid I should judge, though I may own it will give a loose to some tongues, but whoever looks into what has been a long time passing from that quarter cannot in reason complain of another method being cut out, that every fair trader could not but wish for, and, though it should run high against *Mar*, as here I know it did, yet the thing itself cannot but have the approbation of all that are heartily concerned in that commerce. If *Queen Mary* approved or gave a tacit consent, few ought to complain, for, as *she* is the most considerable dealer in *money*, besides the attachment many have to *her*, *her* frank concurring to an end so very essential to *her* interest and satisfaction cannot but remove many difficulties, which certainly *Mar* would take a peculiar care of managing, it being what is naturally expected from his knowledge and judgment.

The Squire (Hamilton himself) assures me he has a grateful sense of the kind offers more than once made by *Mar*. The reason that induced him to solicit for a composition with his creditors was that he might be of some small use in *England*, which he could not imagine himself to be capable of anywhere else. Had he been told of the least inconveniency returning on *Lady Mar* for mentioning him to *the Duke of Kingston*, he never would have desired it, and what he has done in that I beg may give no offence, he being ignorant till yours came of any advice or method proposed by *Lady Mar*. His motives for pressing anything that way were that he might be at freedom to go about and gather up for *the King* and to

ease the burden he was and still is to *Menzies*. His case has been laid before *Sir W. Wyndham*, who intends to attempt something in his favour. *C. Kinnaird* is expected in town on Saturday, who will renew it, but, whether brought about or not, he is willing to obey your commands.

I am persuaded you judge right of *the Duke of Roxburghe*. What I can yet learn is no ways material, though he would have it thought to be otherwise.

What I said of *Lord Arran* and *Sir R. Everard* not having that attachment to *the Bishop of Rochester*, I heard from one or two belonging to *the University of Oxford*. I'll make it my business to learn more of that matter ; at present my informers are at Oxford.

Your young niece Francis (Mar's daughter) has been indisposed these few days, but now she is mending and is of a very sweet temper, a promising and beautiful child. Your nephew Master Frank (Mar's son) has been all these holidays at Mr. Newington's. Some weeks past I suspected him to be somewhat melancholy. I inquired of Mr. Falk if he knew or imagined anything of discontent or if he wanted what was necessary either for his improvement or pleasure. He told me he did not. I talked several times to the child to be cheerful and to imagine the best. At present he is fresh-coloured and very hearty and ordered me to send you his duty and that he wrote twice to you of late. Mr. Falk desires me to assure you that he never dictates or instructs him in one word when he writes to you. He is much concerned by reason you tax him with it. 4 *pages*.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 29. Near *Bordeaux*.—I enclose a letter to you from *Glengarry*, which came under my cover and also his to me. You'll be content I judged right of him and to find him the old man. His letters are short, but very substantial and most sincere, for he will not fail in anything he promises, of which *Mar* has had some experience. I have writ to him, and any commands you have for him, if sent me, shall be forwarded, so poor *J. Macleod junior* has not been wanting, having, the moment he received mine to *Glengarry*, sent him an express, which has brought his return so quick, and now he has gone home himself to promote *the King's* interest amongst his friends and is to remain there, till he receives my advice to return. He tells me in his last he had sent my letter to *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck], from whom he had just then received a letter with the warmest expressions of his [good] intentions towards *the King's* interest, desiring [him], when he had heard from *Glendarule*, if [he could] be of any use to *the King* in that place to [let him know] of it, for he was soon to leave it, and begged him in his first letter to

Glendarule to make his compliments to *Mar*, to whom he was a most faithful servant. Now my letter is sent him, it's like I may hear ere long from him.

I find still in *J. Macleod junior's* letters that *Argyle* has been at much pains to make himself acceptable amongst *the King's* friends, which I continue to think no good symptom of his sincerity, having no permission for it or any direct correspondence with *the King* himself. Some time ago I wrote you my opinion of that gentleman and his friends, [and] had thoughts to say something more about him ; but [deferred] it, till I hear from you, and shall only mind you, that it were to be w[ished that] *the King* would take the first opportunity [of making] himself master of that jurisdiction at present pos[sessed] by *Argyle*, but really belonging to *the King* himself by all the law and equity in the world. This would make him thoroughly master of all the *Highlands* in *Scotland*. It is indeed a power only fit for him and no other, and, ever since *Argyle's* family had it, they have been undutiful, ungrate, and in entire opposition to *the King's* family, for it began only in the first years of *the King's* grandfather. Depriving him of that jurisdiction takes the sting at once out of that family and puts them on an equal footing with their neighbours, and I think it's their interest to want it, it having been most fatal to them, it having brought them to imagine themselves able to c[ompete(?)] with *the King's* interest in those parts [and to] oppress their honest neighbours for w[hich some]times they had their rewards, so that they have [been] on the most precarious footing imaginable as well [as] undutiful, so I hope you'll agree I mean [no] harm to *Argyle*, when I wish what has been so fatal to his family should be taken out of his hands, after which I would gladly hope he might be brought to that just way of thinking and acting his predecessors were in, till they had the misfortune to have that jurisdiction in their hands, and to my knowledge the most considerable and wisest of his relations and friends wish him rid of it, and that it should return to and remain in *the King's* own hands. The expectations of its being so will be no small [motiv]e to induce all under that jurisdiction to serve *the King*.

I need say little [more of] it after I can tell you with great truth [that] no fewer than 450 persons, including gentlemen and commons, were executed by the sentences of that jurisdiction in the troubles of *the King's* grandfather, whose greatest crimes were serving their true master. You'll be pleased to advert in this, when *the King* gives his *indemnity* and, it's like, will be willing to make it as extensive as possible, and, though he should go 30 years back with it, I do not think it secures *Argyle* that jurisdiction, which was lost by his grandfather's crimes in the last years of *the King's* uncle. This I only hint that it may fall under your consideration, for I have no [know]ledge in those matters. It is my duty

to *the King* that prompted my writing about this so fully, and other considerations might have prevented my giving you any trouble about *Argyle*.

Glendarule thanks you for your advice about the old laird and will leave nothing undone on his part that can oblige him. *Glendarule* need say less on this; *Tullibardine* having writ to you so fully about it some days ago, who is most sensible of your kind advice, and we are to see the old gentleman very soon. *Glendarule* cannot find why he should be so angry with him in particular, for he never had any acquaintance with him till he met him at *Bordeaux* and was [far] from meeting him with any prejudice, though he could not in some things approve [of] his ancient way of thinking more than he does [of] *Glendarule's* modern way, but all that is over and [he] is now in pretty good humour and *Glendarule* and he will soon be good friends.

Brigadier Campbell arrived here last night and goes to-morrow to *Bordeaux* to see what can be done in the blind captain's affair. *Tullibardine* is not to remove from this till he hears of the gentleman you mentioned in your last, that was then on his journey to *Spain's* bounds, nor then, if his staying here can do any service. 4 *pages. Torn. Enclosed,*

Glengarry to the Duke of Mar.

The great honour of yours of a long time I had, to which I had returned answer, but was deprived of directions, but this under the cover of my friend fully assures that I am unalterably fixed to the captain (the King) and owe all the deference imaginable to the lieutenant (Mar), who was most civil and obliging to all, when commanding our garrison, and, if ever capable to serve him, at pleasure he may command me. 1718, *March* 19[-30].

The Same to Glendarule.

Never lover longed to hear from his mistress more ardently than I did from you, for I was extremely anxious by reason of the storms at sea. It is true your consign (J. Macleod junior) informed me sometimes of your health, which was some comfort, yet not so agreeable as from your own hands. The traders of this poor nation and most unhappy in the union are at the lowest ebb, and, if others with their stocks would come and settle, we doubt but they would soon reap advantage, since money is the life of business in the hands of good merchants. Deliver or direct what is enclosed to the lieutenant (Mar) and assure him that neither by night nor day he comes to any harbour near me, but I shall wait on him. Though Stuart of Appin *is returned home, I neither heard from him or saw him.*

The Duke of Mar to James III.

1718, April 30. Rome.—Since I wrote last post, I have been a good deal out of order, but I am a good deal better. I went yesterday to the Cardinal to concert our going, so that we might not incommode one another. Had I been well, I should certainly have set out to-morrow or next day to have been at Urbino as you direct, but in my condition I dare not venture it. The Cardinal offered to stay some days to let me get before him but, the weather being now very hot, and he to return again, I thought it would not be civil to detain him so long as I was afraid I should be obliged to stay. I told him my intention of seeing Caprarola and Perugia, which would detain me two days longer on the road, and that, in the way my health was, I thought I could not travel in the middle of the day, which, he said, was the case with him too, so none of us were like to make quick journeys. He has just sent his squire, the little Frenchman Arbaville, to tell me he resolved to set out Wednesday afternoon, and that, if I went Thursday morning, all would answer right. I am very sorry this brings me not to Urbino as you proposed before him, but I shall not be long after him, if I keep my health, and by Thursday morning I doubt not I shall be very well to begin my journey, so I have agreed to what he proposed and he's to send me the route to-morrow morning.

I have made all my visits save to the two Cardinals, Albani and Imperiali, who are out of town and will not, I believe, be back before I go, and I am now but seeing again for the most part, what I have seen already, so you may be assured my ill health is no excuse for staying longer. I hope there is nothing very pressing to write by the next post.

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, April 30.—I received yesterday yours from Rome of the 12th. I am glad you are pleased with all the fine things you saw there and hope this will find you safely returned to Urbino and in perfect health. Mine is much better. My last to you of the 26th was very short and writ in great haste, the post being just on departure. I enclosed in it *Ormonde's* last to me of the 3rd with a copy of his note to *Sir H. Stirling* of the same date. I found the latter in a very succinct style and wish that may not displease *the Czar* and determine him to send the passports already required by *Ormonde*, which, I fear, would be of ill consequence at present. I wrote my thoughts very plainly to *Ormonde* on this head, but apprehend his party will be taken before my letter reaches him. I am told *Stair* had a courier from *England* two days ago and since takes great care to publish that *the Elector of Hanover* has received late assurances of strict friendship from *the Czar* and that *the Czar* has sent a pressing message to *Ormonde* to *retire* out of his *territories*. *Mar* knows the last part of this to be

true, which in my humble opinion is a great presumption for believing the first to be very likely. Be that as it will, *the King* and friends should be more active than ever in taking what measures can depend of them. The rest must be left to Providence.

The Regent has not yet received *the King of Spain's* final answer in relation to the new scheme of *union*, and, by the best information I can have, he does not expect it will be to his satisfaction. In this case *the English fleet* will in all probability go to the *Mediterranean* in order to *act* against *the King of Spain*. I am told by a good hand that *the Regent* is engaged to *pay the best* part, if not the whole *expense* of this *fleet*. I am also assured that the most *solid funds here will be seized upon* to provide for this fine *enterprise*, if it comes to execution, which occasions the present *non-payments* and may give rise to greater misfortunes, as several thinking people believe.

(Requesting that he should not be cited as the author of such news.)

I enclose my last letter from *Menzies* with the prints, and one for *Mar*, which I believe comes from the same hand. The post from *England* is not yet arrived, so I can say nothing of our friends there. As this goes by Lombardy, please let me know how many days it will be on the road. *Mr. Sheldon* will meet with great difficulties about what he writes to you of, except you assist him according to his request.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 30. Paris.—I perceive I am like to meet with difficulty here in the recovery of the arrears of my pension, even though the Regent should order payment of them, for, though my share was comprised in the same *ordonnance* by which others have been paid these two years, my absence was still a pretext to hinder me from being put on the *etat de distribution*, as they call it, without which no money is paid out of the *Tresor Royale*, and the amount of my arrears is now so considerable, that it will make it almost impossible, unless I can find a friend in business that will help me, and the only one that can do it effectually, I am told, is Mr. Law, who has that esteem for you, that, if you would recommend me to him, he would get me out of the labyrinth I am like to wander long enough in here.

DESCRIPTION OF PRINCESS CLEMENTINE SOBIESKA.

1718, [April ?].—The youngest daughter of Prince James Sobieski is allowed by her father, mother, uncle and indeed all the Court to have the advantage over her sisters in sense, discretion and evenness of temper. She is about 15 and by a very becoming modesty and engaging manner has gained the esteem and caresses of her parents and uncle, who are in appearance much more particularly fond of her than of the others. I have not seen an instance of [any] young lady

so much beloved and universally well-spoken of in [such a] numerous family. She has a certain grace in everything she does and that grace rather owing to a good-natured indolence [and] sweetness of temper than to airs, affectation or design, which [she] seems to leave with a great deal of carelessness to her sister [Char]lotte ; for indeed the eldest has no manner of pretension either [by] beauty or behaviour to vie in any respect with the other two. The distinction I make between Charlotte and Clementine is very obs[ervable] in that Court, for, though all the young Polish lords and gentlemen admire Charlotte, who has the advantage in size and beauty, they [don't] always agree in her character, except the person in present favour, which extends to no more than a preference in a party at cards, dancing or conversation, in which she is changeable enough, either out of a variety of humour towards them or because her parents, and particularly her uncle, who is somewhat whimsical, has a very nice eye over her behaviour. Clementine on the contrary seems to know herself so well and k[eeps] so decent and unaffected a distance that, though no man makes addresses [to] her except those of regard and deference, everybody seems to love [her] and speaks the best things of her and even her uncle reposes on [her] discretion and is content to leave her to herself. He has a great inclination to the match and would of all things most willingly signalize himself and bear a part in the King's restoration.

Princess Clementine is rather something lower in stature than [the] King ; has light brown hair and a very good skin, black and lively eyes, that have a certain [amia]ble languishment in the turn of them without any design or artifice. [Her fea]tures are rather genteel than very beautiful and in a just proportion [to her] person. Her face is somewhat lengthy by a certain fall towards her [chin like] her father, but plump enough ; her neck very good and rising [of ve]ry full breadth for her shape, which is slender. None of 'em dance [very] well and that is said by all the Court to be occasioned by the [want] of a good master, which is owing to a certain carelessness in the [Princ]e, who is of a very easy and even temper. The Princes and all the [Court], particularly Major O'Reilly, have assured me that the Princess [Char]lotte, who is of a very fine size and shape and about 19, [was] exactly of Clementine's at her age, which gives them all hopes of [her] growing tall. However, that may be, she seems already fit for [all] the purposes of marriage, though an addition to her size would be very [de]sirable. She looked a little paler and thinner than usual, while I was there, which some attributed to her fasting, but most to a female indisposition.

The portion of the eldest was generally computed to be 1,000,000 florins or 2,000,000 livres, which amounts to about 140,000*l.* [Englis]h, in which her jewels, which are very considerable, are to be reckoned. That of the second, they believed

would fall very short of that sum, and [as] the youngest is the darling both of father and mother, 'tis reported her's will be the most considerable, and her father has told Major O'Reilly that, if a certain match were proposed, he would go near to make it perhaps double that of the eldest. *Over 2 pages. Torn. The endorsement is gone except the date* " 1718." *Though not in Wogan's handwriting, it must be by him.*

James III to Pope Clement XI.

1718, May 1.—This page will be insufficient to express the gratitude with which my heart is not only full but overflowing on learning through Cardinal Gualterio your generous intentions and promises in my favour. Your name will be concealed with the utmost secrecy. I long to find myself in a position to perform exactly the first condition your Holiness has imposed on me. You may rest assured that both your commands will be faithfully observed by me. It cannot fail to produce the best effects, for, as the want of the sum you know of has been my greatest embarrassment, so the certainty of having it ready will be the strongest argument to solicit the determination of the enterprise desired. *Italian. Holograph. Draft.*

James III to Cardinal Gualterio.

1718, May 1.—Nothing can be more just and well-founded than your reasonings in your letter of the 27th relating to the business of money. I am not surprised at the slight delay, but flatter myself that the next ordinary post will put me in a position to write to the Pope my thanks and my acceptance of the conditions imposed on me, after which I see nothing to delay your journey, but, that business being so nearly finished, you do well not to leave such a work incomplete, though the unusually early heat makes me wish the more to have you here, before it becomes excessive. On your first advices I made a sketch of a letter in Italian to the Pope, but I cannot flatter myself it is worthy of being presented to him. I shall write another in French and then you will give him the one you choose. In these I shall keep to generalities, but shall accompany them with an ostensible letter to you, in which I shall speak clearly on the subject of *the King of Spain*. I believe that will be enough, for I shrink from putting into a letter, which may be seen by several, the least thing that may appear a little hard on *the King of Spain*, though it be not so in reality, and it seems to me that, following the method I propose, it answers equally to the satisfaction of *the Pope* without wounding the delicacy I feel on that subject. Cardinal Paulucci's letter being only an answer to mine does not require one, but you will kindly inform me if letters of thanks ought to be written to him and the other two, when the business is finished. A few days will inform us of everything, and, if

it turns out as we wish, it will be doubly fortunate, for the peace of the North being, I reckon, made by this time, you will easily judge how much the assurance of the sum in question will facilitate the negotiations of him who watches over my interests there.

The Duke of Mar is charmed with the marks of kindness his Holiness has shown him, and not less with all your attentions, for which I thank you with all my heart. I believe he will do well not [to see] Cardinal Aquaviva. I am too sensible of the long continued friendship of the Princesse des Ursins, not to learn with pleasure all that has happened to her, and beg you to assure her of it from me on the occasion of the permission she has just received of living at Rome under the protection of Spain. I believe she hardly expected such a favour from the person who obtained it for her. If by chance the Duke has not yet left, I beg you to let him know I have received his packet of the 27th and am impatient of expecting him. I am to take medicine to-morrow ; my health in general is good, but I am often troubled with bile. You know the Gospel says the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, so in moderating the vivacity of the one, the other will grow stronger, if God pleases. 3 *pages. French. Copy by Nairne.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 1.—Letting him know by *the King's* desire that he is impatient to have him with them again, and therefore presuming that, if he has not left Rome before this gets there, he will lose no time in coming.

JAMES III to the BISHOP OF LORETTO.

1718, May 1. Urbino.—Thanking him for his present of fruit and his letter of the 27th. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 235.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 2. Dunkirk.—In my last I gave you an account of the manner proposed for conveying the packets, which, I assure you, is not to be relied on. Some time before I went over, I made an agreement with John Davis, the man *Anne Oglethorpe* proposed to me, which I send, yet, when I wrote most pressingly for him to come, he sent me word he could not, which is a fact, for he belongs to the Admiralty and must wait on them, when they have business with him. He is a smuggler, and now and then runs a present of wine for Counsellor Lacy, an Irishman, a great friend of Macmahon's, and it's he that recommends this Davis to her, so she is for having every trust put into the hands of the Irish against *Lord Oxford's* inclination, but rather than take the blame on himself he has laid it on me, for *Lord Oxford* was imposed on in the matter of removing me, but she is sadly afraid *Lord Oxford* should perceive that. Therefore she takes a great deal

of pains to justify herself and to make him and you believe she is my truest friend. As to the proposal she made of this man, first he is the sworn servant of the Government and has a yearly salary from them, and secondly it's the love of money makes him serve our interests, but it's all one matter to me how it shall be ordered, provided it be safe and well for our master's service. I shall always obey and pay, as far as the 600 *livres* will go. The articles between the first and me, I have also enclosed. His name was Peter Dun, of Irish parents, born and bred in Dunkirk, recommended to me by Mr. Gough. The salary is so little that there was a necessity for him to wait sometimes for merchants to have freights of goods to help him to defray his charges. This was certainly a detriment to the service. However, there's no more to be said as to him, for he has lost his vessel. Some goods were damnified on board him, and the merchants pursued him here before the Court of Admiralty, and, the judge being a relation of theirs, our poor skipper was condemned to more than he was worth. Mr. Gough designed to appeal to the *Parlement* of Paris, and we sent up the processes and prayed *Dillon* to send someone to give but half a crown to an advocate of the *Parlement* for his advice, if it would bear an appeal, but *Dillon* never so much as answered our letter till the time was expired and then the poor man's ship was seized, so about two months after you may see in the tail of *Dillon's* letter what he says, but I am persuaded he was not ill-pleased that the boat was lost, for it would be a satisfaction to *the Bishop of Rochester* and his friends that there were no way to correspond but through their hands, and *Anne Oglethorpe* is so much imposed on that she cannot see through it. Were it not for the sake of *Lord Oxford* and *Mar* and *the King's* service, I should not trouble myself about her actions, but tell her that everything she says or does was her wisdom. This would make her my sincere friend, as she is *Menzies'*. I have not patience nor the art to dissemble and play the politician, for my miserable education was amongst rustic soldiers.

Mr. Gough advised me to make a new bargain with the skipper we had first, and that his friends should buy him another ship, and that I should write to you to allow him something more than the 600 *livres* a year to enable him to serve us more punctually, so I have laid all before you and pray you to just do as you think most proper and let me have your orders. What I proposed of Capt. Urquhart's brother will not do, for I have a letter from his brother that he is gone to Petersburg with some other sea officers to serve the Czar, and his brother begs me to pray *Mar* in his name to write to the Czar's physician to recommend his brother. I wish it may be done, for the Captain is an honest man.

Now I am to let you see the reason *Lord Oxford's* letters did not go so quick as *the Bishop of Rochester's* or perhaps as you expected. I enclose Mr. *Dillon's* letter to me of 15 Jan. I answered

him the very night I received it that our boat was on the other side, but I should have a boat ready before the goods could be with me from him, and, if they were of that consequence he said, I should conduct them myself, therefore I prayed him to let me have the goods immediately and his orders. His letter was on the 15th and I send you one received from Father Græme the 18th, that there was a packet sent over by Francia, the Jew, which cost 10 *guineas*, so you see *the Bishop of Rochester's* was sent before he advertised me. However, I never heard from *Dillon* till I wrote up to him and repeated what I had writ in my first letter. I also told him I fancied he had sent the goods he wrote to me of, another way, or they would have been sent me before, and that I was well satisfied if they were sent, for I was not ambitious to be employed in anything more nor I was useful in, on which I received a letter from him of 12 Feb. which I send, that you may clearly see where the fault of the delays lay.

I cannot but advertise you of the behaviour of that fool, Ord, at St. Omer. A great many of those poor miserable men are gone over. Warrants are out for apprehending them, and messengers on the search for them. Some were apprehended and amongst them is Mr. L[e]onard, a very brave fellow. He will, it's thought, die, for no mercy is to be expected. Two are here; one is Mr. Charlton, a Northumberland gentleman, who had a good estate. Should he go home, nothing can save his life. The other is a very good seaman and a brave fellow, who surprised the castle of Holy Island. These two he has discharged and tells them he has Mr. Dicconson's orders to give them no more subsistence. I saw them both to-day. The tears ran down their faces. They are almost distracted for to go home and to be hanged or starve here or knock themselves on the head or beg their way to Urbino, and throw themselves at *the King's* feet, which will fall out, if W. Gordon be not caused to subsist them here. I know it cannot be any pleasure to *the King* to see those miserable men coming about him. They tell me they have had nothing for three months, so you may judge their condition.

I wish you would write to poor Father Græme. He is almost dead with grief to think you should be angry with him. He has a good many enemies for being suspected to love you.

I am 600 *livres* in debt, which makes me very uneasy. I was 100 *livres* out for a packet you sent me, just as our boat had parted. It was the one that came when *James Murray* was in the country, that the noise was about the opening of.

I was 100 *livres* out for the boat I sent for when *Dillon* wrote to me 15 Jan. Ours was then at *England*. The poor fellow Duncan was cut off from his subsistence at St. Omer, came to my lodging, fell sick and died here, after lying two months ill, so his expenses and his burial I was obliged to pay, all which has run me out, so, if there be any possibility to help me, I know you will do it.

I was at a stand whether to send this packet or not, having had so many accounts that *the King* and *Mar* were removed, but I concluded it was best to send, till you ordered me the contrary. I send some papers that are cried about to make you laugh. $7\frac{1}{2}$ *pages. Enclosed,*

Contract.

Between Capt. Ogilvie and Capt. John Davis, 6 *Jan.,* 1718. *Calais.*

Lieut.-General Dillon to *Capt. Ogilvie.*

This is in answer to yours of the 3*rd. It's true I wrote to you to know if your boat was ready and that you made me the answer you mention. The enclosed packet addressed to Morley is for Mr. John Menzies from John (? the King) and William (? Mar): pray forward it without delay. I suppose the boat is still on this side, and do advertise you not to send this packet but by a sure hand. I presume the two letters you sent me for Trusty are for the Duke of Ormonde, that being his cant name in my cipher with you. Let me know the truth of this the soonest you can. William (? Mar) writes me word that new orders are given you to remain where you are. I am very glad of it, none being more fit to establish a sure conveyance 'twixt us and our friends the other side.*—12 *Feb.,* 1718.

Father Græme to Capt. Ogilvie.

I was just going to tell you I despaired of Mrs. Ogilvie's *arrival, when the letter you wrote me to-day came, by which I understand she is to be here soon. I shall certainly write to Mr. Davis by the first mail from this. So soon as he gets my letter, he'll certainly come here, according to the bargain I made with him. Francia says he hired a boat two or three days ago to send over a packet by, and that it was of such consequence he gave* 10 *guineas for it. If that be true, Dillon dispatched another packet by his canal, and durst not trust me with it, because he knows me to be too honest a man to play bouty with my friend. You ought to inform me what truth there is in the story of the King's illness. I have seen a letter of* 29 *Dec. from Urbino by which it appears he is in perfect health. It was the Swedish Resident in London that first alarmed us with the news of his being dangerously sick, and Stair's letters that warranted that false story. Stanhope Murray is still in town with me. He is a lad of very good sense, though not so much devoted to O[rmon]d as to our friend,* Mar, *because he alleges the first has not given so good proofs of his sincerity in the cause as the latter. He stays here in hopes I'll go to Dunkirk with him, but, if Mrs.* Ogilvie *does not come by Saturday next at furthest, I am resolved to let him go without me.*—18 *Jan.,* 1718. *Calais.*

SIR H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, 21 *April*[–May 2].—I had yours of 19 *April* last post. I have written fully *all that* we *know in* these parts by two later than that of 31 *March*, which I find you received, and have nothing new to add, but that I herewith *send passes tho' not* absolutely *in the* manner *you* desired, since *in place of high Dutch they are writ in Latin*, which *I* hope, however, *will* equally answer *the end*, seeing *it is* universally *understood in those countries through which* the gentlemen *are to pass, but* how far *it will be proper to go through the Emperor's country* must be considered, since *by the late treaty between the Emperor and the Duke of Hanover the roads may* possibly be rendered *not* so *safe as* could be wished, whereas, *the King of Prussia and the Czar* being perfect good friends, *that road may not be* so bad *as Ormonde* seemed to apprehend in his of 30 *March*.

If anything be yet further wanted for *Ormonde's convenience it will be as soon granted as demanded*, since, as I have told you all along, *the Czar* wishes nothing so *much as the King's success*, tho' without *previous agreement with the King of Sweden he cannot be in a condition to do him* any service, and is very little apprehensive *of* what *can be done* against *him* while *the King of Prussia* stands his friend, which he makes no doubt he will do for their common interest. *Copy.*

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 2. *Mittau.*—I could not last post answer more particularly yours of the 3rd. I did not obey the first orders *the Queen* sent me, because it would have proved detrimental to our business, I not having then quite finished what I proposed in coming into *Holland*, which was to give *Prince Curakin* a true light of the situation of *affairs* in Sweden both in regard to them and us, " for, if this had not been done, *the Czar* would not have had any idea of our having an interest in those parts, which was the first motive that induced him to look our way, and, if he should conclude from my return that *I* had made an ineffectual expedition and that our *credit* and interest was totally lost there, he would soon change his way of thinking, and I wish he is not already inclined to other sentiments, partly from what has been mentioned and chiefly from the negligence of those about him, who ought with an indefatigable zeal suggest from time to time new matter of speculation to him. Hot heads must always be amused. *Prince Curakin* entered firmly into the merits of these affairs and plainly saw where the difficulty lay. I prevailed with him to represent these matters in the light he saw them in to *the Czar*, which he did, and joined a letter of *Jerningham's* in his packet, which he desired, lest he might himself forget anything of moment to us, and got *the Swedish minister at the Hague* to write to his *Court* to assure them of the manner we still employed for their service, that according to my promise given them I

was going to *Petersburg* to make the last effort, that letters from thence seemed as earnestly to desire an accommodation as they could wish. After this I had nothing more to do but wait till letters came from *Sweden* giving an account of *Görtz's* departure; and we had a true account from thence that he parted from *Court* 11 March in order to join the others already arrived at *Abo*, on which I left *Holland* and travelled day and night till I joined *Ormonde*, expecting to have met further intelligence at this place, but so unpardonably negligent is the correspondence from *Petersburg* hither, that there's no counting for it. We know not in the least what's doing below, but expect daily answers to our letters, on which I intend to proceed, if *the Czar* will admit the same. His uneasiness on *Ormonde* being in these parts seems to arise without cause. I hope it will wear off without any ill consequence to us. They have had new matter of speculation to work on since my return and, if they let the bribes and intrigues of *England* prevail, 'tis clear to a demonstration that all those great designs which *the Czar* is daily building at *Petersburg* will fall a sacrifice to that agreement. The goodness with which *Ormonde* carries on the justice of our cause is truly worthy of admiration. His long confinement in a miserable situation is no affliction to him. The patience and constancy with which he bears the notorious negligence of his correspondent is certainly without example. . . . A little more time will give us to know the situation we are in." 3 *pages.*

James III to Cardinal Aquaviva.

1718, May 3. Urbino.—Sending him an exact translation of Capt. Camocke's memorial and requesting him to send it to the Catholic King and get an answer to it as soon as possible. He can answer for Camocke's loyalty and courage. He has only answered him in general terms, not being able to do otherwise till he received an answer from the Spanish Court. The rewards promised appear somewhat large, but he may well believe that in that matter money should not be spared. What expenses the Catholic King may incur shall be re-imbursed him after the restoration. 4¼ *pages. French. Holograph. Enclosed,*

The said Memorial.

A former English captain at present in France, a faithful subject of the King of England and well-known to the principal officers of the English squadron going to the Mediterranean, has written to his Majesty to lay before him a plan by which he hopes a great part of that squadron can be engaged to declare for him and to join the Spanish fleet. For this purpose he proposes that a person of confidence be sent secretly to Madrid. authorized by his Majesty to communicate the plan to the First Minister

of his Catholic Majesty and to concert its execution with him, and that he be furnished with all the full powers and instructions necessary for treating secretly with Admiral Byng, commanding that squadron, or with such other English officers as he shall find disposed to negotiate with him.

He declares that this negotiation, if well managed, will turn to account for the service of the two Kings and will very efficaciously contribute to the restoration of the one and to the success of the other's designs.

This officer knows Admiral Byng very well, with whom he had at another time some confidential dealings in relation to the interests of the King of England, to which he did not appear too much opposed. and this is what has given him so much confidence of gaining him that he offers to succeed at the peril of his life, provided his Majesty gives him the necessary powers.

1. *He demands that his Catholic Majesty consents to give a certain retreat in all the ports of his kingdoms to all English ships that shall declare for their lawful King and shall come with the intention of joining the Spanish fleet and serving the two Kings.*
2. *That the King of England write an obliging letter to Admiral Byng and promise, if he return to his duty and bring over the squadron under his orders, to give him the title of Duke of Albemarle, with which his uncle rewarded General Monk, and to grant him besides* 100,000*l. sterling to support that title and that the Catholic King will be guarantor of that promise.*
3. *That he be authorized, if the Admiral be intractable, to make the same offers and promises in his Majesty's name to such other officer as may be second in command and who shall be inclined and able to render the same service.*
4. *That he be entrusted with a circular letter to all the captains of the squadron to encourage them to return to their duty and with a declaration of his Majesty to engage not only the officers but the sailors to quit the Usurper's service, promising each rewards in proportion to his rank and the service he shall render, provided he declares for his Majesty within a time limited by the declaration.*
5. *That his Majesty should empower him to offer to every captain of a ship of the line, who shall declare for his Majesty and bring his ship into the service of his Catholic Majesty* 20,000*l. sterling, to be paid by his Catholic Majesty on the ship he commands being brought into his service and also a commission as admiral: to every lieutenant of a ship of the line, who shall seize his captain and shall have sufficient credit with the other officers and the crew to master the ship and bring her into some Spanish port a commission as captain to command the said ship*

with a knighthood and a reward of 5,000*l. sterling to be paid by his Catholic Majesty: to other inferior officers, who shall do the same service and bring their ships into a Spanish port, a promotion in proportion to their merit, a medal and a reward of* 2,000*l. sterling and finally to each sailor, who shall leave the Usurper's service,* 5*l. sterling and payment of all his arrears.*

6. *That his Majesty write a particular letter to a captain named Scott who has much influence in the fleet and promise to make him an Earl and Admiral of the Blue and to have him paid* 30,000*l. sterling when he shall join the fleet or come into any port of Spain and shall declare for the two Kings.*

This officer concludes all his proposals by demanding an inviolable secrecy, and that his Britannic Majesty lose not a moment in taking his resolution and sending him his orders accordingly, because time presses and speed is as necessary as secrecy to assure success. French. 3½ *pages.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 3.—I don't find that *the King of Spain's* answer is yet come and am still assured that *the Regent* does not expect it will be to his satisfaction, which is no small trouble to him. *Kelly* writes to me of 14 April (o. s.) that I shall soon hear from *the Bishop of Rochester* in answer to the last cargo. He says also that friends with *England* are much disheartened on account of their notion of *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden's* coming into *the Elector of Hanover's* measures, in consequence of which *Ormonde* has received orders to depart from *the Czar's* territories. The ministry there publishes those facts with affirmative circumstances to justify their truth. All the prints from *England* do the same.

Sir Peter Redmond is still here and intends to part for *Bordeaux* the 10th. I gave *Tullibardine* an account of this and shall observe your directions in regard to the former.

Queen Mary was taken ill with the ague last Sunday night and had a cold and hot fit, but I hope it will be no great matter and that *she*'ll soon be well again. I am very sorry for the accident *James Murray* met with on his journey, which is very uncommon in this country.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 3. Paris.—I had yours of the 12th. The enclosed was delivered to Earl Marischal and the other for H. Straiton forwarded, and I shall make him understand it by writing to my friend at Edinburgh to speak to him, by whom already some money is paid by Mr. Dicconson's order in part of the pension allowed by the King for Lady Dundee and the rest shall be forthwith ordered to make up 100*l.* sterling.

I have not heard anything from C. Kinnaird about the two trunks or boxes. All care shall be taken to get them safe here. I shall write to R. Arbuthnot and R. Gordon in case they be sent without my being advised. You shall be acquainted when I hear anything about them, and they shall be carefully kept till you order how to dispose of them. If they be bulky, I'm afraid the Custom House will break them open and search them. Brigadier Hay's lady is on the road 'twixt this and Calais, but not yet come here. Money for the subsistence is very much wanted and many are much straitened for want both of credit and money. Mr. Dicconson can't give it till he receive it and that's very uncertain.

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 4.—Though I have been and am still a good deal out of order, I shall answer as fully as I can yours of 12 April to *Mar* and me. A very little reflection showed me the importance and usefulness of Camocke's proposal, but, as nothing could be done but in concert with *the King of Spain*, the first step was to apprize him and accordingly an ample extract of his memoir has been made and a letter to accompany it writ to *the King of Spain's* man at *Rome*. Both shall be sent on Friday and a copy of the letter will be sent to *Queen Mary* by *Booth*. This was all that could be done as yet, and you see no time has been lost, but, till *the King of Spain's* answer comes, I can determine no particular orders for Camocke. *Mar* shall write him a civil compliment in my name next post, and I desire you to return him my thanks with the best quieting put-off you can think of, for it would be as imprudent as unfair to trust him with the sort of intelligence I am in with *the King of Spain*, on whom the whole stress of the business lies, and whose answer must determine my orders. I think your notion of Camocke himself very just, for though he may not have all the qualities necessary for a settled negotiation, he may not be the more unfit for that for an executive part in the business proposed.

I suppose you are not ignorant of another proposal also made by Camocke in conjunction with Booth's son-in-law, Pye. The project was suitable enough to those two gentlemen's characters, being as wide a one as I have heard of, no particular persons named and Mr. Pye's discretion and weight with friends the only guaranties of the proposal, but, as all men are to be heard, and wise men may sometimes profit from the wildest notions, I shall make *Mar* write also a civil put-off to him in that respect and consider what use may be made even of that project, in case of a breach between *the Elector of Hanover* and *the King of Spain*, for in that case all may turn to account, but, except in such a case, I look on Pye's project as no less than extravagant.

A little time will show what we have to expect from *the King of Spain*. If he absolutely rejects the proposal now sent him,

he will agree to no other at present ; if he agrees to it, nothing, I think, ought to be untried with him, because he will certainly in that case refuse nothing reasonable, and therefore, till his answer comes, I think it would be by no means advisable to stir any more in what was once literal Barry's charge, so I entirely approve the directions you have sent to those parts, which shall be confirmed by *Mar* with orders not to pursue that affair without further directions, except Sir Peter and you can hit on some proper method, which I much doubt. *The King of Spain's* present situation cannot long remain as it is ; as it is, it is our business to soothe him and give him no cause of complaint, so it is his own interest alone that must make him befriend us, and any spur on our side, not accompanied with the greatest secrecy and prudence, would be useless and might be dangerous.

The public accounts from your parts assure us of the Emperor's being willing to renounce Spain, while my last letters from Vienna speak in a very contrary strain. A little time will, I suppose, clear those matters. The letter you sent from *Butler* is indeed most comfortable. I hoped to have returned by this post to *Ormonde* a favourable account of *the Pope's money*, but from him no answer is yet got, though I still hope to receive one on Saturday by *Cardinal Gualterio*, who will no longer now defer his journey hither. He was to set out to-night and *Mar* to-morrow for this place. I shall be very impatient to hear further from *Ormonde*, which I hope I may do also on Saturday.

Capt. Ogilvie has ill luck, for you may remember how angry we were at his going over without orders. It seems now he had none either from t'other side, for I find by *Anne Oglethorpe* to Macmahon that she durst not produce him to *Lord Oxford*, but without giving any particular reason, so his motions are as great a mystery to us as to you. Those that know him better than I think him an honest man and I believe him such, but his ways are unaccountable and his mysteries inexcusable.

I never doubted of *the Duke of Lorraine's* true kindness for me, but have not yet heard from himself directly. You answered *the Prince de Vaudemont* very right as to *the marriage*. I have had a kind line from *the Prince de Vaudemont*, to whom Nairne writes, I not owing him a letter.

I am heartily glad your uncle is safely arrived. Pray tell him I hope he will have ended all his business before the heats, that nothing may hinder him from joining me again, if I stay in this country. I have a great deal to say to you about Father Calanan, which, to avoid confusion, I shall write to you in a paper apart. I was really surprised to see him and yet more when I knew the subject of his errand. He has promised me to tell *Queen Mary* his opinion of my letter to Leslie, which, I find, differs as much from Mr. Inese's as does his knowledge and experience in matters of divinity. *Over* 4 *pages. Copy in Paterson's hand.*

The Duke of Mar to James III.

1718, Wednesday morning, May 4. Rome.—The French post which used not to come till Wednesday morning came last night. I enclose what I had by it and there's a letter in Nairne's packet for *the King* from *Dillon*. "By what I understand of the enclosed copy of *Dillon's* to *Ormonde* and *Sir H. Stirling's*, I see *Ormonde's* to *the King* brings no good news, but I hope you will soon have better from these parts and I think there is reason for hoping so. It is plain by what *Menzies* tells that *the King of Sweden* has refused *the Elector of Hanover's* proposals, and by all that it is to be thought that *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* have accommodated all before this, which will alter the last's way of thinking. What I understand by the letters in relation [to] *marriage* and *the Czar* is wonderful, but I hope we shall soon hear of an alteration in that as well as to what relates to *Ormonde*. My friend *Dr. Erskine's* way of doing is, it seems, intolerable, but what with his own natural temper and the influence of that climate, I believe he cannot help it, and that he thinks there is nothing in it. I am confident though that he will do all the service in his power in the odd way peculiar to him. He has not wrote to his mother these ten years and been designing to do it every post.

"I cannot think that *the King of Sicily* or *the King of Spain* will agree to or take for satisfaction what *the Regent* and *the Elector of Hanover* have got *the Emperor* to offer.

"I have a letter from *Lady Mar* of 26 March O.S. by last post, which tells me that she had written the day before by *Mrs. Ogilvie*, who was coming over, but she says not a word of *Capt. Ogilvie*. It seems *Capt. Ogilvie* must be sick that *Mrs. Ogilvie* comes. I cannot imagine that *Lord Oxford* designs that she should come to this country. *Dillon* and others too, I fear, will think that I am the occasion of her coming, which your Majesty knows there is as much ground for as their other suspicions, but there is no help for these things, until people at home as well as at Paris alter their way of thinking and doing amongst themselves.

"*Lady Mar* acknowledges one of mine which I sent under *Capt. Ogilvie's* cover by Freebairn at the same time I sent him the last packet for *Lord Oxford*, *Anne Oglethorpe* and *Menzies* concerning *Inese*, so that all the packets for them are come safe, though *Capt. Ogilvie* was on the other side, which is owing to poor F[ather] Græme's care.

"I am very glad *James Murray* is coming and I will long for him, but it is wonderful that it should be talked at Paris and the real design of his being to do so, as your Majesty will see it is by the enclosed, which I had from Freebairn. I shall despair after this of its being possible for some people to keep anything, which is lamentable. I did not think it fit for me to mention anything of this to *Dillon* and your Majesty is best judge whether or not you will give yourself

the trouble of doing it. I fear the people he employs are not so close as those about him ought to be."

I had yours of the 28th and am very glad you were in so good humour. I want none of the things you mention to bring me to the place wherever you are. However, the things are good, and I hope the fine lady, who, I hear, has made a conquest of all your subjects there, will not go till she has done more execution on the rest of them, who are now coming. I never thought I should have a mind to visit the famous republic of St. Marino, but, if she be gone before we arrive, there will be no resisting following her thither. I am now pretty well and I hope nothing can hinder my setting out to-morrow early by the route I intended, which will keep me but two days longer than if I had gone straight. I think there is appearance of more reason now for looking out for a better winter quarter for *the King* and his lady in this country than was apprehended some time ago.

It seems *Dillon* has had another from *Menzies* before this, which I wonder he has not sent and that *Menzies* has not wrote to me in answer to mine about *Inese*.

The Cardinal told me yesterday that he held his resolution of setting out this afternoon. 4 *pages*. *Holograph*.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 4. Vienna.—I believe your absence from Urbino is the cause of your silence. However, M. Stiernhock and I hope to be soon consoled with some lines from your Excellency. M. Stiernhock has just received advices that the treaty at Aland is going on successfully, and that it was by no means certain whether the Elector of Hanover would be included in it or not. It is known that he is making considerable offers in order to be included, but the King of Sweden's firmness makes it believed that in the end peace will be made with only the inclusion of the King of Prussia, and it is doubted whether the King of Poland will be also included. This Court, however, concerns itself very little with the said affairs of the North, and seems to be much irritated with that of Muscovy on account of the deposition of the Czarowitch, notwithstanding all the assurances the Czar had given the Emperor during the stay of the said Czarowitch in the Emperor's country, that no harm would be done him on his return. However, one sees quite the contrary. The affairs of this Court are in much confusion on account of the uncertainty on all sides. The Emperor tries to gain time before resolving to renounce Spain, and for that purpose to see the result of the treaty of peace with the Porte, which ought to be known in four or six weeks. *French*.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 4. Vienna.—I have been without letters from you from some posts. Both M. Stiernhock and I are expecting

them, at least in order to know if our letters have been received. *French.*

The Archbishop of Urbino to [David Nairne].

[1718, May 4?] I have received with infinite joy the honour of the King's commands that I am to oblige Cardinal Gualterio with my litter and mules for next Saturday. I will make my litter-man return to town Thursday morning with orders to be at your absolute disposal for going towards Aqualegna with the litter. *Italian. Torn.*

Monsignor Ercole Marl[iani] to [David Nairne].

1718, May 5. Fano.—Expressing his infinite obligations for the advice his Britannic Majesty has been pleased to give him upon what Cardinal Gualterio has written to him on his proposal.—But, if I am to tell you my real opinion in the Lombard fashion, I hope but little from the promises of the Court of Rome, which has for so many years given me words and not deeds. Yet the influence of his Britannic Majesty and his favour in reminding his Holiness from time to time of me may make me hope to experience some result thereof. *Italian.*

The Duke of Ormonde to James III.

1718, May 5.—I received your letter of 20 March the 3rd instant with the two enclosed for *Dr. Erskine*, which I have forwarded and given *Jerningham* the enclosed for him.

The copies of *Sir H. Stirling's* letters, which I have sent to *the King* and *Dillon** show that there is no likelihood of anything to be done concerning *marriage* in *the Czar's family without an agreement between him and the King of Sweden*, which those copies give but little hopes of. *The Czar's two nieces*, as I am informed, are very *beautiful young princesses and have* very good characters. *Ormonde* wishes with all his heart *that the King* could have *one of them*, but *Ormonde* cannot but think there is the same difficulty in this as is mentioned for *the daughter.** *Ormonde* has heard but twice from *Dr. Erskine* since his arrival here, and I have not heard from *Sir H. Stirling* since his of 31 March, which I cannot but wonder at, for he promised to let me hear from him every post. Letters come in five days from *Petersburg to this place. Ormonde* has no other to *correspond with but Sir H. Stirling. Dr. Erskine's* proceeding is very extraordinary.

Sir H. Stirling in his last told me that the *passes* were *granted.* *I cannot imagine why they are not *sent.* I wish that *the Czar's* delaying *to send the passes may be* occasioned *by* changing of his *mind* in being willing to *agree with the King of Sweden on easier terms. The Czar's daughter* is too *young.* There are some things, which *Ormonde* mentioned concerning that affair, that I fancy *the King* would not like, had the *age been proportionable.**

As to *the King of Sweden*, there is no occasion of offering *him money*, were it to be got, which I find by *the King's* there *is no hope of*, but I cannot but think that, if the *war in Italy go on, it will be the interest of Spain and France to help the King.*

Ormonde hopes that *the King* will not lose any time *in thinking of another match.*

I have acquainted Sheridan with the honour you do him. *Jerningham* writes to *Mar* to-night. *Ormonde* is sorry that *the King* has lost so faithful a servant as poor *Flanagan.* 5 *pages.*

The parts between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, *pp.* 39, 40.

The Duke of Ormonde to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 5.—I received yours of 24 March the 3rd instant. I hope this will find you in good health and returned from the pleasant journey you proposed.

(About the negligence of Dr. Erskine and Sir H. Stirling in writing, as in the last.)

I suppose before this that the *fleet* [of] *merchantmen* [from] *Spain* has *landed their men in Italy. Ormonde* cannot but believe that, if the *war go on, the Regent will let the King* go *back to France or Avignon.* Sheridan shall be sent as you desire, if I have anything to inform *the King* that is of *consequence.*

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Thursday, April 24[-May 5].—Our ignorance and uncertainties here as to foreign affairs are extreme great, as you may see by the enclosed prints, and, except it be the Cabinet, no man here is wiser than the prints. The beginning of the *Post Boy* says right as to our darkness, and the beginning of the *St. James' Post* gives you the true sentiments of a topping courtier. We have had much talk of Stanhope's laying down these few days. Another we have had of a motley ministry, the majority Tories. But we had this so often it goes for nothing and it falls again ; no offer as yet made. If it were, many would accept. I have yours of the 27th.

Postscript, dated April 28[-May 9].—We are in the utmost darkness and uncertainty here as to foreign news, and consequently as to the measures to be taken at home and his Majesty's going to Hanover or not &c.

The Court and Monsr. du Bois and Monteleone and other ministers had letters from Paris on Saturday night. It would be long to tell you the various reports which on such an occasion go about, but the voice of the Court and of some foreign ministers, who surely know, is that Spain will knock under. Some think this is only said to keep up our stocks, but by my authors I have reason to think there is more in it.

Our fleet for the Baltic is not yet sailed, though the Government seem to have received some new uneasiness about that North Pole. Our fleet for the Mediterranean, if necessary, will be ready by 1 July. We have not got a new Chancellor.

PAPER given by FATHER CALANAN to JAMES III.

1718, May 5.—Experience shows that the want of a diversion in Ireland much contributed to the ill success of the King's affairs in Scotland, and it was impossible for the well-affected in Ireland to do anything for want of arms, money &c.; nay, had they all that, the North being ill-affected, as it was supposed, and being much superior in strength and wealth to our friends, it were but temerity for them to attempt anything, particularly after what happened in Preston. Now we are offered to have the North in our interest, and he, that assures us that the gentlemen of interest in the North will join us, heartily assures us in the meantime the seizing of Enniskillen, Derry, Carrickfergus and Charlemont. Therefore he would be glad to know whether this project be agreeable to his Majesty, that he may without delay prepare things that all may be ready for an insurrection the moment his Majesty arrived in either of his kingdoms.

It is desired, if his Majesty approves of this offer, that he may send an ample commission to the L.——— G.———t (? Lord Granard). *Original and copy.*

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 6.—"Father Calanan came here last Tuesday and immediately asked with great *empressement* to see me. He was with me half an hour, during which *il a battu la campagne* in a manner too mysterious for me to understand. We adjourned till next day, and then I bid him tell me downright what it was he came about, upon which he began to talk to me about a project which he said he had communicated to you, but of which I told him I could make nothing, without he explained himself more, and desired him to put it in writing against next time I saw him. He told me he would, but that Robin Leslie, the proposer of the project, desired that neither Lord Mar, Nairne nor nobody here might be privy to it, but Mr. Wogan, who was in Leslie's confidence and apprised of the affair. I told him that was a very impertinent message, and so we parted till next day, and then he brought me his paper, a copy of which you here have.

"Upon reading of it with him, I told him I thought the view was very good, and might be made good use of, if proper measures were taken in it, but that the proposal was so general and unexplained as to all particulars, that I could not in prudence act in it without explaining myself upon it with *Dillon*. Upon this he pressed me again to speak to Wogan about it, which I told him positively I would not do; that I would go to the

good of the affair and the good of the service but not be imposed on so grossly; that I had a good opinion of Wogan, had employed him to my satisfaction, and that, if he were still here, it was I alone detained him in view of some future service for him; that he had been here above a month, and several times in private with me without having thought it convenient to open his mind to me on these heads; that it was true that I should be always ready to hear anybody on any proposal they had to make, but that his long absence from Paris, and he, the Friar's, being so lately come from thence, demonstrated to me that Wogan could do nothing in the matter but be a voucher for his word, and that I did not want, and that therefore my discoursing with him on the affair could tend to nothing else but to a compliance, which I should think unworthy of me, were the first persons of my kingdoms concerned, much more in Mr. Leslie's case, in whom of all people I thought it the greatest insolence to be in such a manner laying rules for his master without so much as giving a reason, since it was plain that at that rate it was no more me, but every little mad body that were to name ministers to manage my affairs; that I would never refuse to keep any particular affair or name of person to myself, but that, when it came to a project, which affected the gross of my service, that I could not keep it from the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar and *Dillon* without ruining my own interest or discharging them from the management of my affairs. The Friar stunned would fain have recalled what he had said about Lord Mar, and told me he was ready to see him, if he were here. I replied I had not lost my memory and kept him to what he had said, but added that I was so far from desiring he should see my Lord Mar that I begged of him to be gone before his return, for that, should they have any discourse together, Lord Mar had too much sense not to see what would make him and all honest men weary of serving me; that after that I would deal fairly with him, the Friar, and would therefore make no mystery in telling him that Nairne should write every word that had passed between us, for that what Leslie would impose upon me was more than I myself could in reason do to anybody employed in my business, since they could not write nor do all by themselves. After this I asked him abundance of questions, which did not a little embarrass him, and in which his answers were so obscure, to say no more, that I will not pretend to give an account of them, but one particular I cannot be mistaken in, I made him repeat it so often, which was that *Dillon* was apprised of all but *Queen Mary* not. I could not but remark that the only reason I could draw from him for his shyness of Lord Mar was his intimacy with St. Germains and Mr. Inese. I have enlarged the more upon bagatelles because I could plainly see that the main project was not the chief drift of the journey. Whatever that was is more than I can tell, but I am sure that neither his age,

his character nor his sense could allow of his making such a journey only to give me the enclosed paper, upon which I can determine nothing, and he sees it. I sent for him again this morning, and pushed him very home on that head, but could draw nothing from him, he still persisting in saying that he would not meddle in my business without my participation and seeing me, though that had been proposed to him. I told him he acted a very dutiful part, and then agreed with him what follows.

" That I should send to *Dillon* the enclosed paper, and act according to the lights I should receive from him upon it, since I could never go hand over head in such a work, that on *Dillon's* informations I should determine what was fit to be done, and that I liked his, the Friar's, going into Ireland better than anybody else, he being known and esteemed by both parties, but that I would enter into no project in which Leslie should have an executive part after the blind and insolent message he has sent me, for, though I looked on him to be honest, yet that his mad notions were to be profited of, but not followed entirely, and that after the rate that he had used me, I could never think it for my interest to employ anybody whose notions and principles could allow them so great a latitude as to make his King less master in his own affairs than the last of his subjects, which I looked on him to be. On this we parted very good friends, and he told me that the road of Bologna and Milan being too dear he would return for cheapness' sake by Rome and Leghorn.

" You never having mentioned anything of this Friar to me made me enlarge the more on what passed with him, though I conclude, as I told the Friar himself, that you, looking on Leslie as a madman, did not think it worth your while to trouble me with his empty notions. After that, as much so as I think these, I think they ought to be considered on, for the thing proposed would be of the greatest advantage, if it could be effected by such prudent measures as might square with greater ones, for, should anything be done rashly in such matters, we should not only lose the proposed benefit but draw upon ourselves all those inconveniencies which must be obvious to you. In fine I leave this blind tale of a tub to your consideration, and your answer and opinion can alone determine me in it, for my own reflections I shall make none. I know Leslie is mad and the Friar honest, and therefore am not much in pain to find out the bottom of this deep contrivance, which I believe I shall never find out, since what I look upon to be the main project has been at first knocked in the head, and that I have showed myself not to be such a fool as I was thought. I shall, however, take Wogan to task, when the Friar is gone, and may be I may get something out of him. These are, I must confess, very odd ways of carrying on business, and such ways as by discouraging all honest people from meddling in it, must fall very hard on me at last,

for I declare I had rather have to do with those who will not allow me to be their King than those who, allowing of that, would make me their slave, and, as I told the Friar, I think it the duty of all dutiful subjects to show their disapprobation and indignation at such proceedings."

I shall tell Duke Mar of the Friar's project, and he will hear enough of it, I believe, from other hands. I should have said before that the Friar came by Leghorn, whence he went to Rome, on the report, as he says, of my having left Urbino, and, if that was the reason, he has stayed a good while at Rome. He told me, when he was there, he did not stir out nor see anybody but his General. He is not here a puckle and always speaks mysteriously of the road he shall take to return, so that it is very manifest to me there is something in all this affair which I cannot see quite through. *Copy.* 6 *pages.*

The Earl Marischal to James III.

1718, May 6. St. Germain.—I received last post your orders. Wherever you think me most in the way to be of any service, I shall always find that place most agreeable. I am very sensible of your goodness to me on all occasions and, as far as I am capable, shall endeavour to deserve it.

Fanny Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 7.—It is impossible to express the great concern we're under for our Queen's death, but, as you've more need of consolation than repeating so melancholy a subject, I'll say no more about it. I wish it lay in our power to be any ways useful to our master.

The Same to the Same.

1718, May 7.—(About the Queen's death, as in the last.) "The friend (M. de Mezières) on this ill news had a mind to go directly to the Regent to speak to him for the continuation of the pension, but he thought it was more proper for the person that is charged here with the affairs, who perhaps had a letter from our poor Queen, to have asked it, which would have been the certain way to have had it done. In that case it would have been only officious in him to speak. Unluckily nobody thought of desiring the Queen to write to the R[egent]; it's a mistake, which was owing to the distraction they were under and it is said that the person, that carried the melancholy news to him, said nothing of it. Therefore the friend, who avoids doing anything that may make him be thought busy, yet, as there are some cases that everybody that is a friend must exert themselves, went to M. Le Duc [de Bourbon] and told him: I am come to you from myself, I do not meddle in K[ing] J[ames'] business, I am charged with nothing from him, but I have had always a regard for you. Hitherto you have

done me the honour to ask me sometimes my advice, I now give it you from myself. Here is an occasion to make you be esteemed and admired by doing a generous action that costs you nothing and gains you the friendship of a K[ing], that perhaps will not be always unhappy. It is to ask of the Re[gent] the continuation of the pension. If by the treaty that is lately made he durst not give it to the K[ing], let him give it those that had it of the subjects who must else starve. If he is willing to continue it, we'll find a thousand ways to name it that it need not infringe his shameful treaty. M. Le Duc said all that you can imagine that is most kind and tender on the K[ing's] account. You yourself can wish nothing to his sentiments. He told him he would act in that occasion as for himself, that, if the affair was consulted in the Council of the Regency, he would say all that was fit for it, that, if it was not, he would make the Regent insensibly fall on that conversation and would do all in his power to determine him. He thanked the friend for his advice to have given him the notion to do good or serve the K[ing], who he so much esteemed and that he looked upon it as his own affair ; that he feared there would be difficulties, because since the late treaty the R[egent] heard no reason on that subject, but that there must be found some other tour. The friend repeated to him that this idea came entirely from himself, that, if you approve what he has done, you may do what more you think proper to improve what is begun either by desiring the K[ing] to write a letter to M. Le Duc to desire his friendship in this affair, which the friend, if you please, will deliver and say all that is fit to be said upon it, or else to let it drop there. There is no harm done, the friend having spoke but from himself.

" My sister sent this day for the person that I have written to you already on the notion of. She fired him and he is this night to speak to the Reg[ent] from himself as she has piqued him with generosity. It's always putting the irons in the fire, which is all that they can do till they have your answer to know if the K[ing] likes it or not and what more he thinks fit to have them do. You know how ready the friend is to serve him, so he has but to send his orders. The person, who my sister spoke to, has just now asked her the list of the persons the Qu[een] gave pensions to. She spoke of it to Mr. Gordon, but, you may easily believe, will not think of giving it him, till she has your approbation.

" Mr. Gordon spoke to her of Father Grahames, who was to be removed, which he desired to have prevented. She went to the Père Provincial and he has given her his word and honour he would recall his order and he should stay there. She told him the K[ing] would thank him when he saw him ; the monk is going to Italy, so that is finished. I send you enclosed a letter which I hope you will like. It's in answer to that you sent us. You know how dangerous it is to write from that country ; therefore one cannot expect often letters

of that nature for, if I am not mistaken, it's all in a few words that he can say, since he desires to be judged by his actions. Pray send me your opinion of it and let me beg you will not let yourself be seduced by his enemies, for he's of as much importance for you now as when you were here. The letter he expects an answer to is that that I sent you. He has deferred his going to his own country till June. If you have any orders to give me on that subject, write me word. We have not heard from you since 10 March. The enclosed that I sent you was so gummed up that I have been obliged to take the cover to pieces, as you may see.

"Law yesterday abjured his religion. They say he is to buy the cordon blue 400,000 *livres* and that George has given him his pardon, but that they dare not propose it to the Parliament. It is said the Dutch have not yet signed the treaty. The last courier that came from Spain brought word that they would not hear of it. M. Le Duc in conversation with the friend told him that he was persuaded it could not hold, though the Regent was infatuated with it."

I send you a compliment in another letter, because the person that sends the courier has sent twice to ask if we had no letters to send. Don't speak of M. le Duc's conversation to anyone but the King, for he's very cautious. I write without a cipher, because I know it goes by a safe hand. I forgot to tell you that I had writ to *Lord Ilay* that his shyness was so excessive that one would think that the old quarrels were still in being and notwithstanding the master had made him such a present. George goes to his own country as soon as the birthday is over.

Lord Peterborough came to see us t'other day. He bolted in upon us and began very high, saying we were the authors of his misfortune, by my eldest sister's means, that he would follow the source of that affair and it should not end so. My sister told him very gravely she did not know what he meant, that, if he thought her guilty, he ought not to come and see her. The conversation changed and it dropped there. In going out he told M[ezières] he knew him to be a man of honour and he would tell him something he intended to do when in England, but he would exact his word and honour not to tell it to us nor anybody living. He spoke only in general terms and talking a great deal found the way to say ill of nobody. My sister denied positively knowing anything about it but by the public. He said he believed her, because he was persuaded M[ezières] would not have let her do it.

Lord Bolingbroke is here and is every day making his humble court to Lord Stair. We see Lord Panmure very often. Lord Jersey arrives at Paris. Mr. Skelton tells us 'tis to recover his health, which was grown very bad and tended to madness for grief of his wife's behaviour. 6½ *pages.*

CHARLES FORMAN MACMAHON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 7. Versailles.—I was in hopes that the next occasion I should have of writing would be to congratulate you on his Majesty's restoration. The generally credited report of the King of Sweden's great preparations gave us all the reasons in the world to expect it. But alas, our hopes that way are vanished at present and I have only to condole the death of the best Queen upon earth. Her Majesty fell ill at St. Germain four or five days ago and died about 8 this morning. She has left it the most dejected melancholy place in the universe and really it is impossible to express the despair and astonishment of those unhappy people, who by this sudden and unexpected blow have lost their royal patroness, to whose goodness and charity alone they owed their support.

I humbly beseech you to remind his Majesty sometimes of me and that, if anything should be undertaken for his service, I may be granted the favour of hazarding a life, which cannot be better laid down than in the defence of my lawful sovereign and his just cause.

CHARLES FORMAN MACMAHON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 7. Versailles.—Just as I had finished the enclosed to his Grace, Mr. Gordon sent me yours of 14 April I cannot be thankful enough to his Majesty for his goodness to me and am very sensible he would have recommended me, had there not been good reasons to the contrary. I was apprehensive of the impediment before, and therefore did not desire recommendations directly. I chose to go to Spain, it being, as I thought, the least opposite to his Majesty's interest, and where I might find some opportunity of rendering service, for that ever was and shall be the aim of all my actions, to which purpose I wrote to England to my friends, whom I could trust, to get me heartily recommended by the Spanish ambassador, in which they were very active and were to furnish me with a detail and minutes of the most circumstantial parts of the funds, debts and army. With those helps I did not doubt to do something, when I received directions to lay aside the thought of going there, and to think no more of it, desiring me to have a little patience. In my last to his Grace, I gave him Mr. Dicconson's opinion of the matter, so I am heartily sorry to have given his Majesty and his Grace so much trouble. My zeal is far short of his Majesty's goodness to me, but I would I had but opportunity to exercise it ; there would soon be as many exiles in Germany as there have been these 29 years in France, if his Majesty's clemency did not prevent it. His so readily entering into my proposal concerning my wife and children contrary to the rule he had laid down, shows that we can never call ourselves unfortunate in following the fate of our sovereign, who shows himself as much our father as our King.

The death of our late gracious and most pious Queen, who this morning rendered up her spotless soul into the hands of her Redeemer, will not suffer me to pass in silence the loss of a princess who is the most universally and justly lamented of any that ever lived. She might truly be called the mother of the poor, and, as far as in her lay, the help of the afflicted, but she is gone to accompany her royal husband, whose joint intercession at the throne of God, I hope, will prove advantageous to the son.

As soon as his Majesty's filial concern and grief is somewhat assuaged, and he admits access to his royal person, I do not doubt you will take the first favourable opportunity of letting him know with what dutiful sentiments I receive these marks of his favour and that I will study all ways and means to merit them. 3½ *pages.*

Ch. Hall (? Father Carnegie) to *the Duke of Mar.*

1718, April 26[–May 7]. Edinburgh.—I was overjoyed at yours of the 6 March, and am very far from putting a wrong construction on your silence. I had a letter from *Dr. Abercromby* some time before he died, which he told me he wrote by your orders, and I wrote to you, when I answered him, but it seems you never received it. (About his having heard from Inese of his no longer being employed.) I am glad *the King* keeps his health well. It would have been kind to have said as much for yourself. I am infinitely obliged to both for your good opinion of me, God grant I may continue to deserve it. I pity *the Duke of Gordon* and all I shall say for him at present is that few have *Mar's* courage and conduct.

The judges of the Enquiry are to meet shortly, who, it's thought, will be heavy on the Tories. I have not a word of other news that can be relied on. We are here sometimes uppish, and sometimes dumpish, according to the accounts we get of the Chevalier.

The Countess Veronica Molza to James III.

1718, May 8.—"Con mio sommo dolore comparisco avanti la Majesta Vostra per marcarle qual sia la mia giusta afflitione per la gran perdita che veniamo di fare della nostra gran Regina, degna Madre di V.M. Dicole dunque che un'ora avanti di morire, essendo presso di lei, mentre era tutta tremante, mi disse darle questo piccolo crocifisso, com'io fece, me lo servò nella mano e mi disse con commando di mandarlo alla M.V. com'io faccio. Queste sono le precise parole: Molza, vi prego, quando son morta, mandare questo crocifisso al Re mio figlio. Me lo replico in due volte, ora dunque con l'occasione del corriero mi sono data la liberta scrivere questa mia, assicurandola che Madame Strickland ed io non l'abbiamo mai abbandonata, l'altre pure hanno fatto il lor dovere.

"Adesso non ci resta piu che un unico dolore di questa perdita irreparabile. La M.V. mi permetta ch'io racommandi

M. de Nugent con la mia povera figlia. V.M. sa che la Regina l'haveva accordato 800 franchi l'anno. Quest'era la sua dote. Il povero M. Nugent perderá il salario, se V.M. non a qualche pieta per loro. Sono indotti alla mendecita con tre figliuoli sulle braccie.

"Per me, ritornero a Modena, mia patria, senza sussidio. Io non dimando nulla alla M.V. Tutto sara rimesso alla sua clemenza. Solo le dimando una gratia, se si puo. La gratia e questa, s'ella volesse ordinare che mi fosse dato la mostra che la Regina portava. Sara sempre una memoria che sara avanti gl'occhi miei, se V.M. conosse pure ch'io ne sia degna. Tengo ancora il ritratto di sua Altezza Reale in tondo, s'ella vole ch'io lo consegni a M. Dicconson o pure ch'io lo porti meco in Italia che di la poi mandarci a Urbino. Io non partiro cosi presto, ci sono dovuti undici mesi di salario. Sono piena di debiti e non so dove trovero mille franchi che mi condurranno a Modena. Siamo nelle mani de Dio e di V.M. Per me ho perso tutto quello poteva perdere in questo mondo. Supplico V.M. farmi fare solo due righe di risposta per sapere si ella haveva ricevuto questo crocifisso. Non so quando potro partire di S. Germano, se mai ci pagano gl'erretraggi. Questi sono dovuti per i debiti. Bisognera poi ch'io cerchi per carita mille franchi per far il viaggio. Siamo in cinque persone, io, Conte Molza, mia figlia, ma fame de chambre, e un servitore. Non potro fare il viaggio a meno di mille franchi. Spero e mi lusingo d'un benigno comparimento dalla M.V. Piglio parte al dolore ch'ella provera in questa nuova funesta. Direi multo piu, ma, trovandomi immersa nella afflitione ed un cuore oppresso, finiro col raccordarle quello, ch'ella mi fece l'honore di dirmi in Lorena, ch'ella non abbandonarebbe mai M. de Nugent, e molto confido nella sua parola. Mi permetta che le porta l'umigliatione del Conte Carlo, che il pover huomo si trova tutto sballordito dal dolore." 6 *pages.*

William Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 8. Paris.—I had yours of the 19th with the encloseds, which I delivered and forwarded. This is designed by the courier that brings you the deplorable loss of the Queen, who died yesterday about 7 in the morning. God preserve the King from any ill this unexpected death may occasion, and God help a great many poor afflicted starving families that her goodness only supported, and who without some extraordinary providence will be in great hazard of perishing.

The Duke of Ormonde to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, May 8.—I have just received yours of 12 April. Yesterday I received *the passes.* I send a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* letter that came with them. One of his is not come. He

does not mention the date of it. It is the only letter that has been lost, except your four, that were directed to Ulm.

I am very sorry for what you mention concerning the *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover*. How do we know that *the King of Spain* will agree to it? A little time will show it.

Ormonde hopes to leave *this country in a few days*. He will write to *Dillon before he begins his journey*.

I am promised by *friends in England* to have a copy of *Monteleone's* memorial. I wish that *the King* had the original of *the picture*. You will see by *Sir H. Stirling's Dr. Erskine's* good breeding. Pray my compliments to *Queen Mary*. I will answer hers by next opportunity.

Jerningham continues his journey to *Petersburg*. I am sorry it has not been in my power to send you any agreeable news, but never was there such a brute as our trusty *Dr. Erskine*.

The Earl of Panmure to James III.

1718, May 9. Paris.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.

The Earl of Panmure to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 9. Paris.—The Queen was taken ill on Sunday the 1st, which I did not know till Monday evening, so I went to St. Germains Tuesday morning and Dr. Blair went with me. They told us there that the Queen was better and that they did not think her in any danger. Dr. Blair did not then see her nor was his advice asked, but on Saturday morning an express came for him, so he went to St. Germains in all haste but found her speechless, and past all hopes of recovery, for she died about two hours after. I'm told that Dr. Garvan and the King of France's physicians thought she was in no danger the night before and were resolved to have given her physic the next day, but I will not enlarge on so melancholy a subject.

I was desired by Mr. Dugeat to write to you in his favour. He was also recommended to me by several others here. He says he was in one of Lord Huntly's squadrons at Sheriffmuir and was afterwards a lieutenant in Glenbucket's battalion, and, after the King went from Scotland, lurked there, whereby he contracted sickness. This occasioned him to spend so much money and put his affairs in that disorder, that he could not live in Scotland as he did formerly. I doubt not you will have an account of him from others. He is brother to the Laird of Auchinhuwe, who was a captain in my regiment.

Postscript.—I wrote the above yesterday, thinking Mr. Freebairn was to have gone to-day, but find he does not till to-morrow. Since writing I heard a piece of news I cannot

but acquaint you with, which is that Mr. Dillon is no more to be employed in the office he has now here and that Mr. James Murray is to be put in his place. This I was very much surprised with. Mr. Murray is very little known to me, but he a very young man for such a trust. He has indeed a good character, and for ought I know, may deserve it, but I think I am as capable of discharging that trust as he. I have given sufficient proof of my loyalty and have suffered pretty much for it, and I am sure it is very much against the King's interest for such to be neglected, and I never gave ground for anybody to think I was capable of doing anything but what's worthy of the part I have all my life acted, though I have not met with that encouragement that both I and others expected I would. This has been and is very bitter to me and adds a great deal to my sufferings for the King, which were otherwise very great. It may be objected that I am attainted, and that, if I were employed here, the government of England might complain of it to that of France, but I suppose that nobody that will have this trust will have any public character, but will only act underhand, which I do not see but I may do as well as any other. I have referred the King to what I have writ to you, which I desire you to communicate to him and use your good offices in obtaining what I desire. You may depend as much on my friendship as on anybody's that can be employed. This is the second favour I have asked from the King and, if it be refused as the other was, it cannot but be very bad encouragement for me. The King has both said and written to me that he has great regard and esteem for me, but the world will always conclude that he has most regard and esteem for those he trusts and employs in his service. 4 *pages.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to JAMES III.

1718, May 9.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.

L. INESE to JAMES III.

1718, May 9. St Germains.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.

FATHER GAILLARD, the QUEEN'S CONFESSOR to JAMES III.

1718, May 9. St. Germains.—" Vous connoissez assez mon attachement et sa confiance pour comprendre la profondeur de ma douleur, qui est pourtant, Dieu merci, trés soumise à sa sainte volonté, et qui est aussi bien adoucie par la consolation d'avoir rendu à Dieu cette ame si pure et si sainte, qu'il m'avoit confiée, et qu'il a voulu malgrè mon indignité recevoir de mes mains, mais il n'est pas question de vous expliquer ces sentimens qui sont la matiere du sacrifice que j'offriray à Dieu toute ma vie avec un coeur aussi soumis qu'affligé. Il s'agit de vous instruire en detail pour votre

consolation premièrement de ce qui s'est passe dans cette sainte mort et secondement de ce qui vous y regarde personnellement par les sentimens que la Reyne m'a marqués a vostre égard et par tout ce qu'elle ma chargé de vous ecrire.

"Premier article de ce qui s'est passè à la mort de la Reyne. Il y avoit quelque temps environ un mois que la Reyne avoit esté attaquée d'un rhûme qui disparoissoit quelquefois, et qui de temps en temps sa renouvelloit n'estant pas toutafait gueri. La Reyne se portoit assez bien le dimanche, premier jour de may, feste de St. Jaques et St. Philippe. C'estoit le jour qu'elle avoit choisi pour remplir l'heure de son adoration devant le St. Sacrement, s'estant associée à la confrairie de l'adoration perpetuelle du St. Sacrement establie dans la parroisse de St. Germain. Sa Majesté se rendit pour cela a l'eglise de la parroisse cinq heures du dimanche apres disner, ayant fait ses devotions a l'ordinaire le matin dans sa chapelle et y ayant recité le rosaire a quatre heures a la maniere accoutumée. . Le St. Sacrement fut exposé à la parroisse des que la Reyne y fut arrivée un peu avant cinq heures. La Reyne commenca son adoration à genoux où elle se tint pendant une demieheure, et fut assisse sur ses jambes la demieheure suivante, n'ayant pas voulu s'asseoir sur son fauteuil qui luy estoit preparé. L'heure de l'adoration finie, le salut fut commencé à six heures, auquel elle assista à genoux. En suite elle monta dans son carrosse pour s'aller promener sur la terrasse ou elle sentit du froid. C'est ce qui la fit retourner apres demieheure de promenade sans pourtant s'estre trouvée incommodée, car elle soupa ce soir la avec plus d'appetit qu'elle n'avoit fait depuis longtemps. Elle se coucha à l'heure ordinaire, mais elle passa assez mal la nuit jusqu'a cinq heures du matin du lundy qu'elle fut saisie du frisson de la fievre qui dura une heure, ce qui fut suivi de la chaleur. C'est ce qui fut compté pour peu de chose. Je fus apellé et j'eus l'honneur de s'entretenir selon tous les sentimens de sa pieté. Cette fievre n'a point cessé jusqu' au dernier jour de sa mort, elle parût plus considerable par les redoublemens qui survenoient, l'un le matin plus leger, l'autre sur les quatre heures de l'apres disner, qui commençoit par une toux assez violente, c'est ce qui a duré jusqu'au dernier jour. La nouvelle de cette maladie ayant esté sceüe à Paris, Monseigneur le Mareschal de Villeroy par son zele très vif et très fidelle par la Reyne me fit l'honneur de m'ecrire pour offrir à la Reyne les medecins de la cour, qu'elle souhaiteroit. S[a] M[ajesté] demanda Monsieur Dodart, aujourd'huy premier medecin du roy, et Monsieur Boudin. Ce sont les deux qui la traitterent dans sa grande maladie dernière. Ces medecins sont venus tous les jours depuis mardy jusqu'au vendredy, veille de la mort. D'abord ils ne trouverent rien de mortel dans cette fievre, ils ordonnerent une seconde saignée, la premiere ayant esté faite des le lundy par l'ordre de Mr. le chevalier Garven. Cette suite de redoublemens et de toux les a embarrassés, mais ils

n'en ont pas paru trop alarmés. Le mercredy et jeudy se passerent de mesme facon et mesme la nuit du jeudy au vendredy fut si bonne qu'on commenca à mieux esperer et mesmes on ordonna une medecine pour le lendemain, samedy.

"Pendant tout le temps la j'ay rendu mes assiduités à la reyne, la messe tous les jours, et les prieres ont esté dites dans sa chambre. Des le jeudy la reyne demanda a se confesser. Les medecins me prierent de l'en detourner, de peur que la preparation à la confession ne donnat quelque agitation, qui eut pû troubler le bon estat qui sembloit s'establir. Je priay la reyne de differer sa confession. Le lendemain, vendredy, elle m'en parla encore avec quelque inquietude de mourir, disoit elle, sans confession. Ce qui me determina à consentir à sa demande fut une toux très forte et un redoublement tres violent qui la prit vers les cinq heures du vendredy peu apres que les medecins furent partis avec esperance de la trouver mieux le lendemain, disant pourtant qu'ils trouvoient la fievre bien ardente. Je traittay alors avec la reyne l'affaire de la confession sur l'empressement qu'elle m'avoit marqué. Pour la delivrer de tout inquietude je la priay de prendre tranquillement toute cette preparation, qu'il falloit faire tranquillement sans manquer à prendre tous les soulagemens qui devoient l'interrompre. Ainsi fut il fait. La reyne me fit sa confession avec les sentimens ordinaires de sa grande piété, et de son vif amour pour Dieu dans une grande paix. Quelque heure apres on trouva que la reyne s'afoiblissoit, et que la violence du mal s'augmentoit. Je pris avis de Mr. Garven, s'il jugeoit qu'il fut temps de luy faire recevoir les derniers sacremens. Il en fut d'avis, je n'eus nulle peine à en informer la reyne, qui n'en fut pas plus emue que si on luy avoit dit d'aller entendre la messe dans les temps de sa santé. Je fis avertir Monsieur le prieur, curé de la parroisse, pendant que j'estois attaché à preparer la reyne à la reception des divins sacremens. L'extreme onction luy fait premierement donnée par M. le curé, et en suite le st. viatique. Avant que de le recevoir, elle fit demander pardon à toute l'assistante des peines qu'elle avoit pu faire a qui que ce soit, donc monsieur le curé fit le recit public. Depuis ce temps la, ou tout fut achevé à onze heures et demie du vendredy, jusqu'au lendemain sept heures et demie du samedy la reyne ne voulut plus s'entretenir qu'avec Dieu. Elle demanda les prieres des agonisans sur les deux heures apres minuit. Comme on les faisoit au pieds de son lit, elle ordonna qu'on s'aprochat pour les mieux entendre et y répondre. Les prieres ont esté faites deux fois par messieurs les aumosniers de la reyne, auquels je repondois. Mon occupation fut depuis onze heures [et] demie du soir vendredy jusqu'à sept heures et demie samedy de me tenir auprès de la reyne, et de me presenter de temps en temps à elle pour luy fournir des sentimens de piété. Certainement elle n'en avoit pas besoin, car Dieu luy inspiroit luy mesme les

plus dévots sentimens. Je ne vous en cite qu'un, qui est celuy cy. Que nostre religion, me dit elle, est consolante, ce n'est que d'elle qu'on peut recevoir quelque consolation. N'en est ce pas une bien grande de pouvoir dire, Dilectus meus mihi, et ego illi et cela non pas un jour ni une année mais pour toute l'eternité? Elle me pria de luy donner encore l'absolution avant qu'elle passat, et une demie heure avant sa fin elle me demanda cette absolution qui luy fut donnée. Elle demanda à gaigner l'indulgence plenicre attachée à sa medaille. Elle voulut avoir le crucifix entre ses mains et sous ses yeux, et tout cela partagé entre les prieres que l'on faisoit aupres d'elle, et les sentimens qu'elle prenoit ou d'elle mesme, ou de ce que je luy suggerois. Tout cela s'est passé avec toute la presence de son esprit, pendant que le corps se détruisoit par l'oppression de la poitrine ou tout le mal a abouti et par l'inflammation qui s'y est faite, mais avec quelle douce patience a elle tout souffert pendant la durée de huit heures après les sacremens receus, ayant toujours non seulement l'esprit mais la parole libre jusques à un quart d'heure avant sa mort, et mesmes dans ce quart d'heure, elle me donna des signes qu'elle entendoit tout ce qui je luy disois sans pouvoir former des paroles pour y repondre. Ainsi, ainsi cette sainte reyne s'est elle endormie au Seigneur, auquel elle s'est allé parfaitement unir a sept heures et demie de samedy matin 7e may 1718. J'avois oublié qu'à quatre heures du matin elle demanda que la messe fut dite dans sa chambre à quoy elle s'unit par toute l'affection de son coeur.

" 2nd Article. Voicy ce qui vous regarde personnellement dans les sentimens de la reyne, vous avés connu son coeur tendrement maternel, qui s'est toujours conservé tel jusqu'à sa mort, vous n'ignorés pas aussi les peines qu'elle a ressenties sur les derniers ordres qu'elle avoit receus de V[otre] M[ajesté]. Très persuadée de toute vostre affection elle m'a ordonné de vous mander que tout ce qui luy estoit venu de vostre part, quoyque contraire à ses pensées et à ses inclinations, n'avoit fait aucune impression contraire à son affection et qu'elle ne vous scavoit aucun mauvais grè, mais qu'elle vous prioit de luy pardonner toutes les peines qu'elle auroit pu vous faire par les petites contestations, sur quoy elle m'a ordonné en termes exprès de vous dire de sa part les choses les plus tendres, et de vous asseurer qu'esperant la misericorde de Dieu elle prieroit le Seigneur dans le ciel pour le succes de vos affaires presentes, j'ay cru mesmes avoir entendu qu'elle a nommé particulierement l'affaire des Suedois. D'ailleurs, en recevant le st. viatique, ayant demandé qu'on priat pour elle, elle ajouta pour le roi, mon fils, àfin qu'il perde mille vies plutost que de souffrir la moindre alteration de sa foy, ce qui fut repeté tout haut par M. le curé, lorsque de la part de la reyne il dit, que S[a] M[ajesté] démandoit pardon de toutes les peines qu'elle avoit pu faire à qui que ce soit. En suite elle s'est fait aporter un petit crucifix, qu'elle a mis entre les mains de

madame de Molza avec ordre de vous l'envoyer de sa part, ce qu'elle luy a encore reiteré une autrefois, àfin que son ordre sur ce sujet soit fidellement executé.

" Voila, Sire, les derniers et tendres temoignages de cette bonne mere à vostre egard. J'en ay connu tout le fond et je scay que l'ayant donné tout à Dieu, qui le possedoit entierement, vous seul y aviés toute la part qui peut estre donnée à l'estre crée.

" Je ne vous informe pas de plusieurs autres choses donc Monsieur Dillon s'est chargé. Nous avons fait ensemble une question si on feroit une oraison funebre à la reyne, de quoy l'un et l'autre n'estant gueres d'avis, nous attendrons vostre decision. Pour moy je ne puis ni ne dois m'en charger, ayant esté son confesseur, mais j'ay pensé que, comme au nom des religieuses de la Visitation de Chaillot, j'ay fait paroistre un ecrit sur la mort de la princesse vostre soeur, je pourrois dans la mesme forme faire un ecrit plus ample touchant les grandes vertus de la reyne, qui seroit donné par les religieuses de la Visitation de Chaillot. Mr. Dillon a aprouvé mon projet, V[ostre] M[ajesté] en decidera selon sa volonté et sagesse.

" J'ay encore une remarque à faire, c'est que la scelle, comme vous l'aprendra Mr. Dillon, ayant esté mis sur tous les papiers qui aparemment vous seront renvoyés, il s'y trouvera des meditations, des prieres, des retraittes et autres pieux exercices de ma façon, ou tout l'interieur de la reyne estant marqué selon les connoissances qu'elle m'en donnoit, il ne seroit pas à propos qu'aucun le lût, parceque les defauts et les imperfections luy sont representées à elle mesme, ce qui demande un secret incommunicable.

" Je suis chargé par la reyne d'aller faire une solicitation pour le payment prompt des arrerages dûs de sa pension, à fin qu'on puisse satisfaire aux salaires de ses domestiques, ce qu'elle a marqué avoir bien fortement a coeur et donc je m'aquitteray bien vivement.

" Pour la liste des autres pensions je scay que tout vous sera mandé n'estant pas de mon ministere de m'en mesler, comme je ne l'ay jamais fait de tout le temporel."

(Renewing to him the most respectful and tender sentiments of his heart and offering his services in whatever he may deem him capable of.) They will have informed you of the opening of her body, by which it appeared that she could not have lived much longer, from the decay of the lungs and the great abscess in her side, left by her last illness, which she often felt. 12 *pages*.

Sir H. Stirling to the Duke of Ormonde.

1718, *April* 28 [–May 9].—I have just received yours of 3 May, and am extremely concerned you have not got any of mine since 31 *March*. I wrote 4, 11, 14, and 21 of this month. I am extremely sorry any of them should have

miscarried and should be no less so to think I had fallen under your suspicion, as if I were capable of so great a neglect, when I know I had promised and that you expected otherwise from me. But I hope you will have some of them before this reaches you, especially the last, with which were enclosed the *passes*. You will easily believe it's with regret I sent *them*, since I had far rather wished you had found *things taking such a turn as that your stay* might have been more agreeable as well as more profitable towards *the business you intended*, but, as I told you that there was nothing in these parts *that* would *make hopes* for a *change*, so I now repeat it, not *but that the Czar* has the same sentiments *of and for the King as* formerly, but, as there has not only *no minister* from *Sweden been as yet in Finland*, so the last accounts from thence assure us that, when *they* were on *their journey to the place, they were recalled* upon *Ducker's return from England*. Whether this happened from *an agreement* with *England* or only to have them *instructed in the conditions offered* in order *to bring the Czar* to the *best terms*, is not yet known, but I'm afraid of the first and that, if *Görtz* was sincere in what he said to *Jerningham*, the opposite party to his designs has got the better of him, for I cannot imagine, if he had *had the* direction *of affairs*, that he would go that way to work, with such visible contempt *of the Czar* that, though his *minister* has *been* waiting for *him those four months*, yet he has scarce once taken notice of him, and, if that is the case, the face of affairs is quite changed, and consequently nothing to be depended on of what he either promised or said. I wish I may be mistaken.

I delivered the two from *the King* and *Mar* to *Dr. Erskine*, as you desired, but, as his *cipher* was not at hand, he has not yet perused them. As to *Jerningham's journey*, he thinks it will be to no purpose, both because, as things stand, no resolution can be taken, and that, if they have a mind to insist on the conditions he says *Görtz* seemed to think necessary for *Sweden*, they are such as *the Czar will never grant*. But, lest his presence should afterwards be necessary, he had better stay where *he is*, which will be less taken notice of, which is impossible to be avoided here, seeing there is neither *lodging nor* any other conveniency *to be had in* this *place*. If this reaches you, I hope you will be convinced that, as there has been nothing to have been expected from this place, so I have not given occasion to such inexpressible inconveniencies as *Jerningham* charges me with in his to *Dr. Erskine* and that you will impute it at least to my misfortune and not my fault. 2 *pages*. *Copy by Ezekiel Hamilton.*

William Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May [10]. Paris.—I wrote to you two days ago with the express sent by General Dillon to acquaint the King of the Queen's death and thereby sent all the letters I had then received.

The Queen's death will make a terrible desolation at St. Germains and amongst all our people that are subsisted, so I doubt not you will think soon of some effectual remedy, else a great many will starve and be forced on some desperate measures. Enclosed is a letter I had from C. K[innaird], which I think he designed for you. Lieutenant Dugat, who was in Glenbucket's regiment, is lately come over, who begs to be subsisted, so, if there be a fund for others, he pleads for and expects your protection and by everybody's character of him, they say he merits it.

JOHN WALKINSHAW OF BARROWFIELD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 10. Paris.—I delayed answering your letter in answer to mine received some time ago till Mr. Freebairn's return, and, since money is scarce and my numerous family and poor services deserve no better than to be put on a common list, I shall incline rather to oppress an undone family at home than to be troublesome to the King. I wrote in a cantish style some time ago to Col. Middleton to meet me at Dieppe and had two letters delivered him. My design was to know how far the two brothers (Argyle and Ilay), his patrons and my friends, resented the bad treatment they have met with. The enclosed is his answer and excuse for not meeting with me. You know him trusted. The words, money and creditors, you will understand to be his patrons. If you think this affair worth managing, I shall follow instructions. At the same time Middleton must not be named to any person that either has been or shall be employed in this affair.

The Commissioners of Enquiry are now in Scotland and are soon to open their Court. Their powers are so extravagant, uncommon and contrary to all our laws, that it strikes terror to our country and to all parties wrath and indignation against the present settlement. If any scheme be laid down, I am convinced no time is to be delayed of putting it in execution. It is the greatest misfortune to the King and our cause his being obliged to be so remote from his business and nothing can remedy that but his being nearer the centre of his business or your being somewhere in this part of the world with a *plein pouvoir*, where the King's friends may have access from time to time to offer schemes and reasons fit to be laid down for his service, those now here employed being plainly incapable to do the service necessary and so invisible to all but some Irish of mean understandings that, if he had capacity, no manner of business could be done with him. You will pardon what I have writ. If measures be timely concerted in the right place, considering the present situation of our affairs and the multitudes of friends, I think the King's affairs not in the least difficult.

I was at St. Germains all the time of the Queen's illness. They were not in the least alarmed till Friday night,

notwithstanding that she had a continued fever from 5 on Monday morning. I never did see so much stupidity as I saw there. I am heartily weary of the expense of this place and design to-morrow to retire to some country place in Normandy. If you have any commands for me, Mr. Arbuthnot or Mr. Gordon will take care to convey them safe. *The words read Col. Middleton are erased. Enclosed,*

COL. MIDDLETON to J. WALKINSHAW.

I had your two letters. The concern for those we owe money to is in the end our business as much as theirs, and my friends wish as well to us as you would desire and will take their own way to ease us. I cannot possibly make the trip to the Bath that I am desired for many reasons arising here, which you could not apprehend where you are; but I believe the end of it is answered effectually and it is exactly the same thing. It is very bad at present that one cannot write either amours or business but, if opened, it's ascribed to politics. Whoever serves this so, the Lord help their heads. I wish to God our principal creditors had been as charitable and easy as they are now. I would fain wish they would help us with the rest. All that can at present be expected of them is to give no obstruction to our settling with the rest of our creditors. March 30—*April* 10. *London.*

ALEXANDER DUGUD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 10. Paris.—Having served as lieutenant under Glenbucket's command, after the fatal dissolution of the army I was obliged to fly, and was loth to be burdensome to the King, while a little fund of my own lasted. That being now quite exhausted, I am obliged to throw myself on the King's bounty and under your protection, which I do with the more confidence that my uncle, Dr. Abercromby, was honoured with your patronage, which you have generously continued to his poor widow. I hope you will pardon my application being somewhat unseasonable, when the King must be afflicted for the death of his Royal mother, since nothing less than absolute necessity could force me to it.

GEORGE HOME OF WHITFIELD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 10. Rouen.—The mournful emergent of the Queen's death occasions the trouble and freedom of this line, which I hope you will forgive.

While her Majesty was alive, the distressed subjects had a constant supply from her, and a ready recourse to her bounty. But, Providence having deprived us of so charitable a mistress, God knows what now will be the fate and misfortunes of us poor forlorn creatures. His Majesty is not in a condition to afford any relief. The subjects dare not return, and, if they could, it were only to be insulted, harassed and starved,

since their fortunes are seized and at present putting to a public sale. To steal or rob we cannot and to abide on this side in a miserable condition is an uneasy lingering death. The greatest part know not which way to procure a morsel of bread, and those, who, it's like, can make some shift for a support, must be scattered into all the corners of the wind.

This is the dismal situation of our affairs. The wound is yet green and not much felt, but who knows to what an incurable ulcer this may arrive, unless his Majesty's wisdom and your sound counsel do not speedily apply some remedy. We are reduced to a very hard dilemma. To continue longer in these parts were to render the King's friends on this side, who are neither few nor inconsiderable, altogether unserviceable through poverty and to hazard another attempt against the usurper might be deemed a rashness. To wait for a general call from the people will require a great measure of justice and a long time safely to accomplish it, and to expect assistance from foreign princes is a thing very uncertain, this being only obtained when princes have certain and sure views in advancing of their own interests.

Since in all human probability we have nothing before our eyes but downright ruin and misery, what should hinder us from trying once more the fortune of the desperado? Our forefathers were much more reduced than we are at present and yet they by their courage and hardiness mastered their bondage and settled themselves in a freedom.

If Providence should again baffle our attempts, we then die like men and not as cowards and beggars on the common roads in foreign countries. Our consciences will acquit us by performing our duties and our memories will continue sweet to posterity, even though we did fail. May not methods be taken to raise commotions in all the three kingdoms the more to distract our enemies? His Majesty might be secretly conveyed into some private place, not at too great a distance, and there remain till numbers were got together suitable for the defence of his person and then he might take his fate with us and amongst the Scots as his truest friends. If serious reflection were made on the present ferment and humour in the nations, I apprehend that no person is able to make a conjecture on either the good or bad success of such an effort, and if he did, it would tend to the best.

If his Majesty inclines that his return should happen by the good will of his people, endeavours would be used to have his residence fixed nigher to his dominions, but who amongst the princes or Hanse towns will hazard to receive him is hard to determine. The good offices of a Protestant prince are much more acceptable to England than those of the Roman Catholics, and there is no doubt that, if the English were sounded, they would assure that the way to facilitate his return were to cast himself under the protection of the Swede or some other Protestant prince or state and not to continue longer

under that of the Catholics. Many amongst them retained a strong jealousy of her Majesty's influencing the King in matters of religion, in case he were restored; nay, I have heard them resolve that the Queen should never again enter the dominions. This groundless fear is now removed by her death. I pray God to comfort his Majesty under the loss of the best of mothers and us in being deprived of a good and most generous Queen. How far it might agree with his Majesty's inclinations that the Regent should be sounded about the supporting of his subjects for a time, you are the most competent judge. Though he be in an alliance with the usurper, yet, if he be willing, the money which is given need not by any outward appearance seem to come from his hands. There are princes of the blood and other great men, who would not scruple to father such a *pia fraus*. The King's friends will wait impatiently the signifying of his pleasure and intentions anent the disposal of themselves. 4 *pages*.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 11. Vienna.—I have received yours of 21 April, by which I understand that all my letters have arrived and that you have communicated them to the King and the Duke of Mar. I have reported to Monsr. Stiernhock what you informed me of. He has learnt with satisfaction that all his letters have arrived and that his Majesty is pleased with them. He has told me to assure his Majesty of his faithful attention to everything that can contribute to his interests. He cannot write this post but will do it fully the next. He is still without letters from the King of Sweden but intelligence from other places gives him ground for hoping for a good end to the peace negotiations between him and the Czar, notwithstanding George's intrigues. I have certain news that the Czar returned to Petersburg 4 April N.S. By my continued correspondence with one or other of the Czar's ministers, I shall able to advise you positively of the issue of the Congress of Aland. The letter I sent Mr. Erskine will be just in time, for he will be returning there with the Czar. (About the mode of transmitting his letters.)

People speak of it as a certain thing, as may be seen by the enclosed paper, that the proposals for an accommodation between the Emperor and King Philip are approved by the Emperor. Nevertheless, since up to the present they have not been ratified or signed on either side, the Emperor tries to gain time before binding himself by the said peace, and, if in the meantime he comes to terms with the Turks, far from renouncing the crown of Spain, he will try to join himself with the English and Holland in order to carry on the war with King Philip. It is the Spanish ministers here that inspire him with such sentiments, but the German ministers are for peace with Spain. The differences between this Court and that of Muscovy with regard to the deposition of the

Czarowitch increase more and more. The Emperor contends that the Czar has broken his word, which he gave him while the Czarowitch was in his hereditary states, and perhaps all this may take fire in time. 5 *pages. French, much of it in cipher, deciphered.*

James III to Lieut.-General Dominick Sheldon.

1718, May 12. Urbino.—As little as I am able to write, I cannot but tell you how glad I am you are safely arrived in Paris, and how pleased I am with your successful endeavours there. I hope you will have as good luck in your own affairs and that they will not keep you long in your parts. All that relates to me is in the supreme degree of obscurity and uncertainty, but that, I think, cannot last long.

I should be glad to have under Dr. Ingleton's own hand that paragraph you transcribe about my letter to Leslie. I shall not enter into any detail, and indeed it is needless, for, since *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* are pleased on one side and friends in England are extremely so both with *the King* and *Mar*, all little *tracasseries* now deserve but contempt and forgetfulness. It being impossible for me to let *Inese* know I am satisfied with him, and being resolved on t'other side to stir no more in that matter even for *Inese's* sake, I have no other party to take but that of silence. I am heartily glad *Queen Mary* is in so good health and have sent her abundance of cedrats with the Grand Duke's Florence wine. *Copy by Nairne.*

James Ogilvie of Boyn to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 12. Paris.—Expressing his most particular share of the general grief for the irreparable loss of the Queen and his concern at such a sudden and severe affliction to his Majesty.—My true zeal for the King's service and my sincere attachment to you oblige me to think it my duty to acquaint you of anything coming to my knowledge that may have the least bad consequence, though never so well meant, and, though I am convinced that even those that take a little freedom in speaking of the present management of the King's affairs have no design of making division amongst his loyal subjects, but that it may proceed from a little self love and interest on a small picque that they are not entrusted with the secrets of his affairs, however, this unreasonable way of thinking may produce bad effects by the improvement our enemies may make of it. This matter being too long and too troublesome for a letter, I have given a full account of all that has come to my knowledge to Mr. Freebairn, who can inform you from point to point. I hope you will not condemn this proceeding. 3 *pages.*

The Marquess of Tullibardine to John Paterson.

1718, May 12.—Acknowledging his of 1 April, received the 8th instant, and expressing his satisfaction at the King's good

health and offering him his most humble duty.—I have not yet seen the wild lad, my brother, for he stays three or four leagues distance, but he has desired me to give you his service.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, May 12. Dunkirk.—After my letter parted, something comes into my head I could wish you to know. I have been very earnest to penetrate into the mind of Capt. Maghie and have used the same endeavour with his cousin Macmamara and find there is a great intimacy between Brigadier Hook and them. I find by them that *Mar* proposed to have drawn Hook into *the King's* service, but Hook would not accept and the reason he gives is this. The way that was desired of him to serve did not please him and, on all the transactions that he ever acted in for *the King's* service, he was so keked (? checked) by the Queen and *Lord Middleton* and he could have done several pieces of service to *the King*, but it was always marred by *Lord Middleton*, and this he can make appear by a too true demonstration. Therefore he is resolved never to have any manner of dealings with that court directly nor indirectly. They tell me he knows me, and that he knows on what footing I stand with *Lord Middleton* and that he is also well informed that *Capt. Ogilvie* is entirely devoted to *Mar*, therefore he is content to open his mind entirely to him that he may represent it to *the King* and *Mar* only. If *the King* will honour him with a few lines from himself, ordering him to serve him, and will assure him he shall have to do with nobody but *the King* and *Mar*, on those conditions he will embark in *the King's* service and he has prayed that I may be persuaded to come up to *Paris*, but I will take no such step without *Mar's* orders. I am told Hook is very capable to serve *the King*, being very well with *the Regent* and perfectly well known to all the foreign ministers, and that he is a penetrating, cunning, fast-headed man, but I think him a subtle, crafty, ambitious, intriguing man and that he may perhaps be very ready to undermine his superiors by his undertakings and ascribing much to his own merit.

Menzies told me that about half a year ago came over one Edwards. He had a great many written instructions and made it his business to be intriguing mightily with some work-people that are friends to *the King's* interest, but it was found that all his instructions proceeded from letters he had received from Sir W. Ellis, who, they judge, is not let into great matters himself, but they say he eats and converses with a certain work-creature, that writes some of *the King's* letters, when they are in the language of the country where they are at present. I could not devise this, unless it had been told me, for I shall never write or tell you a story without giving you my author for it.

In the next place I refer you to the last three lines of a letter I received from *Menzies*. I could have torn off the last part of

it and sent it you, but I shall never have any secret from you, and, to convince you it's so, I send a letter I received from *Anne Oglethorpe*, wherein she would have me impose on *Lord Oxford* by keeping my being in *England* a secret from him. You may be sure I was not there without sending him several letters and messages he would soon judge did not come by the post, but I know she advertised him herself, but I must write so to you that you might believe she did not show your letter to *Lord Oxford*, but I know she sent it to him by Mrs. *Ogilvie*, who knows *Mar's* hand a little too well to be mistaken, but, though all had been as she would have me believe, I should think myself a very ungenerous scoundrel to be capable of any thing I would make a secret of from one that trusts me with his honour, life and fortune. You see what fine promises she makes me, but I know them well to be only French compliments, but I am too old a bird to be catched with chaff. I have neither forgiven nor forgotten the little mean intrigues contrived betwixt her and *Menzies* to hinder poor Mrs. *Ogilvie* from paying her respects to *Lady Mar*, for on Mrs. *Ogilvie's* arrival *Menzies* was sent in a great hurry to forbid her to go near *Lady Mar*. She was not willing to obey, therefore *Anne Oglethorpe* assured her that *Lord Oxford* had sent Mr. *Cæsar* from the country on purpose to forbid her to go, on which Mrs. *Ogilvie* wrote to me and I sent you the letter, but I wrote back and ordered her, notwithstanding *Lord Oxford's* orders or any body else's, to wait on *Lady Mar*, on which she wrote to *Lady Mar* to know if it would be any harm to *Lady Mar*, if she waited on her. *Lady Mar* sent her word it would not, on which Mrs. *Ogilvie* went frequently, so when *Lord Oxford* came to town Mrs. *Ogilvie* found he had never sent any such thing, but on the contrary was mighty inquisitive how *Lord Erskine* did as to his health. The next thing was little Hamilton was very troublesome to *Lady Mar* and a great clamour was made about him, and how ungenerous it was of *Lady Mar* to let him starve. This was highly magnified by *Menzies* and *Anne Oglethorpe* so *the Duchess of Ormonde* was acquainted with it, so she sent some gold immediately to Hamilton. This was magnified to the skies by the new two friends and the young knight (Sir R. Everard) and all their crew. One Charlton, a busy chaplain to *Lord Arran*, brought the gold to *Menzies*. As I told you, they would have fain persuaded me that I was dropped also by *Mar*, but I convinced them that that would not take with me ; but, when they saw that *Inese* was laid aside, it entirely struck a terror into the whole party, for, when they found that strong tower was levelled, it made them all think there was no kicking against pricks.

I shall say nothing till it shall please God to send you a happy sight of *Lady Mar*, who will avouch all I have written. I pray you pardon me for writing all this, for I have no design in it than that my friend may know who are his faithful friends.

It's true it's necessary for *Mar* to manage *Anne Oglethorpe* and make her believe he has great confidence in her, but *verbum sapienti.*

Mr. Gough sent a son of his to Spain with a 30-gun ship and cargo, but the Spaniards have taken him into their service to transport troops. His son writes him word that the major-general of the armado is a Scotsman. I fancy his name is Fordyce. Mr. Gough prays you to recommend his son to this major-general. Mr. Gough had written to *Inese* praying him to write to you to beg this favour, but *Inese* never answered him. The young man is he that offered himself and his frigate for *the King's* service. (Again pressing his request for an equerry's place.) I send you here the Marquess of Huntly's retreat from the battle of Sheriffmuir; it will make you laugh.

This port of Dunkirk has got a free trade; that is, all sorts of goods are permitted to come into it. The little sluice is finished, but they are perfecting the canal quite down to the sea, and to keep it as large as ever it was, when the great sluice was in being. Great quantities of powder and cannon ball are coming here every day and they say the cannon that were carried to Calais are to return. What truth is in this I know not, but the two English commissioners are very angry, that is, Armstrong and Leslie. They are every day taking up people at London and putting them in prison. Since Cowper was removed from being Chancellor, they say his house was searched. A gentleman here let me see a letter from London of it, but I have much ado to credit it.

Just as I finished my letter I received the fatal news of the Queen's death, but notwithstanding I was willing to send my letter just as I had written it, that my friend may see how matters stand and take his measures accordingly.

It will be both for *the King's* and *Mar's* interest that the neck of sending over messengers after the packets be broke, for some men do not care to write what they have a mind to have believed, lest letters may rise in judgment, but there is not that danger in verbal messages, when sent by one's own creature. To be plain it's Mr. *Kelly* I mean. I never saw him, nor can I have any prejudice at him, only I know what he advanced in *England* to the disadvantage of those that I both love and esteem, and I know every word he advanced to be false. It's nothing to me who may be sent, provided they behave discreetly and do justice to the character of men of worth, for I never intend to see *England*, unless commanded by *the King* or *Mar.*

Had it not been for poor Father Græme, the whole packets had been in great danger, for *Kelly* was positive to have them in this packet-boat with himself, which was a risk indeed, but the poor father opposed it so vehemently that he went in the packet-boat by himself. 8 *pages. Enclosed,*

J. Menzies to *Capt. Ogilvie.*

We were very glad to know you parted so prosperously. I hope by this time you are to S. Genevieve. I beg you ten thousand pardons for the blunder about the enclosed, for I can blunder sometimes in a hurry, as well as any man of Ulster can do deliberately. The night I put in the other letters that were in the same packet with the enclosed, it is plain that it slipped and was left in the waistcoat pocket where I found it last Saturday, not having used that black waistcoat these three months.

We have no news here these few days, only we cannot determine whether to go to the Baltic or Mediterranean, nor are our ten ships yet manned.

There is a villain going about here to ensnare people, pretending extraordinary trusts he has had from Morris (? Mar). He lived at Bayonne. April 7[–18].

Anne Oglethorpe to *Capt. Ogilvie.*

I have received yours and rejoice much at your and your friend's safe landing. I take it for a lucky omen for your further business.

I have not sent nor shown yours to Lord Oxford ; *some things having happened that I think it more for both your interests he should still be ignorant of our friend's journey and think it absolutely for your service to leave it there. I fancy you will rely on my judgment in this. I advise you to desire* Mar *in his answer to* Lord Oxford *not to mention the journey. Tell* Capt. Ogilvie *I desire him to find out a good convent in Lo[wer] Normandy or any cheap province. There are some that will feed them and clothe them for* 10*l. a year apiece. Let him lose no time to find one, for I have reason to hope I shall be able to compass having all these girls sent.*

Colin Campbell of Glendarule to John Paterson.

1718, May [? 12].—Thanking him for his letter of 1 April and protesting he was far from taking any umbrage at his not writing, as he knows him too well to imagine him capable of forgetting his friends and desiring him to give his service to various friends.—Yours came seasonably to make your compliments to Clanranald and Brigadier Campbell, for both of them were here.

The Marquess writes to you this post and designed it to go under my cover but, without thinking, enclosed it to Mr. Gordon. 2 *pages.*

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Friday, May 13.—This is only to cover the enclosed from Maréchal de Villars, Maréchal de Matignon and the

Duke of Lauzun. The latter makes high profession of zeal and friendship for every thing that regards *the King* and his service and indeed so do the others. I don't question but *the King* will return a kind answer. Their endeavours for his service may be of some use, and especially the first.

W. Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 13. Paris.—Forwarding the encloseds.

Charles Forbes to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 13. Paris.—I am so scarce of money, that I have not so much as to buy a suit of mourning on this occasion. I have been this twelvemonth kept off with cheats of the French law and at last am forced to leave my process to Arbuthnot's management. I have been very little obliged to him and Mr. Gordon for bringing me in this trouble only to serve them, so I hope you will order me some.

Mr. Freebairn will acquaint you with all our news more fully than I can write. I desired Boyn to write you freely what our discontented courtiers are daily spreading here, laying all the blame on you that nothing more effectual is done for a restoration. Among other things they say the Duke of Argyle might be gained, if proper methods were used and that Barrowfield offered to go to London to have sounded him on that head, if the King would have allowed him, but that you have given the King so bad an opinion of him, that he will use no endeavours that way, and that the King's own subjects might do the affair without foreign assistance, which projects they are to lay before his Majesty. I take Mr. Leslie, who is one of their chief projectors, to be much of Salton's (?) temper, though not of so good sense. Though most of what they say is not much to be noticed, I thought it my duty to acquaint you. For my part I believe there never was so favourable a disposition among the people, but I doubt without a foreign force if it were possible to raise the country, but, if 3,000 men could be got, I am persuaded it could be effectually done.

Father Gaillard to James III.

1718, May 13. St. Germain en Laye.—Representing to him the condition of Father Maxwell and his extreme need of having some subsistence by his Majesty's favour.—He has served the late King and Queen and his Majesty as chaplain for thirty years, and is old and incapable of performing any service, if he is sent to some of the colleges of his province in Flanders, being always devoted to their Majesties' service and being capable only of being an expense to the colleges where he may be sent. As it is apparent that some persons will be kept here in the apartments, if he is assisted by his Majesty, he will then pass his days in prayers and in peace. *French.*

The Duke of Ormonde to James III.

1718, May 13.—Last night *Ormonde* received *the King's* of 30 March with the account of *Wogan's* journey. *The King* will have before this received the copies of *Sir H. Stirling's* that *Ormonde* sent him, which inform him that there is nothing to be done in *the marriage* affair, therefore *Ormonde* hopes that *the King* will not lose any time in *getting one of those young princesses* that *Wogan* mentions. *Ormonde* has nothing new to acquaint *the King* with. He designs to begin *his journey this evening and to go by the way of Prussia. Sir H. Stirling's*, which *Dillon* will transmit, shows the reason of *my taking this route.*

Jerningham goes for *Petersburg* but cannot get an answer to several of his to *Dr. Erskine* nor from *Sir H. Stirling.*

The Duke of Ormonde to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, May 13.—I had no letter from *Dillon* last post. His last was of 12 April. (Informing him of his intended departure and of his route, as in the last.)

Capt. George Camocke to James III.

1718, May 14. Paris.—Her late Majesty told me that your Majesty consented to my serving the King of Spain as Rear-Admiral of his fleet. I humbly beseech you to grant me a commission as Admiral of the White Squadron of your fleet, to bear date at the time I served under the Duke of Ormonde on our unfortunate attempt. It will be a means for the King of Spain to give me a better rank in his fleet than what I now have. I would not presume to ask this grace, were it not my rank according to seniority. No rank nor advantage shall prevail on me to serve any prince, whenever I shall receive your commands.

Capt. H. Straiton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 3[–14]. L[eit]h.—The 12th of last month I troubled you with a very long letter and with it answers to all contained in yours of 3, 4, and 8 Jan., which I judge are all safe at *Sir H. Paterson's* hands by this time, to which I can now add very little. Yours of 6 March and 12 April both came some days ago, and you have here enclosed *Father Carnegie's* answer to yours and the other letter is from R. M[urray]. *C. Kinnaird* is at London and I am in doubt whether I shall hazard or not sending yours to him, for he told me at parting he would be here again about the middle of this month.

What I am ordered to pay to a gentlewoman by yours of 12 April, I shall do, as soon as I possibly can, and I will be under a necessity to draw on the banker you mentioned for that sum and some more, for *Sir H. Maclean* will need board

and other necessaries. I think you are right about the gentlewoman's name, though I cannot be very positive, but I am confident her husband's was the same with the *Duke of Montrose*. Her son now represents a worthy person and I heartily wish *the Duke of Montrose* were every way like him.

What you write concerning Mr. *Inese*, I had already some account of from himself and *the King's* commands are and shall be always sacred to me; and I shall not communicate anything relating to his affairs to any he is pleased to lay aside, but I expect it will not give offence that I serve a particular friend and his family in their personal private concerns.

I am truly sorry you should have any occasion to complain of *Menzies* or anybody else. Be his faults or mistakes what they will, I think I have had no accession to either, for I was very little acquainted with him, when he went from this twenty odd years ago, and since that I have never seen him, and, though I was desired to recommend him as a factor, I declined it. I never had, to the best of my remembrance, any sort of correspondence with him till some time after *Mar* came last here, and, whilst he was here, I sent all the other's letters to him, and one of the most material I sent to *Mar* after he was on the other side of the water, and since then I have not had I think above four letters from him and those of very little importance except one that brought a packet from you last summer.

I think I shall have little occasion to write to *Dillon*, till I have directions from you. I hope I need not trouble you often with letters that way through the common post, for they will go much safer by sea to *Sir H. Paterson* and I can find some occasions to him every three or four weeks and he can have the same occasions to me, so, when you have anything to send that's bulky or of much import and requires not haste, I wish you may always send both to *Sir H. Paterson*, for not a few letters are opened at the post offices here and elsewhere almost every post. 1½ *page*.

Robert Murray to the Duke of Mar.

[1718, May.]—After so long silence and so much distress I cannot express how much yours of 7 Jan. raised my drooping spirits to find myself in the same degree of your favour. I shall do what's in my power to merit the continuance of it. Nothing could be more agreeable to me than to know of the perfect health of the friend you are with. I'm very proud of the honour he does me.

I saw my friend William lately, who returns your compliments. He's so well recovered of his long indisposition, that he now takes his ordinary divertisement of hunting at his country house, but the effects of his illness have made him much more crazy in his constitution.

I almost forgot to tell you that the old factor paid 50*l.* to an order of *the King* on his having advice for so doing. It was the urgent necessity of the receiver made him make the demand and he hopes that will plead his excuse. He wishes the occasion of such things may be of short continuance, but hopes not to be forgot, if 'tis his misfortune to continue under his present straits.

Though your commands have ever been observed by me with the greatest exactness I was capable of, my present unlucky situation makes the return of my desire to be with you as frequent as the days I live and my heart would die within me, if I did not persuade myself that either some pleasing scene will open to bring us soon together here or that you will employ me where you are on the first proper occasion. *Enclosed in the last letter.*

Mrs. B. Strickland to James III.

1718, May 15.—My unspeakable grief will, I hope, obtain your pardon for my writing to your Majesty, for, now I have in the Queen lost all the protection in this world, I must humbly beg you will continue to me what the Queen for several years gave me out of her private money, which was 1,000 *livres* a year, she being sensible it was impossible for me to live on what I had ever since Mr. Strickland's death. The night her Majesty died, she called me to her and said, how sorry she was not to be able to recompense my faithful services, but that she was sure your Majesty would be kind to me and mine. I have the fine damask table cloth and the dozen of napkins belonging to it, which you gave the Queen. She bade me keep them for her, so I shall wait for your orders about them.

Sir Roger presents his most humble duty to you; he has not yet done anything in his business, but has some hopes.

Fanny Oglethorpe to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 15.—I wrote you by the courier, that Mr. D[illon] sent you, an account of what measures had been taken relating to the continuation of the p[ensio]n, and I must tell you that the person I told you in my last that my sis[ter] had sent for and who was to speak that very day to *the Regent* gives us leave now to name him. It's *Duke* of *Chaune* (*i.e.* Chaulnes) son to *Duke Chevreuse*. He has the liberty to say what he pleases to *the Regent* and is one of those now in favour. He promised to say all that was thought proper. *M. de Mezières* gave him his lesson, for that's a little necessary with him with the best inclination in the world. It's needless to repeat it you, but the whole was that it was *the Regent's* interest, for by the little *King's money* he gained our *King's* friendship, and it would make him believe that *the treaty* past was what he was necessitated to, that, if he missed this occasion

which cost him directly nothing, it would look like a personal aversion to *the King*, would be of the worst consequence, if ever he ceased to be unhappy and would make all the Catholic *princes* cry out shame, as well as even his own *country*. This and a great deal more of the same nature was the conversation that *the Duke of Chaulnes* was to talk on, which he did that evening. He found *the Regent* very cold. He said his heart bled to see the situation, but what could he do ? the *treaty* tied his hands.

I don't know if M. le *Duc* [de Bourbon] and several more that *M. de Mezières* had put in your interests had spoke to him, but the next day *Chaulnes* came again to the charge and told him all that was proper. They reasoned mightily together. *Chaulnes* did not talk to him as *the King's* friend but his, and showed him 'twas his interest. The end of the conversation was : I'll give you my word and honour I'll continue the list of *St. Germains*, I'll send for it. You know that's not our business at all, that that and nothing was the same thing, that old women and children were unhappy and wanted assistance, but 'twas not them that was most to be pitied and that whatever he intended to give must be directly to *the King*, to be distributed as he thought fit among his *court*, and that else he would not look on it as an obligation, that he personally had more occasion for it than *St. Germains*, and, as it was to please him 'twas done, it must be him directly that touched it. In short, he again promised that he would give. He said, he saw plainly it was fit, but did not name the sum. He said, however, he would see the list, that ways must be found to give to *the King*, which was not easy because of the *treaty*, and that he would talk again to him about it. *M. de Mezières* bids me tell you that *the Regent* is certainly now in the resolution to do handsomely by *the King*, but that he does not answer he will continue so, because you know he's not always the same. *The Regent* told *Chaulnes* that he knew that Mr. D[illon] was to meddle no more in your business, that there was no great loss, that a gentleman was coming (naming him) who was to take his place, that measures must be taken when he had anything to say to him, because he durst not see him publicly, being he was one of those that were in *the late affair* and that he had but keep himself private to prevent *Stair minding* him.

Yesterday M. de *Noailles* came to see *M. de Mezières*. He told him that *the Regent* had bid him order Mr. D[illo]n to be with him to-morrow morning and to bring the list of *St. Germains*, as it will be the first time they have talked directly or indirectly of that affair, Mr. D[illo]n waiting for *the King's* orders. We fear that something may be proposed, which may spoil our designs and what is done already. I believe you can't but approve what *M. de Mezières* has done ; I wish it may please *the King* and prove successful. *M. de Mezières* thinks it very proper, in case you like the measures he has taken

and have a mind to have him continue by the same way, that *the King* should write a civil letter to *Chaulnes* to tell him he's informed how he has acted in this affair and that he's obliged to him and finds he has the same zeal for him that his father had, for you know his father was the man that meddled in the *descent* the first time. A civility to him from *the King* is necessary, in case you have not other more certain measures and his service is useless to you, but the reason that *M. de Mezières* made both him and other people act near *the Regent* is that delays in those affairs are dangerous, and that, if he had not been spoken to before your courier comes back, a great deal of time is lost. As the people that spoke have done it for themselves, *the King's* name is no ways engaged and you're the master to take what other measures you think fit, but particular care must be taken to give the turn that what is to be given may be entirely in the disposition of *the King*.

René [Macdonell] three or four days ago asked *M. de Mezières'* advice to go with Mr. Camocke as a volunteer this summer in Spain. He approved his notion mightily, he being entirely idle here, and only ruining himself disagreeably, for I'm sure nobody has lived so melancholy a life as he has this 18 months. We don't doubt but you'll like better his going anywhere than staying here any longer. He'll be always ready to serve the master, whenever he's happy enough to have his service agreeable to him.

The news here is that the Queen has in her will left all the arrears of her jointure to the Regent. If it's true, it's a masterpiece, and the friend (M. de Mezières) flatters himself that in that case he'll see you here, for, if it's true, it must be given with *éclat*, for fear it should be kept in silence. The friend tells everybody we see that, if it's true, it's a noble *fidei commissum*, to put that strongly in their heads. In case you or *the King* writes to *Chaulnes*, send us the letter.

I would fain have you send us word, if we may give your strong box to Mr. Gordon, for I find nobody that will charge themselves with it. I wrote to the Duchess, but she made me no answer. They say positively that Spain will accept the treaty. *The Regent* told the person that talked to him so much of you all that, if you had any hopes now, it came from *Spain*.

James III to Cardinal Sacripanti.

1718, May 15. Urbino.—I learn by my cousin, la Connestable Colonna, that her son, le Connestable Colonna, has some reason to complain, because the honours of Prince of Soglio, which he enjoyed, have lately been discontinued to him.

You know my interest in that illustrious house, and I therefore earnestly beg you to recommend in my name to his Holiness the just pretensions of that prince and to support them with your best offices. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 235.

Dr. J. Ingleton to James III.

1718, May 16. St. Germains.—"This mournful occasion and the tender zeal and concern I have for your Majesty will, I hope, excuse the liberty I take in pouring forth the affections of a heart wholly penetrated for the great affliction, wherewith it has pleased God to visit you. 'Tis doubtless the greatest sacrifice your Majesty had to make, but I hope the father of mercies, and God of all consolation will support you in this as well as other trials, and make it serve as a proof that you truly love him, in being resigned to his will. *Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi, et exaudivit me.* Our affectionate zeal and love for the Queen makes us, 'tis true, lament without bounds and yet even this should methinks rather fill us with interior comfort and joy, for her exemplar and unparalleled life and death leave no doubt of her happiness and why should we grieve that a person so dear to us has changed a miserable afflicting state for one that is infinitely and eternally happy? We therefore mourn, not for the Queen, but for ourselves. Her death was the punishment of our sins, but for her it was a passage to everlasting glory. She was worthy of heaven, but we were unworthy of her and she might truly say with St. Paul, *mihi vivere Christus est et mori lucrum.* I have now had the honour to serve her Majesty near twenty-five years, and the unchangeable piety and example I have been witness of will, I hope, never depart from my thoughts, above all, the last scene wherein she showed such perfect resignation and so ardent a desire to be with her Creator.

"The funeral was performed with all the solemnity and order imaginable. The convoy set forth about seven in the evening. I had again the mournful office of carrying the heart in my hands. The whole country about seemed assembled for a great part of the way. We arrived at Chaillot a little before twelve. We found the gates of the convent open and the whole community in the cloister with lights and tears to receive us. The body and heart were set down there, while I spoke my short harangue to present them, which was the fifth time I have been so unhappy as to speak upon the like occasion.

"The Superior made a very modest and religious answer, often interrupted with sobs and tears. From thence we proceeded to the quire, where we found a mausolée erected and adorned with the greatest pomp and decency I have ever seen. Upon this the body and heart were deposited while a numerous assembly of priests sung the *Libera.*

"This, Sir, will I fear only serve to renew your grief, and yet methinks 'tis some ease to talk and write upon this doleful subject."

René Macdonell to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 16. Paris.—Mr. Camocke is appointed by the King of Spain *Chef d'Escadre* and has orders to go immediately to Barcelona to command one of the squadrons

there. I am resolved to go and volunteer it with him this campaign. All my friends here have advised me to it. I must beg of you on this melancholy occasion to find some way for asking his Majesty's permission for me to wander this summer. 2½ *pages.*

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Tuesday, May 17.—My last letter from *Mar* is of 19 April. *The King of Spain* has rejected the proposal made him by *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Regent* in relation to the late scheme of union. I am assured, however, and by a very good hand that *the King of Spain* has proposed a new method for the same effect, which, as you may easily imagine, is more advantageous and honourable to him and *the King of Sicily* than the first. Most people believe that *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover* will not acquiesce to it, and that this unexpected change will occasion *war in Italy.* In this case *the King* may reasonably expect that *the King of Spain* will give him all the sharp he can, it being pretty plain that his own interest will induce him to take *the King* by the hand if a formal rupture happens between him and *the Elector of Hanover.* In some time we'll be better informed ; till then no settled judgment can be made on this.

I enclose *Ormonde's* last to me of 24 April with two notes since received from *Butler* and *Jerningham,* dated the 28th and 29th. I'll say nothing to friends with *England* of what *Ormonde* mentions about the *money,* having still some hopes that *the Czar* will not oblige *him* to depart so suddenly.

Enclosed are *Menzies'* last two letters to me with the prints. I don't question you are informed of the injurious reports spread in *England* about *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* which occasioned some uneasiness to friends there. Whatever gave rise to it I can't determine, but malicious persons will still act their part, and, so *the King's* interest does not suffer by it, *Dillon's* share of the matter will give him little or no disturbance.

You'll also find a packet from a Duchess with enclosed letters for *the King,* one from Mr. Camocke, who parted yesterday for Barcelona, and another from Abbé de Roquette.

I drew out of the post office two packets from *the King* to *Queen Mary* that came last Friday and shall do the same till *the King's* orders come. I will not open them without directions, but thought fit to secure them in my own hands to prevent all accidents. The Court here is in mourning for *Queen Mary* and 'tis said they will do the same in *England.* 2½ *pages.*

John Caryll to James III.

1718, May 17. Paris.—I humbly beg leave to address myself to your Majesty on the loss of the best Queen and

the best mistress, which no subject can have more reason to lament than myself after the many marks of bounty she showed me while I was her servant. Her regard to the memory of Lord Caryll, who left me nothing besides his death-bed recommendation to her Majesty, which he counted on as a fortune to me, induced her to have a particular consideration for me, often assuring me I should never want, while she had anything for herself, besides the often repeated promises of recommending me to be placed in your family, whenever a proper time should offer.

Soon after Lord Caryll's death you granted me a private audience and promised me that, whenever the Queen should fail, you would provide for me. Now that it has pleased God to take her away, I am forced to have recourse to your royal bounty, after having spent the best part of my youth in her service and what fortune I had of my own, the small salary I received not being sufficient to maintain a gentleman, that you will be pleased to order me such subsistence as I can live on, till it may please you to admit me into your family.

In whatever station I am, I shall endeavour to show the same zeal for your service, as I did during almost 17 years that I served the Queen, who, I had great reason to believe, was thoroughly satisfied with me, and I hope I may deserve from your Majesty a continuance of the royal favour she honoured me with. *Over 3 pages.*

John Caryll to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 17. Paris.—Enclosing the last, flattering himself on the promise his Grace made him at Avignon of his protection that the contents thereof will be favourably answered, and stating his circumstances, as in the last, and that he had never yet lived under the rate of 4,000 *livres per annum* and hoping that his Majesty will not allow him less than what his Grooms of the Bedchamber have.

The Duke of Berwick to James III.

1718, May 17. Bordeaux.—"Nobody is more sensibly touched with the Queen's death nor takes a greater share in your Majesty's most just affliction than I do. My hearty wishes and poor prayers shall never be wanting for your Majesty's prosperity nor shall I ever omit any occasion of giving you real proofs of my most dutiful respects and of my concern for your Majesty's welfare."

The Duchess of Berwick to James III.

1718, May 17. Bordeaux.—Begging him to receive the assurance of the deepest concern for his great loss, which nobody can feel more sensibly than she in regard of the share she shall ever take in all that relates to him, and next in

gratitude for the obligations she owes that great Queen, whose memory and goodness to her shall ever be precious.

Col. F. Bulkeley to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 17. Bordeaux.—Joining with his Grace in lamenting the death of the Queen and begging him to find some opportunity to mention him to the King on this melancholy occasion and to assure him of his constant zeal and devotion to his service, and recommending to the King's goodness and his Grace's protection an old servant of the late Queen's, who, he is sure, was always a most affectionate one, his mother, who since the death of her royal mistress has nothing to depend on, but his Majesty's favour, which, he makes bold to say, she deserves by her perfect respect and duty for the King's person and service.

T. Bruce to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, May 17. Brussels.—By a letter from the Duke of Mar I was directed to give up corresponding with Father Innes and to address myself to you. Father Innes wrote to me to the same purpose and told me he had put into your hands a key by which he and I used to correspond. I have observed lately, though not to my surprise, that the funds were somewhat slow, out of which some honest gentlemen were subsisted here and, as our great loss by the Queen's death will rather increase than lessen that difficulty, I presume it may give a proper occasion for reforming some part of the expenses here, for which reason by advice of some friends here I offer my opinion with respect to some who are subsisted here and who may be restricted in their allowances or rather entirely reformed off the list. I enclose their names with the reasons which seem to distinguish them from others here, who are in such circumstances that they cannot go home. All or most of them have run themselves in debt, having now the second month running in arrear, and therefore, if it is thought fit to reform them, it would seem necessary they be qualified to pay these debts and to transport themselves home, where they may have bread, or to some other place, where they may have service. After they had agreed to this some months ago and signed a paper to that end, they were diverted from it by Mr. Maclean, who, I believe, is now at Paris. (About a means of avoiding invidious distinctions between those reformed and those continued on the list.)

I cannot give you any news; nothing comes to our hands but from the public Gazettes, unless you would take it as a piece of diversion to know somewhat of the inclinations and humours of the people here with respect to the present situation, which I have had some occasion to observe. *Enclosed,*

The SAID LIST.

1. *Thomas Scott, nephew to Col. Scott, was at Preston. It is said he has a living of his own. He was not in prison and is in no danger of going home. He has substantial relations at home. He was at home lately and came back again.*
2. *Mr. Mackenzie never was in the King's service nor in prison. Says he designed to serve the King.*
3. *Mr. Fleiming was for some years a footman and was groom to Capt. Lockhart at Preston. Never in prison.*
4. *Mr. Cameron was never in the King's service. Was a pensioner in Chelsea Hospital. His services not known here.*

5 *and* 6. *Mr. Brown was a maltster in Dundee, and Mr. Maclean, now at Paris, a servant to a periwig maker. They were in the army at Perth and may find subsistence by their trades anywhere.*

7. *James Ross was at Perth and is in no danger. He was bred a surgeon at sea and may find employment.*
8. *Mr. Horsey was at Perth and is in no danger. He is of the Pays de Liége and has relations there.*

JOHN PATERSON to THOMAS SANDERSON.

1718, May 17.—Acknowledging with pleasure his letter of 28 March [–8 April], though the subject was not the most agreeable.—I had heard something before of the story you write about myself. I have God and a good conscience before me, so that it did not interrupt my quiet one moment. If a man must have enemies, and it is not easy for one in my way altogether to avoid it, 'tis some comfort to find, that, though they don't want malice enough, they are not overstocked with wit. It they had as much common sense as they seem to have ill-nature, sure they might have contrived their matters better than this. I have been constantly with my master, ever since I left your neighbourhood, and am happy enough to have from him and from my other master, whom you call your old acquaintance, all the favour even you could wish for. I have vanity enough to think that neither ever entertained an ill thought of me, which, I believe, I could prevail with one of them to confirm to you in his own hand, were that necessary. While I can maintain myself on this foot with them, it will be in nobody's power to disturb my tranquillity. I cannot imagine who could have been the authors of this story, nor am I very solicitous about it, but I think I can say with confidence I have not deserved it at their hands, but I forgive them, though still, if you can give me any light into it, I wish you would.

I am indeed out of countenance that our two good friends should have wrote to me first, and know very well how much I have been always obliged to the *statu quo's* good wishes. You know he ever had mine. Such as they are, he has them

with all my heart. Pray make him my kind compliments and deliver him the enclosed and the other to his friend, who wrote along with you.

Though you would not take the liberty to offer your humble duty to your old acquaintance, I did it for you, and he accepted it very kindly. He is as well in every respect as you wish him.

I am extremely obliged to the honest gentlemen of our old club for thinking of me. (Desiring him to give his services to various people.) 4½ *pages.*

John Paterson to Alexander Paterson.

1718, May 17.—Thanking him for his letter of 28 March [—8 April].—I am very thankful to you for not believing what you had heard of me. It is a malicious story enough, but cursedly ill-contrived. One may say of the authors of it they have been so much fools as well as knaves, that 'tis hard to judge whether they are most one or t'other. However, it will not be amiss that you bring me to life again in your neighbourhood, so that, when I come your way, people may not take me for a ghost. I assure you I am really alive and in good health.

The gentleman you mention in yours, who wrote the postscript to mine, is very much your humble servant, and desires me to make his kind compliments to your b[rother] and you.

The wine of this country is none of the best, but we make shift sometimes to remember our friends at home and he and you are not forgot. *Over 2 pages.*

Memoir.

1718, May 17. Urbino.—The King's friends in England, thinking it must be of service to him to be truly informed of its present state, especially with regard to their trade, coin and public credit, thought it their duty to send one to lay the following particulars before him :

"It is most certain that the commerce the subjects of Great Britain enjoy by virtue of a good understanding between them and his Catholic Majesty is of infinite advantage to the kingdom in general and extremely profitable to the merchants in that trade.

"It is therefore natural to believe that the trading part of the kingdom, particularly the South Sea Company, were extremely alarmed at the first appearances of any misunderstanding with Spain, the fears of which affected considerably the public credit, which is the basis of the present Government, and produced a remonstrance from the merchants upon the steps that were taken in order to send a fleet into the Mediterranean. The South Sea Company went so far as to acquaint the ministry that they had a ship ready to sail worth above 80,000*l.* sterling, and demanded to know whether things were in such a state that they might venture to send her.

" They received for answer that their fears were groundless, and were desired to pursue their trade, and as to the fleet Mr. Stanhope told them it was for maintaining the peace they so much desired, by preventing a war in Italy, in the consequences of which all Europe might be involved, that in order to this they would act reasonably and with regard to justice, and might probably have occasion rather to be of the King of Spain's side than otherwise ; besides they were given privately to understand that the parties concerned were so much afraid of the power of England, when they saw it was to be exerted, that they had submitted their differences to the arbitration of the Elector of Hanover, and that all this affair between the Emperor and his Catholic Majesty would soon receive a final determination, which would be supported by the united power of France and England. Thus for some time they composed a storm which had before sunk the public credit, and would have struck at the very foundation of the Government, as it certainly will, as soon as a war shall be declared with Spain, the truth of which proposition will appear from what follows.

" The great scarcity of silver coin in England, and the distress the people are under upon that account, is a fact so public that it is not to be doubted but all Europe is informed of it, but as to the causes of this calamity which is a growing one, and which, if there be not a stop put to it, must end in the subversion of the present Government, they may not possibly be so obvious, especially to foreigners.

" However advantageous the trade with the subjects of Spain has been to England since the last peace, yet England has apparently lost by their trade with several others, the most considerable nations in Europe.

" The Dutch during the war as well as since the peace, have drawn a considerable sum of money yearly as a balance upon that account.

" The English Parliament rejected a trade with France to have been opened upon the foot of the Treaty of Commerce concluded between the two kingdoms at Utrecht, upon pretence that after a nice computation, the balance of trade, if carried on according to the Articles of that treaty, would be against England and that they would be obliged to answer it, by carrying over yearly so much silver or gold. Ever since the peace the people of Great Britain have taken from France great quantities of wines and brandies &c. without having leave to import any of their manufactures into that kingdom, so that, in place of having a small sum of money only to send yearly to answer a balance of trade against them, which they supposed would have been the case according to the Articles of the Treaty of Commerce, they have been obliged to send money for everything they have received from France, by which no doubt considerable sums have gone out of the kingdom of England.

"The English had formerly a beneficial trade with Sweden, or at least they sent enough of their manufactures, corn, leather, salt, &c. to answer the commodities of the growth and produce of Sweden, which they brought from thence, and which they cannot possibly be without, such as iron, &c. Now they have prohibited commerce with Sweden and take Swedish commodities from the Dutch and from Hamburg, with this remarkable difference that the prime cost is above a third more, and must be answered with silver or gold, (the balance of trade with Holland having been before greatly against England) in place of exporting the goods of their own growth, produce and manufacture, which, as was demonstrated to the Parliament, has last year and will for the future, occasion a yearly exportation of silver or gold to the value of 150,000*l.* sterling, besides the loss the kingdom sustains of delivering this part of their navigation into the hands of foreigners.

"When a stranger is King and has so great a revenue as 700,000*l.* sterling *per annum* for his own use, when numbers of Germans are daily making their fortunes by selling employments, civil and military, and in short every thing that is in the gift of their Master, as they will not think those fortunes secure, but in their own country, it cannot be doubted but great sums have been exported upon this account.

"These are so many visible canals by which the English silver has flowed into foreign countries, but by them the nation could not have been so suddenly drained and brought to the melancholy state it is in. There is therefore another particular not yet mentioned which has contributed much more to the exportation of gold and silver from England than all those put together, as to which it may be proper to know:—

"That the specie at this time in England is not computed to be above ten millions sterling.

"That the Government in England owe sixty-five million sterling, five of which have been contracted since the peace, for their annual support, for the expense of raising an army the year of the King's attempt upon Scotland, and sending a considerable fleet yearly to the Baltic Sea to do nothing, and all this besides what has been raised within the year from the taxes annually granted upon land and malt.

"That the interest given by the English being much greater than what was to be got any where else, foreigners were thereby tempted during the war to place great sums in the English funds, in so much that it is computed that sixteen millions of the sixty-five abovementioned are owing to people in Holland, Genoa, &c. and to the French, who have of late purchased considerably of the public stocks.

"That to answer the yearly interest of this money there has been a very vast sum exported.

"That the merchants who were to send it from England chose to export silver rather than gold, because they found

a greater advantage in exporting that than the other, but now that the silver coin is entirely gone and that there is still the same causes for exporting money the gold is at this time going as fast out of England as the silver did for some time past.

"That both houses of Parliament having had this matter often under their consideration did at last adjourn it without being able to do any thing to remedy so great an evil, which is every day growing; because, besides the ill state of the trade of this nation in general, it was impossible to cure it, without at once removing the chief cause of exporting silver and gold, by breaking in upon the public funds, which would overturn the only support of this Government, and therefore will never be attempted while their power subsists.

"That in the course in which this matter is, it is impossible but England must be soon drained as much of gold as they are of silver, though they should enjoy peace at home and abroad, and have nothing left but imaginary riches stamped by the credit and authority of this Government, upon paper, which must therefore owe its value to the opinion the people have of the security of a Government, which in that kingdom is in such hard circumstances as all Europe are well informed of.

"That, though paper credit, such as Bank notes, Exchequer bills, and the Government securities for the sixty-five millions above mentioned, do pass in the City of London and will pass while the kingdom is in peace, yet real specie is necessary for the service of the country, where none of these things will be received, either by the country gentlemen or the country people, who wish the destruction of the Government, and will therefore never take their paper in payments.

"That, supposing every thing to remain in peace, whenever by the exportation above stated there shall not be a sufficient quantity of real specie left for this circulation, the whole nation must be in confusion, which is unavoidable, and some pretend to compute the time in which this must certainly happen, supposing that the kingdom should remain in peace as has been said. The Government see this, but the only real cure is to them worse than the disease, because their destruction would follow more suddenly upon it.

"If England should declare war against Spain, it is certain, that, as the value of the public funds have fallen above eight or nine *per cent* upon some remote fears of it, so upon such a declaration they would fall at least twenty more, which, though they should not apprehend that this war might in the consequences of it tend to the King's restoration, would be sufficient to dispose many both at home and abroad to desire to have their estates in money by them rather than in paper.

"If the foreigners should enter first into this thought, and in place of their yearly interest desire their stocks to be disposed

of, and the principal to be sent to them, there is more owing to them than all the real specie of the nation can answer, if it was not hoarded up by particular people for fear of starving in such an event, which already begins to be the case.

"If all the particular people of England, to whom the rest of the sixty-five millions are owing, should enter into the same desire of getting money for their paper, it is obvious how impossible it would be for them to get money for paper to the value, while there is but ten of sixty-five millions in the kingdoms, of which at least a third would be hoarded up for particular private men, which would soon make the public funds fall very low, while every body would be desirous to sell, and few to buy at any rate, and by consequence put a stop to all sort of commerce both within and without the kingdom.

"But, if there should be the least declaration of an intention to serve the King, all the government securities would be no better than so much blank paper, till that matter was over, and people who at this time have the appearance of vast estates, would in a moment be reduced to starving, nothing could then pass but real specie, of which there is not at this time in the kingdom half of what is necessary to answer the common occasions of the people even to go to market for beef and bread &c. which must immediately produce an absolute confusion in the kingdom, and by consequence the utter ruin of the present Government, for it would then pass their power to keep the people in peace, nor would they have wherewithall to pay their army or to take any one step towards it.

"The facts are so true of themselves, and the inferences from them so just, that wise men in England are amazed when they are told that either France or Spain are afraid of them, because they are sensible that either one or the other can from what is above said in a moment overturn the government there, when they find it agreeable to their interest or inclination to do so, and that without any risk on their own part." 6½ *pages. English, with a French translation.*

The State of the Coin and Credit of the Kingdom.

[1718, May ?]—Observations on the debt, stated to be 55 millions, and the drain of gold and silver exported to pay the interest on the part of the debt held abroad, resembling generally the preceding paper.

James III to Pope Clement XI.

1718, May 19. Urbino.—Informing him of the cruel loss he has sustained and imploring the assistance of his prayers for the soul of the Queen and for himself. *French. Copy.*

James III to Philip V.

1718, May 19.—Informing him of the loss of his mother, of which he received the news yesterday. Cardinal Aquaviva

will kindly supply the details, which his grief and some recurrence of tertian fever prevent him from doing himself. *There are also copies of this and the last letter in Entry Book* 1, *pp.* 272, 273.

MATTHEW KENNEDY, LL.D. to *THOMAS SHERIDAN.*

1718, May 19. St. Germains.—The loss of our good mistress gives us all a great deal of inquietude, not knowing what shall become of us, though it is hoped that the salaries and pensions shall be conserved under the direction of the survivor. The pension you hint is paid to 1 July last and the little rent to 1 Jan. last, and there is upon the balance till then due to me 1 *livre* 10 *sols* 6 *derniers.* The last payment I made yourself was for October and November, 1716, so your sisters have touched since for December, 1716, and for 6 months to 1 July, 1717.

OWEN O'ROURKE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 19. Couvonges.—I cannot be silent on the death of our dear Queen, one of the best and most accomplished princesses that Europe has seen of many ages. It is a subject of sorrow for all the King's good subjects, but an irreparable loss for some hundreds of helpless people, that subsisted by her charity and goodness, and are left now in the utmost confusion and misery, unless the Regent takes them into his particular protection, which I think he ought to do for the honour of his government and to show at least a politic acknowledgement for the services of so many that lost their lives in the French interest, whose widows and orphans have an acquired right of being preserved from starving, and I hope some course may taken in that feeling case, that may secure the poor bread they enjoyed hitherto. What gives me the deepest concern is the King's unavoidable grief. His tender affection for her is none of his least virtues, but I am afraid it may in this occasion prove obnoxious to his mind and consequently to his health. As he is exposed to the rudest shocks of fate, I hope God will afford him constancy and resignation equal to the trials He puts him to. I know he cannot look on the Queen's decease, but as the beginning of her happiness. Almost her whole life was but a long series of tribulation and crosses of all sorts. Her piety made a continual sacrifice to God of all that is sensible to man upon earth and crowns her long sufferings in this miserable world by her glorious entry into a kingdom where no revolution is to be apprehended. His Majesty owes himself entirely to so many thousands of good subjects both at home and abroad, that breathe nothing so much as his restoration, and ought to preserve himself carefully to fulfil their longing expectations. I know, besides what may affect his tenderness, he will have a real loss in the Queen's death as to his interest; his correspondence with his friends will

become more difficult and God knows how the article of subsistence will go.

It is hard to form any right judgment of the affairs of Europe at present.

It is evident that the Regent and George, as well as the Dutch, will leave no stone unturned to prevent a war, which is easily seen to be contrary to their several interests and indeed it is likely they may secure that great point, notwithstanding the great and unexpected preparations of the Spaniards, who, as it appears, may come at their ends without a war. We are now at the critical juncture, that must unriddle these State mysteries.

I do not doubt his Royal Highness has writ to the King on his mother's death. I shall be at Lunéville by the beginning of next month, having lately had a very unexpected difference with our neighbours here that must be settled before I part. *Over* 3 *pages.*

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Thursday, May 8[–19].—The prints will give you an account of our talk and current sentiments. The *Post Boy* is more particular and respectful as to the Queen Dowager than was thought any of them would be. The Dutch memorial in the *Daily Courant* is not doubted to be genuine, and it shows them to be nettled. They need not wonder who informed the Czar of what is there mentioned, for the public authentic newspapers of this country told all the world that it was at our desire the Dutch designed to fit out so great a squadron.

We have had many expresses these few days, but the news neither from the South nor the North nor the Alps does not please us. The Sicilian minister has given in a very strong memorial against taking Sicily from his master and without his consent.

We shall and must have some new changes shortly in our ministry, and, which side soever of the Whigs' prevails, they must take in some of the Tories to enlarge the bottom.

The Duke of Marlborough has been ill at Tonbridge but not dead, as has been reported. Expresses come frequently from Scotland from the Justice Clerk and a kind of ministry that's there concerning several of the rebels landing there from abroad, and they will run the utmost risk to themselves and their cause.

Hugh Thomas to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 20. Paris.—Enlarging on the merits of Lord Mar and the heroic conduct of James in exposing his life to all dangers in the most tempestuous season of the year to deliver his people from oppression and tyranny or to die at their head. —When your Grace appeared publicly to assert your King and country's cause, I was not wanting privately to prepare the minds of the people by publishing his Majesty's declarations

and other papers through the whole kingdom, a work, which though many desired, all were excusing themselves from, so that no man else would attempt it, and without this method to gain the hearts of his people, had he recovered his kingdoms, he could not long have held them. In this God blessed me with success beyond imagination, so that, notwithstanding his retreat, his cause now works itself and by the same divine goodness will do so till his enemies are overthrown by the oppressive means they take to secure themselves. This, I believe, Capt. Booth has in part informed you of, as well as of some other private services, by whom I sent his Majesty gratis some years ago the earliest intelligences I was able to learn, till Mr. Inese countermanded the orders I had from his Majesty after his return from Scotland by Mr. Nairne to continue my advice to Capt. Booth, desiring me to direct them to himself, which I constantly did till my coming here.

I have thought fit to publish the enclosed proposals for printing one of the best histories of those obscure times ever yet written, in which my main design is to represent in as strong terms as I can the series of the divine Providence in the government of the world, his justice after long forbearance in the overthrow of wicked princes and states with his goodness and mercy towards the injured by such distant truths as no government can take offence at, though the history ends exactly parallel with the present dangers in the overthrow of the nation by those old enemies of Britain, the Saxons, of which country Hanover is but a small province, which examples may even convert some of the present governors themselves, when bitter invectives can only inflame them and must consequently rather damage than advance his Majesty's interest by bringing both their authors and readers into danger.

That the most ignorant may not fail to give it a right application, I intend to add his Majesty's paternal descent through the most obscure ages, which perhaps is one of the most ancient and best proved in the world, as well as his lineal descent by right of inheritance to the thrones of all the royal families that ever reigned in Great Britain with all the collateral branches from James I now in foreign parts, of which the English nation in general have been kept in utter ignorance, no man daring to publish anything but the House of Hanover. As the author dedicated it to James I presently after his coming to the crown of Great Britain, he has taken no small pains with the history of Scotland, to render it the more acceptable to that King, and indeed has given it the best defence I have seen.

To make all the princes of Europe, especially those of France, reflect on the injuries of those times as well as the people of Britain, I had a mind by his Majesty's leave to dedicate it to the King of Sicily or some prince of his issue as his Majesty's nearest relation and to raise the spirit of that prince to exert his Majesty's cause from being so honoured in our

kingdoms on that alliance, which, I pray God forbid, may one day be their own advantage, if I could be recommended when my work is finished and approved, nor would it do his Majesty any small service in foreign parts, if I had any of the princes of France amongst the names of my subscribers. I humbly beg your patronage and recommendations to his Majesty and the honour of your answer. 3 *pages*.

Sir Hugh Paterson to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 20. *Rotterdam*.—I wrote to you the 15th when I sent you two from *Lady Mar* and *Sir H. Stirling*. I now send with this three packets for *Mar*, sent me by a friend from *Capt. H. Straiton*. One of them is from *Mar's* namesake *C. Erskine's* brother and *Capt. Straiton* tells me the others are returns to those I sent him from *the King* and *Mar* some while ago. He says he has wrote fully to *Mar* of several things and hopes to hear from him with his first convenience. He desires me particularly to remind *Mar* that it will be very proper to write a short line the first opportunity to *the Earl of Wigton* and the lady he mentions who are both very ready and willing to serve him and may be useful; and it will not be amiss that *Mar* write likewise to both of them. I have heard from other hands of *the Earl of Wigton's* willingness to contribute every way in his power what may be of any service to the Company. *Capt. Straiton* advises that *the Duke of Montrose* be applied to. I know not what to say to this and *Mar* has had formerly so much discourse with that person on the subject that he will best know how to do it. His behaviour of late shows indeed he is no way satisfied with the present measures and he has shown several favours of late to *the King's* friends. I am only afraid he wants resolution though to enter into my right measure. What would you think if *Mar* should write him a friendly letter on the foot of the old friendship betwixt them, in which he may lay his own interest and the present state of his country before him, which he seems to have at heart, and it's certain he has very little to say at present with the present managers and has not interest to get the least favour from them for anybody, and they say he is in no kind of friendship with his old friend and manager *Glenagies*. The namesake of his, whom *Capt. Straiton* mentions, is most proper to deliver him any letters or messages, and I know he has some weight with him, and I am sure will use his endeavours with him. If it's judged proper anything be sent to the chief, *Mar* may write likewise to the namesake and *Capt. Straiton* will deliver all to him.

I hear *Tullibardine's* father is fallen very ill in his way from *London* to *Scotland*, and some accounts say he lies dangerously ill. That change would make all go very well there, for I am persuaded *Tullibardine's* brother (Lord James Murray) would do everything that could be desired,

Capt. Straiton judges it proper that something may be likewise said to the chief person of *the clans*, who is at home, and, you know, got componed with his creditors and there is a knight of that name and of the same family (Sir Donald MacDonald) now at home, who perhaps may expect likewise some such compliment. He has two very honest men to his brothers, who, *Mar* knows, did good service to *the King* on a late occasion, and however superfluous this may be thought, it may do good, but I hope can do no ill and it lets those people see they are not forgot, which goes a great way with them. I have heard nothing of *Appin's* behaviour, since he went to *Scotland*, though I wrote to inquire about it.

I can say no more as to *the peace* affair with *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* than what I wrote the 15th, for I came here just after to meet the person that brought the three packets. If I learn any further accounts of it on my return to *the Hague*, you shall know it. But nine *ships* of *war* are gone from *England* towards *Copenhagen* and *Sir H. Stirling* tells me that *the Czar* has 31 *men-of-war* ready and in a good condition and none is yet like to go there from this, so I suppose, when *the Czar* knows this, he will be more easy as to some apprehensions he seemed to be under. *Ormonde* has had a list sent him of those that have the direction of these *ships*, some of whom, it's thought, are not ill-wishers to *the King* and may perhaps be of use, should the trade go on that way. Of all this *Ormonde* was to be more particularly informed by one of those three persons I told you in my last were to pass that way for *Petersburg* in order to enter into *the Czar's* service, and who went there only on the view of being useful to *the King*.

We have now the afflicting news confirmed of the good Queen's death. By a letter I have seen from one that was present during her sickness till her death I find that the physicians that attended her are much blamed for their conduct, and, since I mention this, I must tell you that many of the K[ing]'s friends both here and at home seem concerned that he has not a more skilled physician and of a better character about his person than the one they hear is at present with him. I remember very well, when the Princess died, that some of those then present complained very much in their letters to E[nglan]d, of the conduct of the physicians that attended her and that he that's now with the K[in]g was particularly blamed about it. I hope he shall have very little occasion for the advice of any of them, but, should it please God to make it otherwise, it would be no small grief and uneasiness to his friends to think he should want the attendance of a prudent skilled physician, which I must take the liberty of saying Dr. Macgie is far from being thought. I have been often pressed by many to represent this, which I omitted doing till now, therefore, if it's thought officious I hope it will be excused, since it proceeds from no other motive than a true zeal for the K[in]g's welfare.

All friends here and at home are well. The new Act of Inquiry is like to breed a great deal of confusion in Scotland. Lord Minto is a dying and it's said Mr. Wedderburn, Sir Peter's brother, is to succeed him by Lord Roxburghe's interest. Lord Buchan, it's said, is to be Commissioner to the Kirk, which will please him much. I have acquainted *Dillon* by this post of these three packets, who perhaps may know better than *W. Gordon* how to send you them soon. 4 *pages.*

Sir H. Paterson to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, May 20.—Expressing his affliction at the Queen's death and entreating him to get forwarded to *Mar* the four packets he is sending this post to *W. Gordon.*—

The King of Sweden's friend at *the Hague* assures *Sir H. Paterson* that *Görtz* set forth the 20th past from *Stockholm* for *Aland* to meet with *the Czar's* friends and that *Gyllenborg* was soon to follow. I had a letter last post from *Dr. Erskine's* friend with *Petersburg*, who assures that *the Czar* continues still inclined to serve *the King* and that the uneasiness he was under on account of *Ormonde's* residence proceeded from his uncertainty of ending *the treaty* with *the King of Sweden*, for, till that was sure, he did not incline to give *the Elector of Hanover* any handle, which he wanted much.

Very soon we shall now be able to see what success *the treaty* will have, to which *the Czar* has all the inclination to put an end. *Ormonde* expected soon to hear from *Petersburg*, on which he will take his measures. I hope *Jerningham* will be allowed to go to meet *Görtz*, by which things may be brought to some point or other.

Cadogan has been here some days in order to carry on the new bargain designed against *the King of Spain*, which I suppose you have heard of.

Ezekiel Hamilton to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, May 20.—The 10th *R. Butler* and *J. O'Brien left this place to go to Danzig. Daniel O'Brien, Kennedy* and I *will follow* when *Kennedy*, who *is sick, is able to* go. *Jerningham* opened *Sir H. Stirling's* letter, which *came after Ormonde was gone*, believing there might *be instructions in it* for *him*. I enclose a copy. Care is taken that *your letters* may not be lost. Your last to *Ormonde* was of 12 April. This morning *Daniel O'Brien* received a letter from *Mr. O'Berne*. He says that *Dr. Erskine* has writ to *Jerningham* to halt at *Narva* till he receives further letters. *Sir H. Stirling* mentions two letters of 4 and 11 April, which were never received.

Brigadier Campbell to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 21. *Bordeaux.*—Our late unspeakable loss affects us all and will perhaps alter measures, yet I have gone

on in the examination of Capt. George's affair. I send you no report, till it be in form prescribed, only tell you in general he owes the crew about 140*l.* sterling. As to the master's interest in the matter he is considerably in debt, but, the executive power being wanting, he will have the less regard for our report. It shall be made with all possible secrecy from himself and others. The interest he had in *St. Germains* is surprising.

After making two very odd choices of persons to examine into the affair, he found at last one above exception, and I have taken Mr. Lesley for my assistant. He will be obliged to stay here a fortnight and, as he was lately ill, the necessary expense incommodes him. He is in the list with *Majors*, but being a true *Colonel* I wish he was considered as such in the remittances.

(Requesting him to return the attestation of 9 March last signed by John Aberdeen, lieutenant to Capt. George, and Alexander Gordon of the Captain's integrity, that Mr. Aberdeen may see it shall never rise up in judgment against him.)

I had a letter yesterday from St. Sebastian. They write of *Barry's* being in London, and yet I can hear nothing of his appearing there. However, I am of opinion the late rumours we had in those parts had partly their rise from him.

Robert Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 21. Bordeaux.—My last letter was of 12 March advising of the ship's arrival from St. Domingo and how ill I had been treated there by the Governor. I am now fitting her out again for St. Domingo, and she may sail about the middle of next month. I will get the best recommendation I can to the Governor to see to get justice.

The melancholy news of the Queen's death seems to astonish many of the King's subjects here, who have no resource but what his Majesty allows them. The irregular payments keep them under a continued pinch, because they must take on trust for sixpence, when they could have as much for a groat for ready money, and I have no orders for February, March, April nor this month, and in a few days we will be in June, which will be the fifth month. It is true I drew 5,000 *livres* on W. Gordon on another account, which not being called for, I applied to the subsistence, but, if it's called for to be applied as first designed, I must pay the money again, and, if left in my hands for the subsistence, it will pay me only for February and March, whereas I have paid April and May to a great many. My last letter from Mr. Dicconson was of 10 March, desiring me to respite payment till further orders, which order is not yet come.

The affair of Capt. George and his seamen is examined, and he places to the King about 140*l.* sterling more than he paid them, but gave credit again for deduction of wages for about 50*l.* sterling, to which the seamen consent on condition

it be laid on by way of proportion, but he is so far from doing so, that he places himself at 10*l.* sterling a month from 29 June, that she parted for Scotland, to 10 Jan. thereafter, which is for six months and ten days after he left the ship (for he said he was indisposed when she went to the Highlands), which is 650 *livres* above the pension of 50 *livres* per month allowed him. I know your orders were only for 45, but Mr. Dicconson ordered 50, which is lieut.-colonel's subsistence, to be paid him, and so I have paid him till February last, though, God knows, he deserves not corporal's.

(Requesting as in the last the return of the attestation signed by Aberdeen and Gordon, George's first and second lieutenants.)

Alexander Gordon, Glenbucket's brother, parted two days ago, commander of a small ship for Scotland, and left a procuration with me to receive what wages are due to him, which are 18*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling placed to the King by David George more than he has received and the deduction by way of proportion comes but to about 6½ *per cent.*, and so would be but about 3*l.* sterling for him, but it's hoped the King will order the whole 50*l.* sterling deducted for wages to be taken off from Capt. George's wages and order him to pay the seamen their full wages.

What he has wronged the seamen in will be found to be but a bagatelle in comparison of what he has embezzled of the King's money under a false pretext of provisions, which is to be examined next. 3 *pages.*

——— to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 21.—Your Grace ordered me to remind you to speak of Mac Dougal's case about the 100 *livres* he borrowed of Robert Gordon in Bordeaux. His pension is less than the rest of the clans, his brother expensive to him, and the expression of his letter is that he wants clothes and thanks God he never knew the want of them till now, his enemies being in possession of what he had at home.

Stewart expects orders to write to G. Mackenzie in any terms you direct. Applecross: his commission from you not yet ordered.

—— for Pietro Francesco Belloni to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 21. Bologna.—In the Signor's absence forwarding him the enclosed packet and letter. *Italian.*

Monsieur Stiernhock to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 21. Vienna.—Apologizing for not giving him his titles in his letters, and sending him a cipher and an impression of the seal with which all his letters will be sealed.—

I am still without letters from the King, my master, his ministry and his chancery, but I have just received letters from a private friend of Gottenburg dated 19 April. He

writes that his Majesty had forbidden those of the ministry and chancery to write any news of public affairs across the sea, and all he could tell me was that Baron Görtz, after attending a Council held at the town of Christenhamm, on the frontiers of Norway, where the King had gone to review the troops stationed on them, had lately left for Stockholm, and it was said he would thence proceed with Count Gyllenborg and Secretary Klinkenstrom to the Isle of Aland, to treat with the Russian ministers. Count Reventlow has also received a few days ago a letter from Baron Görtz of 13 March, telling him he would soon leave for Stockholm, and that he could tell him nothing further at present, except that with God's help the King would revive gloriously, that he had 70,000 good troops fit to serve wherever he thought proper, and also a numerous fleet in a condition to put to sea, and that perhaps the Emperor would have cause to repent of his neglecting the King as he had done, and his delaying so long to send a minister to Sweden to cultivate his Majesty's friendship, which his Majesty is inclined to do, if he sees a reciprocal inclination. Baron Eichholtz, the Mecklenburg Envoy here, who is Minister of State and Grand Marshal of his master's Court, received a little while ago a communication of a letter written to Berlin by M. Osterman, minister of the same prince to the Court of Russia and brother of the Russian minister of that name, who is charged with General Brus with the negotiation of the peace with the King of Sweden. As M. Eichholtz is an old friend of mine, he has communicated the whole of it to me in confidence. 1. The Czar has again declared to the Hanoverian Resident at his Court, that he will not withdraw his troops from Mecklenburg according to the demand that Resident has made on behalf of his master, but that he will on the contrary do his best to support that prince. 2. The Czar's undertaking to communicate faithfully to the Court of London all that passes in the negotiation with the King of Sweden and not to conclude without the said Court, which undertaking was reciprocal to that of the said Court, was a mere show, to which the intention did not correspond, as the Czar was too clear-sighted not to perceive that the Hanoverian undertaking was of the same kind, and that he, Osterman, saw no hopes of a reconciliation between the Czar and Hanover. 3. The Russian ministers at Abo had sent workmen to the Isle of Aland to build a few small houses there, and they were waiting only for a courier from Baron Görtz to proceed thither, and he (Osterman) was always hoping for peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden to the exclusion of Hanover and the more so, as on the one hand he learnt by news from Sweden that Baron Görtz had always the upper hand there, and on the other the great disturbance the Czar had excited in his own country and the situation of his affairs abroad seemed to demand that peace and the King of Sweden's friendship. 4. The Czar was probably going to apply himself

seriously to finish soon the negotiation with the King of Sweden, having first settled at home the great business of the succession, the guaranty of which the Czar wished to make an article of the treaty. He had ordered a list to be sent him of the Swedish officers and soldiers prisoners, of whom there is a great number in various parts of his empire, which shows he was thinking of making arrangements for their transport to Sweden when making peace with the King of Sweden, and that they were speaking in Muscovy of a marriage between the Duke of Holstein and the Czar's niece, the sister of the Duchesses of Courland and Mecklenburg, and also of a marriage between her and the King of England.

Letters from Hamburg say that a counsellor of the Court of Hanover, named Schrader, sent by that Court with new proposals of peace with the King of Sweden, was arrived in Sweden, that Mr. Fabricien had set out to return to England with the King of Sweden's answer on the proposals conveyed by him and General Ducker, and that this answer consists of a repetition of assurances of his inclination to a reconciliation, but on condition that everything that belonged to his Swedish Majesty should be restored to him. The great obstacle hitherto to the peace negotiation between the King of Sweden and the Czar is the giving up of Reval. The King of Sweden considers that place and port as the key and gate of his kingdom on the side of Russia, and consequently its restoration is absolutely necessary for his security. You may be convinced that the King will not desist from claiming the restoration of that place with the province of Eastland, of which it is the capital. I cannot doubt that so enlightened a prince as the Czar will understand the danger he exposes himself to, if he insists too long on that article and obliges the King to come to what terms he can with Hanover to the exclusion of the Czar and then to enter without delay into the projects of the Emperor and King Augustus, in which it has been projected that the King of Prussia and the Dutch should join, projects not only to reduce the Czar to the condition from which he extricated himself by this successful war, but also to take away from him something of his own in favour of Sweden and Poland and to overthrow the newly established succession to his empire by exciting a movement among his subjects. I assure you that what I have just stated about the projects against the Czar is absolutely true. After this I leave it to you to judge of the danger that threatens the Czar, if he does not immediately agree with the King of Sweden so as to make that enemy a sincere and trustworthy friend. I wish with all my heart for that event, so fortunate for both these monarchs, and I hope it is near at hand. There is no time to lose. *Aut nunc aut nunquam.* I write this that you may immediately make use of it with your friend at the Court of Muscovy to facilitate and hasten the conclusion of that great work. I have preached the above to

Messieurs Eichholtz and Weselowski, and they have promised me to write the above effectually. I doubt not their representations, if well supported by Mr. Erskine, will have great weight with the Czar. I would hope the business will be done already, before Mr. Erskine can make these representations.

After writing what precedes, M. Reventlow told me he had been informed from Hamburg that there was news there that one of the proposals of Hanover was to have the King of Sweden paid a million sterling to be employed principally in carrying on war vigorously against the Czar on condition that the King should cede to him the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, either absolutely or till the King of Sweden should be in a position to repay that sum.

If the peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar be made while the Emperor is occupied elsewhere, and a close friendship is formed between them, I would hope that these two monarchs reconciled and allied to one another, above all if the King of Prussia is included, will dissipate his prepossessions against the Czar and in favour of the House of Hanover. If not, we must try to manage our affairs in spite of the Emperor. It appears, however, it is to be desired for our security that he continue occupied for some further time, at least till the above-mentioned foundation is well laid and strengthened. If the King of England could contribute by his influence at the Courts of Madrid and Turin (supposing what is said of the understanding between him and these two Courts is true) to keep the Emperor occupied on the side of Italy, and thereby I presume also on that of the East, since, as I presume, apparently the Turks will be encouraged, if they see the settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy long delayed, it appears to me that would be for the interest of his Britannic Majesty.

I began to write this long letter fifteen days ago, but have put off sending it from one ordinary to another on account both of my other occupations and the pieces of news that have come one after another.

A letter has at last arrived from Sweden by the English frigate that returned to Lübeck with Mr. Fabricien, which is from Baron Lillienstet, minister of the King of Sweden for the German department. He refers me to the instructions to be received from the King on his return from his journey to Christenhamm. I perceive by its contents that the King has no intention of making a sacrifice, at least a considerable one, in Germany, whether of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden or of Pomerania, and that he claims that the Emperor should at last fulfil his imperial office for the complete restoration of his Majesty in the Empire. Nothing has been written me from Sweden on the negotiation between the Czar and the King of Sweden. It seems to me, however, that by this letter I have a glimpse of an inclination for a reconciliation with the Czar, thereby to pave the way for the

complete restoration of his Majesty in Germany, as also with regard to Poland. Count Reventlow assures me he has had no letter from Baron Görtz by this opportunity, and that his last from him was that of which I have already given you the contents.

M. Weselowski has had a letter from Petersburg of 15 April from his brother, Prince Menzikof's secretary, informing him that having been present, when first the Czar on his return to that city dined with that Prince, and while at table received a letter from General Brus, he heard that the Czar having shown his annoyance at its contents, had said "Well, since the King of Sweden wishes for war, we must make it." This is a proof that Baron Görtz then wrote to the General in a haughty tone that the King of Sweden will be inspired by the justice of his cause, his great heart, the eagerness with which the Elector of Hanover was seeking for peace with him, and the hope of having a better market with him than he had as yet offered, and that his Majesty was persuaded it was more the Czar's interest than his to be eager for peace, since to all human appearances the fatal period of the Czar was approaching, if he did not soon supply the facilities necessary for a reconciliation and a trustworthy alliance with the King of Sweden.

The Mecklenburg envoy here tells me that, notwithstanding the above mentioned news and the obstacles that have been till now in that negotiation, he hopes it will succeed, and adds that his master is doing his best, since his preservation or his destruction depends on it. M. Wesenski also told me, after the news I have just been speaking of, that, if the King of Sweden seriously intends to come to terms soon with the Czar and to ally himself with him sincerely and above all to guarantee the succession of the Czarowitch, Peter, he is of opinion the Czar will yield on the point of Reval and also will join with him with regard to Polish affairs to secure both of them against the consequences to be feared from the perpetuation of the Polish throne in the House of Saxony, united as it is with that of Austria. The Mecklenburg envoy and M. Wesenski also give me strong assurances that they know for certain the great esteem the Czar has for the King of Sweden's person and his desire to be reconciled to him and to form a sincere friendship with him.

The contents of the last letters from Hamburg have just been communicated to me. M. Fabricien is gone to Hanover for an interview with his father, the Hanoverian minister of State, and thence to Bremen for an interview with Count Veiseling, a Swedish Senator, and thence is to return to England to give an account of his negotiation. The answer he received from the King of Sweden is not known, but it seems that it was dilatory and without giving hopes either of ceding or pledging the Duchies of Bremen and Verden. Baron Görtz was on the point of going with a suite of 300

persons on his embassy to treat about peace with Muscovy. There was much talk in Sweden of peace with the Czar and of transporting troops across the sea. General Ducker was named Field Marshal and Governor of Livonia. There was also talk notwithstanding of peace with the Elector of Hanover. I am informed from other sources that that prince, seeing the King of Sweden's firmness, ought to make up his mind to content himself with the acquisition of three good baillages of Verden adjoining his own country, even perhaps giving the King of Sweden some money for them, if he sees that the negotiation between the King of Sweden and the Czar is making much progress and that he has no other means of parrying the blow.

M. Lillienstet writes me nothing about my correspondence with your Excellency, but, as I am informed that all my letters to the King up to the beginning of March have been received and read, I take silence as a note that it is not disapproved of.

I can hardly believe that what I have just read in the *Gazettes* is true, namely that the Czar has ordered the English Jacobites at the Court of the Duchess of Courland to withdraw. I should wish to have some lights about it to be able the better to judge of the plans of the Russian Court. *French. Original of* 50 *pages mostly in cipher, with a decipher of* 10½ *pages.*

Extracts from Vienna Newspapers.

1718, May 21.—(Giving an account of the terms of the treaty projected between the Emperor, the Regent, England and Holland and the considerations inducing the Emperor to come into it.)

Count Windischgratz, President of the Aulic Council, who among the Imperial ministers has the greatest affection for the House of Hanover, a little while ago summoned Baron Huldenberg, the Hanoverian envoy, to repeat with much insistence the exhortations formerly made to his master to bring to bear without delay all possible facilities for reconciliation with the King of Sweden to prevent the Czar's anticipating him with that prince, since, if the Czar did so, that event might be very dangerous both for him and the Emperor. The King of Poland has begged the Emperor to do his best with King George, to have him included in the separate treaty he is negotiating with the King of Sweden, to which King George has answered that from his regard for the Emperor he would not conclude without the King of Poland. The Court of London, after long quibbles with the Emperor about the arrears of the subsidies due in accordance with the alliance between the Emperor Leopold and Queen Anne for the support of the Imperial troops in Spain during the last war, has determined, in order to gain the Emperor's friendship, to pay 140,000*l.* sterling of these arrears, which amount to 300,000*l.*, in three instalments, the first being expected here next month.

(News of the negotiations with the Turks at Passarowitz.) The Emperor designs after the peace to make Belgrade a good trading town for the commerce of the Levant, and, if possible, not to make peace with the Turks without getting one of their ports on the Adriatic the better to establish that commerce. It seems it will be difficult for his Majesty to make this acquisition and that it will be opposed both by the Venetians on account of the dominion they claim over that sea and by the English on account of their Levant trade. Prince Eugene leaves for the army in a few days. It is said the Imperialists will open the campaign by occupying Widdin and Nicopoli near the Danube, which on the one side facilitates an entry into Wallachia and on the other a way to penetrate further into the Ottoman provinces, and that General Merci goes immediately, to march with a corps of 20,000 men to occupy these places. I am informed that Milord Wortley Montagu does not come here, as was said, but returns from Constantinople to England by sea.

(Public opinion in Austria about the projected treaty and reluctance that the House of Bourbon should have in Italy such considerable possessions as Tuscany, Parma, &c., and expectation that the Emperor would delay signing the treaty till he saw if he could come to terms with the Turks.)

The Imperial Court exclaims against the rigour of the punishments of those who were implicated in the business of the Czar's eldest son, and calls them cruel and barbarous. The Resident, Weselowski, and his assistant, the Mecklenburg envoy, say that the art of reigning in the empire of Russia necessarily demands such a rigorous procedure in cases of the least disturbance and opposition to the wishes of the master, and that clemency in such cases, far from being useful to him, would not only diminish respect towards him and submission to his wishes, but would excite others to follow the example of those who have not been rigorously punished and to form conspiracies against the form of government established in that empire, which consists of a power so unlimited and absolute, that the least disinclination to what the sovereign wishes is equivalent to the crime of rebellion and high treason. The Russian Resident presses the Emperor for a prompt decision that the Imperial Resident at Petersburg, who is suspected of having had some part in the advice given to Prince Alexis to retire into the Emperor's country, be recalled. I am informed that M. Weselowski has spoken very strongly about it to the ministers of the Emperor, and that they have replied in the same manner. The Emperor still refuses to recall the said Resident. It seems, however, from the present fear of the Czar, in case he makes peace with the King of Sweden, he will recall him, if the Czar does not give making up the demand. The Imperial ministers complain to M. Weselowski that the Czar in his manifesto published about

his son, has spoken of threats to the Emperor to induce him not to keep that prince in his dominions.

I know from a good hand that the King of Prussia communicated to the Czar what King George lately proposed to him, in order to detach him from the Czar, and to join with him in making peace with the King of Sweden, excluding the Czar. All those allies of the North are curious allies. Never was a league worse cemented than that is at present, and to all appearances it is on the point of being broken on one side or another.

The Duke of Mecklenburg has just written a haughty letter to the Emperor, in which he justifies himself about the confiscation of the goods of those of the nobility of his country, whom he calls rebels, and says he relies on his just cause and the forces God has given him to sustain it. His minister at this Court declares that with the Russians he has at present 12,000 men on foot. 13 *pages. French. Enclosed in the last letter.*

James Hamilton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 10[–21]. London.—Having a good occasion to *Holland* I acquainted *Lady Mar* of it, who desired me to send the enclosed by the safest method. I also wrote to *Menzies* to know if he had any commands. He sent what you will find in this. *Stair* has wrote here that *James Murray* is gone to *Italy* and is to be in partnership with *Mar*. Few believe 'twill come to that. Your squire (Hamilton himself) is in the old situation and has no way of subsisting but what comes from *Menzies*.

James III to the Most Catholic King.

1718, May 21. Memoir.—He conceives it may be of service to the Most Catholic King to be informed of some particulars with regard to the present state of England and therefore thinks himself obliged to submit to his consideration such accounts as he has lately received from thence with what follows.

This appears to him the more necessary because he apprehends things are now come to such a pass, that the M.C.K. for the future cannot have any measures to keep with the present Government in England, and, as he observes with pleasure that their interests seem to be now linked together, he hopes he may be of some service to his M.C.M. in so nice a conjuncture.

The present Government in England is the Emperor's chief support and the Elector has undertaken to act this part, however inconsistent it may appear with treaties subsisting between England and Spain, in consideration of the Emperor's having promised to maintain him in the possession of his new acquired dominions in Germany, a thing

much dearer to him and his German ministers than the interest or honour of England.

It is certain that the English ministry, after succeeding in their late negotiations at the Court of Vienna, made little doubt they should be able to impose on his M.C.M. such terms with regard to the affairs of Italy as they thought fit and therefore they have ever since been at pains to publish that there was no probability of a rupture with Spain, and that all disputes as to Italy were accommodated, by which they composed a ferment which began to rise amongst the trusting people of the kingdom, which, considering the present state of their coin, of their public credit and the insecure settlement of the Hanover family there from other circumstances, might otherwise have shook the very foundations of the present Government.

However, if his M.C.M. persists in his enterprise on Italy, notwithstanding their menaces, there is no room to doubt but they will venture to send a fleet to act against him in the Mediterranean, on which his Britannic Majesty thinks a war must inevitably ensue.

As this war to be carried on by the Elector is entirely in defence of a German cause, by which the honour, interest and trade of the English nation is to be sacrificed to the private views of the Elector, his Britannic Majesty submits it to the consideration of the M.C.K. whether it may not be proper in any declaration or manifesto on his part to make a distinction between the King and people of England and the present German Government there, protesting a sincere disposition to live in friendship with the first but declaring war against the usurper and his adherents.

Considering the present state of affairs in England, it is little to be doubted but a declaration so adapted to the humours, thoughts and wishes of the people would of itself ruin the public credit and consequently the present Government. But most certain it is that it would inflame people of all ranks to such a degree that, on the least appearance from abroad in favour of his Britannic Majesty either from the South or the North, they would embrace the opportunity to do justice to themselves and their rightful sovereign.

His Britannic Majesty is also under a necessity to represent the danger he apprehends he is in from the present posture of affairs.

He observes the Emperor and the Elector absolutely united in interest together, and is also sensible that it is by his means that his M.C.M. can best propose to withdraw the support of England from the Emperor and does not doubt the Emperor may judge of this in the same manner. He therefore does not think it improbable but the German troops in Italy may receive orders to seize him or surround him where he is in such manner that he shall no longer be master of his own motions, by which method the Elector might in some degree be quieted in the possession of England and the Emperor by consequence be assured of the continuance of their assistance against Spain.

He therefore, after acquainting the M.C.K. with a particular, which if put in execution would be entire ruin to him and of great prejudice to the interests of his M.C.M., hopes it may in both respects deserve his attention and cannot but propose as the only certain way to prevent it, that he would allow him a retreat in some part of his dominions, where he may be at full liberty to pursue such measures as shall be thought proper for their mutual advantage and security. *Nearly 4 pages. Draft with French translation.*

The Count of Castelblanco to [? David Nairne].

1718, May 21(?). Montpellier.—Expressing his sorrow at the Queen's death and requesting him on a fit occasion to offer his condolences to the King and to assure him of his inviolable attachment. *French. Torn.*

Col. J. Parker to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 22. Montargis.—I presume you had the Cardinal's answer he sent me. The Queen's death has given us great despair, especially to me and my family, who long since had perished with hunger. 'Tis said the Regent has sent to know his Majesty's pleasure and many are in hopes of his consideration. I hope you will represent my case, which is more than miserable. Imagine what 50 *livres* a month could do in a family quite naked and now no credit left. If my pension due four years were paid, I owe the greatest part. I undertook a small farm, and got 100 arpins sowed, but six days after the Queen's death all was seized for my rent and the corn I borrowed to sow. I hope those who counselled the King at Bar not to make use of many his tried and faithful subjects, who offered their duty, have no more power. I humbly offer my service. 'Tis absolutely sure I cannot resist longer in France, and nature pushes to risk all rather than suffer an ignominious death in a gaol here. When I escaped out of the Tower, the means proposed were so improbable that nothing but being sure to die by the hand of the hangman prevailed on me to venture. I hope you will favour me with your protection and not leave me to the *reglement* of St. Germains, where I have now no friend.

The Earl of Middleton to James III.

1718, May 23.—"I should have been afraid of appearing in your Majesty's presence, if I had not been encouraged by your most gracious letter, which would have comforted me for anything but the irreparable loss under which we groan, but this thought is too selfish, for she is certainly happy and the number of your advocates increased, who plead the justice of your cause continually before the throne of the Omnipotent. . . . . "If six and thirty years service to three kings may merit anything, I make it all over to the old woman and her children. I have nothing else to leave them. Your Majesty

has promised them your favour and protection. I depend on it and shall die quietly in praying for your prosperity." *Enclosed,*

The *Countess of Middleton* to *James III.*

It would be very much to be admired and, I am sure, not to be imitated by the old woman, if your Majesty under the innumerable trials should not express the being sensible of them. The last I will not dare to speak of, only I hope Cardinal Gualterio will be at Urbino before Mr. Dillon's courier. May 23.

George Mackenzie to John Paterson.

1718, May 23. Paris.—Explaining that he had deferred writing to him for some months because those on that side of the Alps had been so often made believe that those in Italy were to come nearer them, that he expected every week to see him and their other friends and, as all there are now talking of disposing of themselves some way or other, asking him to let him know what he should do to get out of this indolent state, since they are obliged to shift their expectations of seeing home for some time.—If I were as gay as you have seen me, I could divert myself with the paragraph wherein you are so kind as to offer to succeed me with my poor Peggie, but she's likely to have so ill pennyworth of both that I cannot well be merry on that subject. 1½ *page.*

Charles Forman Macmahon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 23. Versailles.—In a journey the other day to Chalons sur Saone I met an Englishman in the diligence, and, not liking his countenance, was curious to discover him as much as I could. I found him to be a stiff Hanoverian, and, the better to carry my point, I put on the same shape. We soon became very intimate, and he told me he was going to Geneva and Turin, and in a little time somewhat further. He is a Presbyterian minister, and, in case he should draw near Urbino, he may be easily known. (Description of him.) He left London about three weeks ago, and was bred in Sir William Trumball's family. I strongly suspect him to be sent on some errand. He told me a piece of secret news, which I do not know what to make of, that there is absolutely a design to shake off entirely the spiritual power of the Pope here, for which purpose a plan is already sent privately to the Archbishop of Canterbury by several of the Sorbonne, who are now writing a book on that subject, which will be published very soon, and that there is an Irish priest very eminent in the Sorbonne, who is deeply concerned in the matter. I would fain have learnt his name, but he protested he had forgot it. He likewise told me that Mr. Beaver, who is Lord Stair's chaplain, and, as he says very intimate with the persons in this design, was his author for all this.

The reason of my going to Chalons was that Mr. Camocke, having been lately made Rear-Admiral of Spain and commander in chief of the Barcelona squadron, wrote to me the day he left Paris to follow him and accept of being his secretary,

if I thought it worth while. My narrow circumstances obliged me to accept, and I immediately set out with Capt. MacDonnell, but, finding myself very much out of order near Chalons, I did not think it proper to proceed further till I should hear from him from Barcelona. In the meantime I am returned here to put my family in a little better order than the haste with which I left them would permit. 4 *pages.*

The Duke of Liria to James III.

1718, May 23. Madrid.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death, wishing that the happy day of his restoration may soon come and declaring that he is ready to sacrifice his life, whenever his Majesty shall command him.

Note.

1718, May 23.—Of money to be given to different people on account of their mourning.

Sir H. Stirling to Sir Hugh Paterson.

1718, May 12[–23].—I received yours of the 2nd last post and acknowledge the receipt of several since 11 Feb. I have heard several times from *Jerningham*, who has been with *Ormonde* for some time, but he is so full of speculations without the least solidity to found upon, that to me it seems next to an impossibility that his schemes should take effect, for, if *Görtz* has been in earnest with him, which by the bye I hardly believe, that *the King of Sweden* insists on the restitution of *Reval* and *Viburg*, he may as well demand *Petersburg* and so leave *the Czar* nothing, which no man can expect he will grant, and yet *Jerningham* talks of this as a thing he wonders *the Czar* can refuse. However, it's certain those points will be the principal hindrances of the *peace*, which is so far from being ended that it's scarce well begun, for as Ninian's (keyed here as King of Sweden, elsewhere in the cipher it means the Czar) agents were stopped on the road and recalled to consider of *the Elector of Hanover's* proposals, so you may believe nothing has been hitherto done that looks like a conclusion. But at last they are actually arrived, with what intentions God knows. I would fain hope that, since *Görtz* was apprised of *the Czar's* intentions before his going to *Sweden* and that they still seem to retain a great inclination for *a treaty* notwithstanding *the Elector of Hanover's* offers, the latter are not so advantageous as the former, and that *the peace* may be at last brought to a conclusion.

You ought to be in no concern on account of *Ormonde*, since I think his removal can be attended with no bad effect, for, as you see by *Jerningham's* accounts, he could not expect to be received in *Sweden* till matters are adjusted, and, when that happens, he will be more useful in another place, so

the Czar did advise it and not order it, not out of any good will to *the Elector of Hanover* or coolness to *the King*, but only to remove all suspicion that, in case of *the peace* succeeding, the other affair might be the better carried on, which *the Czar* would do with all the willingness you could wish. For these reasons *Ormonde* is gone and I cannot believe it will have any ill influence in *England's* family to *the King's* disadvantage, nor do I believe *the King* will be uneasy, when he knows these and some other reasons *Mar* will impart to him, whom I have acquainted with them by a canal more expeditious than your way and by which *Dr. Erskine* has had accounts from him. You see by this that hitherto nothing was to be done and consequently I could not give you nor anybody any accounts from these parts that could be depended on, but, as it's probable now matters will draw to a conclusion speedily, so I shall not fail to be communicative, when anything offers that can be depended on. I am extremely glad to find *England's* family in so good a situation and it's not improbable that may have contributed to lessen the merit of *the Elector of Hanover's* offers. It's false what *the English ministry* gives out that *the Czar* had promised to remove *Ormonde*, for he always affirmed that he knew nothing of the matter and that their information was false. The same is as little true as to *Sir H. Stirling*, though I found out t'other day that *the Elector of Hanover's* agent applied to have *Sir H. Stirling* and another, whose name I have not yet got, but I believe is *Capt. Thomas Gordon*, removed, pretending that, while *the Czar* entertained such servants in his family, it could not be wondered that *the English ministry's* master and he were not good friends. *O'Bern* is now here in order to get his *congé*, that he may visit *France*, and *Jerningham* is on the road to *Petersburg*. 3 *pages. Copy by Sir H. Paterson.*

The Duke of Mar to Monsieur Stiernhock.

1718, May 24. Urbino.—Explaining his delay in replying to his letters, caused first by his absence and then on his return by the news of the Queen's death, which put all at Urbino under so just a concern that for some days they could not think of doing anything, giving the dates of the 10 letters received from him, the last dated 26 April, and expressing how sensible both he and his master are of his hearty endeavours to be serviceable.—In answer to your desire to know whether I have any correspondence with any of the ministers of your Court, I have not any correspondence with any of them, and so you'll take your measures accordingly with regard to the correspondence betwixt us. The continuing of it will be agreeable to me, but it is just I should have a regard to the interest of one who has expressed so much zeal and affection for my master as you have, so, if you apprehend any inconveniency to yourself from corresponding with me, you need not doubt my dispensing with it very frankly on

your account, but still I hope a time will come, when it will not be necessary for any minister of the King of Sweden to be afraid of corresponding with those employed by my master. As to our correspondence hitherto, nobody knows of it for me, and as for the risk you'll consult your own conveniency in it.

I am very well satisfied with M. de Busi's services and am very sorry I could not be of use in procuring the commission he desired of being agent for my master, who does not see any advantage can arise either to himself or M. de Busi from such a commission, but rather the reverse.

I have lately had very full and particular accounts from England and such as I think I can depend on, and there was never any government anywhere on a more precarious and unhappy footing than theirs is at present without the least appearance of its growing better, but quite otherwise. They are owing about 65 millions sterling on the public credit, and about 16 millions of it to foreigners, and have not above 10 millions of specie in the whole kingdom, so that, should the least disturbance happen from abroad to alarm people and make them demand their principal, their credit must at once tumble down to nothing and their Government dissolve in course, which is so evident that their public funds lower every day on the least report of a likelihood of a foreign war.

I cannot help being amazed, how little the other Courts of Europe seem to know of the present situation of that of England. They make indeed a mighty noise with their fleets and have been bullying half the world for some years past, though their circumstances are such, which they are very sensible of themselves, that they tremble at the very remotest appearance of an open rupture with any foreign power, the consequences of which, they know, would infallibly produce their utter ruin, which, you may depend on, is the only reason they have been making offers to your master and not out of any regard to him, which will appear the first opportunity they can find, if he does not put it out of their power, but I think he has had occasion to know how little dependence he can ever make on them from more instances than one.

By all our accounts here the Kings of Spain and Sicily have no thoughts of coming in to the accommodation proposed by the Duke of Hanover &c., and the former is going on vigorously with his preparations.

My master had been a little indisposed for a few days, before he had the news of the Queen's death, and had some symptoms of an ague, so that account came very unseasonably for that and many other reasons. His indisposition was but slight, occasioned, as far as we can judge by the sudden change from excessive heat to very cold, which had the same effect on more of us, but I hope a few doses of the bark will carry it off and that it will be *sans consequence.*

I am glad there is still a good appearance of an accommodation betwixt the King of Sweden and the Czar, though I am sorry it does not advance faster. I think myself obliged to tell you that your master being so remiss in sending his people to the place of congress is the reason, as I am well informed, of the Czar's having made those late advances to the Duke of Hanover, but, when he finds the King of Sweden likely to accommodate matters with him, I am persuaded what he has done that way will signify nothing.

I am sorry to hear from Paris that Baron Sparre has had an attack of an apoplexy followed by a palsy, but I would hope it is not true. 6½ *pages. Draft.*

JOHN PATERSON to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, May 24. Urbino.—Acknowledging various letters of his.—Lord Mar has, I believe, wrote pretty full to M. Stiernhock in the enclosed, which you'll please deliver. He told me he mentioned to M. Stiernhock that affair of yours, and I presume that gentleman will communicate to you that part of my lord's letter which regards yourself, which will save you the trouble of an unnecessary repetition here. You'll easily judge that by Lord Mar's absence and the afflicting accounts since his return of the Queen's death, his Grace can have but very little spare time, and that consequently I cannot be altogether idle, so I must beg you to forgive me if I don't write as fully as you might expect. I hope the letter you forwarded for Dr. Erskine would arrive at Petersburg in due time, and will be glad to know if you have any account of its being safely delivered. Since you have the opportunities you mention of being informed of what is doing at the Congress at Aland, I hope you will give us the best accounts of these matters you can. *Nearly* 2 *pages.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 24. Vienna.—Here is a large packet from M. Stiernhock, to the contents of which I refer. We have been for some weeks without letters from you and hope to hear you have received several of ours. I have heard of the Queen's death and pray to God that He may receive her in Paradise and preserve his Majesty an infinite time. I beg you to present him with my most humble condolences.

This Court is at present in great apprehension on account of King Philip's great fleet in the Mediterranean. The Emperor is therefore urging on an accommodation with the King of Sicily through the ministers of that King, who are here *incognito*, but there are still difficulties in the way of an accommodation and as yet nothing is concluded about the marriage of an Archduchess with the Prince of Piedmont. Prince Eugene is much in favour of such an accommodation, but a good many of the German ministers are against it,

The plenipotentiaries are at the place of congress, but, the Turks having shown their *plein pouvoir*, it was found insufficient, for nothing is said in it of treating with the Venetians, without whom the Emperor does not wish to enter into any treaty. It must be seen how this will turn out; in the meantime to give more vigour to the said negotiations, Prince Eugene will start from here in three days to put himself at the head of the Imperial army to act on the offensive during the said negotiations, for it is supposed that the Turks are acting only to gain time and to see the diversion King Philip will make against the Emperor. People speak as a certainty of an alliance between England, France and the Emperor to stop King Philip's projects, but nothing is said of the Dutch. The treaties for the peace of the North are going on, but the Elector of Hanover is moving heaven and earth to be included in them. The Czar is at present with all his Court at Petersburg. The differences between him and the Emperor increase more and more. *French.* 6 *pages. Mostly in cipher deciphered.*

Pope Clement XI to James III.

1718, May 25. Sancta Maria Maggiore, Rome.—Condoling with him on the death of his mother. *Italian.* 2½ *pages.*

Girolamo Belloni to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 25. Rome.—Forwarding a small box directed to his Excellency from the Abbé Ramelli. *Italian.*

Col. J. Parker to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 25. Montargis.—Mr. Dicconson let me know that the Queen had recommended her servants to the Regent and that it was promised the arrears of the pension should be paid that's due, all which had no relation to me, so I am left on the *pavé*. You will, I am persuaded, represent my case to the King and honour me with his commands. I have suffered all that's possible for nature to resist. Nothing has been neglected to solicit the French pension, and once I had a very satiric answer, that the King my master ought to take care of me, for I was always employed by him in England &c. I gave my answer, which admitted no reply, for, though no league could be obtained in form, before we were sent to Ireland, yet I think a league in the presence of God was a more solemn formality than any other, but no promise is good in this country, if not before a notary. To the best of my power I have ever served and been upright in my loyalty and sacrificed all to the King's will and pleasure. Permit me to give one of many instances. Because the King and his minister had approved to send me to England in '92, I lost my rank in France and my commanding the King's regiment of horse and, being in equal commission with Mr. Dorington and

Sheldon, in the bed of honour I must have fallen or have been their equal this day. The late King gave me some apparent testimonies of his love and bounty, and to starve or be hanged is a hard choice. 2 *pages.*

Sir J. Forrester to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 25. Ca[h]ors.—Begging his protection with the King for his wife and five poor children, who since this dismal loss are on the brink of want at St. Germains, it being impossible for him on his wretched revenue in that service to support them. He has proved his loyalty by an eight and twenty years' trial, by a great part of his blood and by exposing willingly his life in more than one manner for his Majesty's service without ever desiring either pension, though eldest colonel under his commission, or promise of future recompense. *Two duplicates.*

Alessandro Litta, Bishop of Cremona, to David Nairne.

1718, May 25. Rome.—I received your letter yesterday evening and shall send it by the first ordinary, which leaves on Saturday, to the Marquess of Craon. Meanwhile, following your directions, the courier is kept here, waiting for the answer you mention, when it shall please you to send it, and when the King is in a condition to give it. For greater security, as I may be leaving Rome from day to day, you may send it to M. St. Urbain, Secretary of the Agency of his Royal Highness of Lorraine, to whom I shall give orders to dispatch the courier, who lodges with him, as soon as he receives it. I have had a lively feeling of the loss Christendom has sustained in the person of the late Queen, and feel a lively share in the sorrow which that must justly cause the King, and I do not fail to offer my prayers for both of them. *French.*

M. Stiernhock to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 25. Vienna.—Since my letter to you by the last ordinary I saw yesterday a letter from Rostock of 14 May from a minister of State of the Duke of Mecklenburg, by birth a gentleman of Swedish Pomerania, to his Resident here; in which he writes in the following words: The negotiation between King George and the King of Sweden makes no progress, but there is much appearance of a happy issue of that with the Czar, and I have little doubt of it.

I have just been told for certain that King Philip refuses an accommodation with the Emperor according to the plan of the Regent and King George. I stated in my last that the Emperor is pressed to sign the treaty proposed to him by these two princes, that is, by orders to M. Pentenrieder to sign it and then to ratify it, for it is not here that the treaty is concluded but at London, where it has been concerted by the ministers of that Court and the Abbé Dubois. I remember

that Messrs. St. Saphorin and Schaub say that they have the Emperor's word that he will have the treaty signed and will then ratify it, and that a courier they sent to London three days ago carried that word to their Court. I am not, however, yet convinced that M. Pentenrieder has already received orders about the signature entirely according to the project of the Courts of France and London. It is, however, apparent that the Emperor is soon proceeding to the conclusion of a treaty in conformity with the project, but whether he is resolved to hold to it is another question.

You have been doubtless sent from England a satire against the Elector of Hanover under the names of Sultan Galga, Cham of Tartary. This piece has just appeared here also. I am sending it to-day to the King of Sweden, addressing it to one, who will certainly read it to him from beginning to end. I do so, being uncertain if it has been sent him another way. Such pieces, containing both truth and wit, as in my poor opinion this does, are proper to make some impression. It would be good, as it seems to me, if several such pieces could be published at the present crisis against the Elector and in favour of the King of Sweden, of a nature to move those at Courts, who are open to good reasons and to whom these reasons have not been sufficiently represented.

The last letters from Passarowitz and Belgrade, which are of the 15th and 16th, inform us that the Imperial and Turkish ambassadors had exchanged compliments, that the conferences between them had not yet begun, but would be so immediately, but that the Imperialists foresaw that the Turks would not be ready to conclude on the conditions proposed by the Emperor, that some hussars had deserted from an escort given to an Aga, who was returning from Passarowitz to Turkey, in order to join Ragotski, that the Turks and Tartars in superior numbers had had a skirmish with 400 Imperialists stationed on the frontier, in which the latter had the worse of it, and that General Merci was just marching with six cavalry regiments and 30 battalions to occupy Widdin and Nicopoli.

Sending his condolences to the King on the Queen's death. 7 *pages. French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

NOTE.

[1718 ?] May 25.—Of a *pistole* given to Bevans.

FATHER GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 26. Calais.—I can't forbear acquainting you with a piece of news from Paris which seems to interest *Mar* so much and *the King* no less. We have accounts then that there's a certain set of restless mutinous people there, who are doing all they can to ruin *Mar*, without considering that *the King* will be the greatest sufferer, if they should effectuate their malicious designs. L[or]d M[arischa]l and B[rigadie]r

H[oo]k are said to be at the head of them and G[enera]l H[amilto]n with old Mr. L[esle]y and his son are reported for certain to have joined with the rest of that malignant crew in sending an express to *the King*. What that message was I know not, but I hope you do before now. It seems odd that B[rigadie]r H[oo]k, who, if I be not mistaken, was endeavouring to get in with you, should have thus turned tail all of a sudden, but I never had a good opinion of him, and for that reason I desired Robin Freebairn, when he was here, to tell you not to trust him, whatever *Capt. Ogilvie* might write in his favour.

We hear from England that the Court is very uneasy and that by all appearance their schemes wont take abroad. What makes this seem more probable is, that they begin now to set all hands at work for equipping the fleet designed for the Mediterranean and have added three men-of-war to it; besides, the press for seamen is greater than ever and all imaginable expedition is made for setting out, but that's not all, for we are told warrants are issued for securing several suspected persons. Capt. Leonard, who went from this and was taken up in London, has made his escape. Lord S[eafor]t[h] sent Murchison, one of his men, to Scotland last week, about what business I know not, but he let fall a word in talking with me which makes me fear his Lord's sincerity in relation to *Mar*, for, after giving me a detail of the nobility and gentlemen now in Paris, he added: And a great many others of *Mar's* creatures. Whether he expressed himself thus out of any disrespect or merely for want of the language, I shall not judge, though I am apt to fear the worst.

Young Mr. Lockhart of Carnewath is here just now, waiting for Simon Frazer's coming from Bordeaux, to continue his travels. He tells me Methven repents now heartily of what he did and is resolved to make amends on the first occasion, but the proof of the pudding is the eating. However, I should not care to have to do with a man of his character, cousin as he is of mine. His brother, Peter Smyth, though somewhat awkward in his demeanour and too apt to jest upon religion, is by much the better man. Mr. *Ogilvie* comes next week to live in a country house not far from this. 3 *pages*.

Thomas Bruce to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 26. Brussels.—I have not written since 4 April, having no accounts here except from the public *Gazettes*. A very great tumult has fallen out here and, though it is composed without any blood or wounds worth mentioning, I am afraid it may lay down bad precedents for the Emperor's affairs here and may give but an indifferent impression to the world of the state of his power and interest in these parts. I gave you some hints some time ago of the differences between his ministers here and the people. The latter pretend to have a great many privileges of old standing. The sovereigns of

Brabant always swear at their inaugurations to maintain these privileges, and the Emperor took the same old oath at his inauguration here last winter by M. de Prié, his proxy. But during the late wars, the powers, who became in their turns masters of these countries, contrived some new oaths, which pass over some of these privileges. The Emperor has been demanding subsidies, and in Brabant, where these privileges take place, they have hitherto refused over all the cities, alleging they cannot proceed to act in granting subsidies &c., till they have taken the oaths. The ministers have offered them the new oaths and they will have the old. Many fruitless expedients have been hitherto offered, but rejected on different views of the people, some of which are said not to be so well-affected as it were to be wished to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, though they pretend otherwise.

On Tuesday morning, the 24th, the *doyens* to the number of about 140 were called together by the Burgomaster, who, they say, had engaged one of them to agree to the new oath, hoping by his example to bring over some more, but he found his mistake, none having complied but that one. The rest withdrew, the Burgomaster retired to M. de Prié and the *doyen* escaped narrowly by a back passage. The boys, ruffians and women went immediately in search of him and plundered his house, and thence to the Burgomaster's. They broke his windows, and, when they were going to break open his doors, the troops came on them and desired them to forbear. They would not, and the troops, being forbid to fire, were forced to retire, having been first insulted by these boys with some volleys of stones, and immediately the house was broken open and plundered of all its goods, plate, money and jewels to a great value. These impudent young rogues carried these sort of goods openly through the ranks of the troops in procession. Meantime the whole of the troops to the number of 5,000 were on foot and continued patrolling all the rest of the day and all the night without any offence of either side, whilst the burghers, who as yet had made no appearance, gave orders to all their people to assemble in arms next morning at their *places d'armes*, which I think are seven. Next morning about five, whilst these burghers were assembling, the boys came on a guard of about 300 near the Fish Market, and obliged them to retire up the town towards the Court, and about six that part of the burghers, who have their *place d'armes* in the *Place de Monoie*, sent a detachment to order Westerloo's regiment of horse to remove from thence. They at first refused, but, on the approach of a greater body they also retired to the Court. Another party of the burghers about the same time dislodged about 2,000 troops from the Sablon, so that by nine the whole town from the Sablon downwards was posted by the burghers and from that upwards toward the south ramparts by the regular troops, but still no act of hostility on either side except some small affronts

by throwing stones at some of the officers in passing. About 11 some of the more forward and perhaps ill-affected people began to talk of attacking the troops, but about two M. de Prié sent a message to the Town House that he would give them the old oath at six. This composed the matter, but, being still jealous of some trick, they drew all their men together to the market place and its avenues, and at six, when the oath was given them as they desired, they marched off in great order and triumph with the discharge of some cannon they had got and six volleys of small shot. Some people speak of vast numbers, but I took occasion to reckon them, both in their respective posts and in passing through the market place, and I believe they were near 30,000 in arms. The men were very good and indifferently armed. The Burgomaster's name is Becker. It is he who hindered the people of Brussels from revolting to the Elector of Bavaria, when he came before the town. He is a favourite of the Empreor's on that account, but, such is the wicked disposition of some people, that he is hated by others on the same account.

By what I have heard of these privileges they are very great and were given them on some eminent services of their predecessors to the Duke of Brabant, and, though the matter of them may be very justly and properly dispensed to them by a Sovereign in his ordinary course of administration, yet in extraordinary cases some articles of them seem to be too high a standard for a claim in the hands of the people, and it is for this reason I have observed as above, the present forced compliance may lay down bad precedents for the Emperor's affairs here in some points, which may very soon occur, such as the execution of the late Barrier treaty &c., especially if the tempers of the people are so unlucky, as I have been told by one Baterton (Bruce himself), who gave me the enclosed. I hope he is mistaken, but yesterday passing too and fro amongst the people I heard some very unbecoming mutinous expressions.

We hear that Lord Cadogan makes his public entry 28 May (O.S.), the King's birthday. They say he presses the Dutch very hard to make their equipments, and is gone to Amsterdam on that account, but I do not hear from the best hands that that affair is in any better state, than what I wrote you long ago.

I have not heard a word from Ch. K[innaird] since he left this, and I find by a letter from home that 81 [? the Bishop of Rochester] is ill-pleased with him for not having seen him whilst he was there. When I received Mr. *Inese's* last letter, I desired him to send me an address for Mr. *Dillon*, which he has forgot to do, which obliged me to address mine of the 17th under Mr. Gordon's cover, having represented to him a proposition to save some charges to *the King* here. 3 *pages. Enclosed,*

State of the ten provinces with regard to their opinions touching the right of sovereigns there and their inclinations

touching what they think concerns the well-being and conveniency of their country.

In a country which has so often changed masters the point of right seems to be forgot and gives way to the several possessions acquired by the various partitions made of it. Though possession becomes thus the standard of obedience to the commoner sort, the more learned look further and have views with respect to right. This is more peculiarly remarkable amongst the clergy of all sorts, who openly enough declare their opinion in favour of the Spanish monarchy. Not a few of the people of distinction and interest are known to be affected that way, but, being more under the eye of the Government and enjoying offices and benefits by it, they are not so open, though it is generally believed that, should an occasion offer, they would willingly appear on behalf of what they now think is right. The populace are very easily persuaded and reminded of what they thought to be right a few years ago. The present administration here contributes not a little to refresh their memories, for by some late steps, which touch what they call their liberties, they have been very much provoked and it leads them to wish for another, the remembrance of which seems more agreeable to them. They pretend likewise that their trade has not the advantages it had under a Spanish Government in two respects, namely, that the Spanish Government never took money out of their country and frequently sent them money, whereas this takes all and gives none. The Spanish Government afforded them a beneficial trade with Spain, whilst this affords them none.

There are besides two other misfortunes which more universally affect these countries and which sour the tempers of all kinds of people, namely, the entire loss of their trade from the Dutch prohibitions and imposts on the Scheld and the late Barrier treaty, from which they expect no relief while their sovereign is in alliance with the Dutch. Not a man in all these countries but is pinched and affected by one or other of these circumstances and consequently all join in an universal wish for a change, as they find themselves touched in right, liberty or trade.

Towards the end of the last war, whilst England and Holland had the provisional government, the Duke of Marlborough, being disappointed of his views to be Governor-General of these countries, and having alarmed the Dutch with the patent he had then got from the Emperor for it, both to retrieve his credit with the Dutch and to engage them to assist him in some lofty designs he then had in view in England and against France, set on foot a project for uniting those ten provinces to Holland and some people of those parts were brought into it. But the spirits of the people are so much incensed against the Dutch that

this project took no effect and was followed by the Barrier treaty.

The people generally speaking have a good opinion of the Emperor, though they think quite otherwise of his ministers at Vienna, and, were it not for that Barrier treaty and some late misunderstandings betwixt the ministry and the people, it is not unlikely that the people of the ten provinces would have, at least for some time, been easy under the present Government. But these with the other circumstances seem to have disposed the far greater part of the people of all kinds, to wish for a sovereign, a cadet of the House of Spain, who may have no possessions elsewhere and may thereby reside amongst them.

The advantages that tempt them and the means whereby they hope to come to it are chiefly these. They think he will come by a just title and will thereby relieve them of the endless broils of a disputed right. His residence will keep all their money at home and will put him on ways and means in order to the improving the trade of his own country, which was never regarded by the governors, that had no further care than to make their profit and often betrayed them to the Dutch. Having no other possessions he will not be formidable to his neighbours and will thereby prevent these continual wars, which neighbouring potentates made to humble Spain, the Empire or the Dutch. Neither the circles and princes of the Empire nor the States of Holland will oppose this, for, though they always enter into a war to hinder the French from being master of that country, they are not too fond of aggrandising the Emperor and therefore will rather be willing to have their Barrier in the hands of a single prince, who may be a sufficient ally and not too formidable a neighbour. They believe the French will not oppose it, for, though in the hands of a powerful Emperor or King of Spain, it may be an inlet into the French frontiers, yet in the hands of a single prince France will not find a formidable neighbour, and, as the Empire may find him a barrier against France, so France will find him a barrier against the Emperor. They further think that, if France has a mind to engage such a prince to depend rather on her friendship than that of any other neighbouring potentate, she may easily find means for it, by assisting him to recover from the Dutch that great branch of trade, which they have unjustly carried away, in shutting up the Scheld by their imposts. As this is just, so they believe it may be easily done by the help of France. Neither England nor any of the German princes will oppose it, as it is the same to them. It only translates so much of the trade from the Texel and Maes to the Scheld; the proportion of trade, which shall accrease to that prince, will but diminish so much off Holland, and besides,

England and all other parts, which have commerce with the ten provinces or who carry goods to or from Germany or France by that canal, will find an advantage in the abatement of the Dutch imposts on the Scheld. By the same reason France cannot suffer by it in point of trade, and will gain in respect of other interests; seeing, if France assists that prince to recover his trade, he must be obliged for his own sake to play his new power in the service of France, for the Dutch will be endeavouring to regain their trade and must court their old allies, the enemies of France, to help them, which consequently obliges the sovereign of the ten provinces to have a constant dependence on France. The free trade of the Scheld will be a sure and constant pledge in the hands of France for his good offices and she may always rest secure that a prince so obliged and protected by her will never allow any troops by land or debarkments by sea to pass through his country to infest her.

Some people here are so fond of the project of having a younger son of Spain and so full of the prospect of mutual benefit from it to France as well as themselves, that they flatter themselves that the Regent is engaged at present in some such views in concert with Spain. Nearly 2 pages. Damaged.

JOHN NORCROSS to JAMES III.

1718, May 26. Gottenburg.—Laying hold of this opportunity to give his Majesty a further assurance of his good intentions.

JAMES III to his Uncle and Aunt, the DUKE and DUCHESS OF MODENA, and to his Aunt, the PRINCESS ELEONORA D'ESTE.

1718, May 26.—Informing them of the death of the Queen Mother. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 236.

JAMES III to his Cousin, the DUCHESS OF HANOVER.

1718, May 26.—Informing her of the death of the Queen Mother. *With postscript in James' own hand*:—A slight recurrence of tertian fever prevents me from writing to you with my own hand and explaining to you more fully my sentiments towards so good a friend and relation. *Ibid. p.* 237.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Friday, May 27.—About letters sent and received.—Enclosed are my last two letters from *Jerningham* and *Sir H. Paterson*. I wrote to Gordon about *Mar's* packets mentioned in the latter and send his answer. I wish *Jerningham* may obtain *the Czar's* permission to join him, in order to know his

final result about *the King's* concerns. *Ormonde* is much out of humour with *Dr. Erskine's* behaviour, and in all appearance will depart from where he is, when the passports he desired are sent. I also enclose a letter and small memoir from *T. Bruce.* Please send *the King's* orders about it, either to him or me. I don't find 'tis yet known here what *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover* intend to determine about *the King of Spain's* alternative scheme of union, but 'tis generally said and even believed that *Alberoni* will use all endeavours to carry on *war* in *Italy* and push his point to the utmost. In a little time we'll be more fully informed. I send you *Menzies'* last to me with the prints. 'Tis thought the *Post Boy* may be chastised for his account of *the King's* family.

Postscript.—May 28.—The post came yesterday from your parts, but no letter from *Mar* to *Dillon.* Mr. Gordon received last night the packets *Sir H. Paterson* addressed to him for *Mar* and will forward them this morning.

W. Gordon to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, May 27. Paris.—Informing him that of the four packets mentioned by Sir H. Paterson in his letter he had received only two, and that Lord Mar by his of the 3rd from Rome said he was to part on the 5th for Urbino.

George Flint to Capt. Booth.

1718, May 27. Calais.—I enclose in mine to my generous patron, Cardinal Sacripanti, copies of the two letters I lately sent you. Pray God direct his Majesty in the choice of his ministers and measures and we are not far from a restoration. I expected for certain to see a restoration on foot this spring, for we could not desire a fairer opportunity, which, methinks, 'tis not in the power of the King's professed enemies to defeat, who stand more by the treachery, ignorance or neglect of some about his Majesty than by their own strength. I can demonstrate that the Usurper himself could not have managed things more to his own advantage than I have seen them managed here since my arrival, circulatory letters dispersed among all the gentlemen that his Majesty's affairs were desperate, exhorting each to shift for himself and driving them back into England, some with prices on their heads into the fatal noose, at the same time that pensions were given to men of no merit, to some that fled for debt or worse, and Francia told me, though I give not much credit to what he says, that he had got a pension of 400 *livres* a year for a mistress of his now at Boulogne. Add to this the pains taken not only to keep me silent but to drive me back to England. Very sure I am that, had it come into the heads of our enemies, instead of ordering me to be close confined in Newgate, they would have sent me to France, since Buckley said to me in prison and they have said it a hundred times that I did them

more harm in a prison than all their enemies besides. I have been above 12 months at liberty without doing them any harm at all and people are amazed to see the King's champion, as I am styled throughout the three nations, so long silent at Calais. I repeat my request most earnestly to know what his Majesty orders about me.

Postscript.—When the British fleet comes into the Mediterranean, if the Spaniards will declare for the King and have a ship or two manned with English, let us print a short harangue to the sailors and at the end promise a reward and better pay to those that come into the King's service and advancement to all sea officers. Let two or three loyal subjects be in every neutral port, where 'tis probable the fleet will touch, well furnished with these harangues. Considering the fleet is manned mostly with pressed men and even many officers well-affected to the King, what success may we not expect, especially, if we promise that they shall fight under the King on the same bottom that the Irish fought in France, to be treated not as deserters but prisoners of war, if taken. I have a secret not to be trusted to the post, which added to this, makes a pleasant prospect.

I am this moment going with clouted shoes and stockings, the best I have, to Dunkirk to beg or borrow, leaving my wife penniless. Francia will pay me nothing, credit spent and nothing to be borrowed. 3 *pages. Enclosed,*

George Flint to *Mr. Dempster, Secretary to the Queen.*

Giving a sketch of his life and his exertions to re-animate the people and re-inflame their loyalty.—After my escape from Newgate a priest showed me in the public news that the Usurper had sent over to demand me of the Regent, wherefore I landed at Nieuport, whence I removed to Dunkirk destitute of everything and in debt till blessed with her Majesty's bounty. Being sent for to Paris, the first order I received, pretended to be from her Majesty, was to lie concealed, that all orders should come to me through Mr. Francia, and General Dillon would not see me but once to take my leave of him in presence of Messrs. Daulmay and Francia, nor have I had any answer from the General to the many I wrote him but through Mr. Francia, and the main charge given me has ever been that by their Majesties' special order I must not write. Being last December about 10 *days at Gravelines with my old friend, Dr. Archibald, Mr. Francia told me at my return he had received a long letter from General Dillon saying the Court suspected I was contriving with the doctor to write and print contrary to order and that thereupon the Queen had threatened to have me confined in France closer than I was in England. At the same time he told me that his Majesty ordered to my wife,*

not to me, 600 livres *a year. He has also often told me I should find myself here like a man abandoned on a desert island and has often urged me to get a pardon to return to England, there to live on my own industry. Would you wonder I should have thoughts of taking his counsel? but I could not prevent this being prejudicial to his Majesty's interest and therefore rather resolved to venture starving, whence the news of my wife's pension was to me a reprieve. But her sickness and my long indigence have run me much into debt. She was twelve months in prison on the King's account, and in spite to me, after my escape they put her on the common side of Newgate laid in that kennel on the cold ground among the dregs of street whores and thieves, whence she was at last carried out, only not dead, and after long sickness in England come to me here a piercing spectacle and has ever since till lately lain sick, often quite destitute and always stinted. She came here in August when the* 500 livres *received of her Majesty were already almost spent and we had no pension till January and it has ever been paid by driblets of a few* livres *at a time, Mr. Francia not being able to pay us otherwise and scarce even that. I long since told General Dillon that Father Græme offers to pay me regularly, if the Court would give him orders. I have been long informed that some had misrepresented me to their Majesties and for prudential motives have till now delayed to represent myself. I hope you will communicate this to her Majesty.*

Mr. English, who by a sort of miracle escaped out of custody in England, is come here and assures me that Mr. Leonard was last Friday transferred from a messenger's to Newgate. This proves false and Mr. Leonard escaped from the messenger's Wednesday sennight. 1718, *May* 3. *Nearly* 4 *pages. Copy.*

George Flint to *Capt. Booth.*

Enclosing a copy of the last, written when he little expected the apotheosis of that divine lady.—I needed no help but that of Heaven to recover that interest which others lost and perhaps need little else to set the three nations flaming in his Majesty's favour, which I might have done before this with the assistance of a very little money, instead of which as much pains have been taken to keep me silent as if a restoration had depended thereon. In what scheme of politics the pen is useless I know not.

You may remember that when you queried me in the pressyard about my extolling Argyle, I answered our only method was to bandy Whigs against Whigs, the weaker against the stronger, to divide and confound them. I would either make him draw his sword or praise him out of his posts, if not his head off. Sir James Campbell told

Mr. Grierson that my very papers in the hands of Argyle's enemies determined the Usurper to discard him. I ever was and am for confounding them with terrors from without and divisions and distrusts among themselves. What I principally now beg to know is, if it is really his Majesty's will and command that I continue silent, for the rest I beg to refer you to the enclosed. 2 pages. Copy.

JAMES III.

1718, May 27. Urbino.—Being informed that while waiting for our orders the seal has been placed on the effects and papers of the late Queen in her apartment in the Chateau of St. Germain on the 7th instant by the officers of justice of the said place, our intention is that the said seal be forthwith removed in presence of the Earl of Middleton, Lord Chamberlain of her said Majesty, Mr. Sheldon, our Vice-Chamberlain, Lieut.-General Dillon and Mr. Dicconson, Treasurer of the late Queen, by the said officers and without making any inventory of the effects or any particular examination of the papers, but only examining them on removing the seal to see if everything is in the same condition as when the seal was placed on it and that they make record thereof and after that leave everything in the hands of the four persons above mentioned to be disposed of according to the orders and instructions we shall send them. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 237, *and Entry Book* 5, *p.* 79. *There is also a draft among the papers.*

JAMES III to MR. SHELDON and MR. DICCONSON.

1718, May 27. Urbino.—Ordering them to have transported as secretly as possible to the Convent of the Visitation at Chaillot the boxes containing her Majesty's papers, which are to be placed in their hands for that object by another order sent for that purpose, and to entrust the said boxes when locked and sealed with their seals to the Mother Superior of the said Convent to be deposited there till he shall otherwise order. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 238, *and Entry Book* 5, *p.* 79.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, Saturday, May 28, 10 a.m.—I have this moment *Ormonde's* of the 8th instant with an enclosed copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to him of 21 April, O.S. I send you both in originals and am sorry that *Ormonde* does not intend to remain much longer where he is. *Dr. Erskine's* behaviour towards him is unaccountable, but I see little or no remedy for what's past. I am glad, however, that *Jerningham* continues his voyage to *Petersburg* and still hope that *the Czar* may be useful to *the King*, in case he comes to an agreement with *the King of Sweden.*

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 28. Vienna.—Since my last Count Reventlow has received a letter from a minister of Holstein at Hamburg informing him that M. Poussin, the French Envoy there, had showed him a letter of Count de la Mark of 29 April informing him that appearances were not favourable for peace with Hanover, but rather for that desired on both sides, that Baron Görtz and Comte Gyllenborg were on the eve of departing for the Isle of Aland, that the Hanoverian Counsellor Schrader, sent by the Elector to Sweden, had set out a little after Fabrice left to return to England, that the King was expected on his return from the frontiers of Norway at Lund towards the end of May, but that it appeared his Majesty would soon return from the side of the said kingdom to execute his grand design otherwise. There is a general report of a transportation of Swedish troops to Rostock to join those of the Duke of that name there after peace is made between the King of Sweden and the Czar and then to the Hessians. When the said letter left Hamburg, M. Vertoline was every moment expected there on his way to Petersburg. Baron Eichholtz, the Duke of Mecklenburg's Envoy here, is of opinion that, if on the arrival of the news of the projects at present being formed against the Czar by the Courts of Hanover and Saxony, by a party at Vienna and by the Dutch, peace has not yet been made, this news will finish it as far as the Czar is concerned. I expect the same from the prudence of a monarch who is so clear-sighted as regards his own interests. Though this peace is apparently being made in the Isle of Aland so far as regards essentials, yet, following the example of the peace of Utrecht, there will also be a general congress for form, and from his regard to the Emperor the King of Sweden is inclined it should be held in a town of Lower Germany, such as Hamburg or Lübeck, instead of at Danzig. I recollect that the Hanoverians speak of their negotiation with the King of Sweden as broken off for the present, but add that they wish to return to the charge and back up the negotiation by Admiral Norris' squadron and that of Holland, which they also expect in the Baltic to put pressure on the King of Sweden. That is not the means to put that monarch in the way they wish, but the Hanoverians are representing to the King of Sweden that it is to bring the Czar to reason with regard to Sweden, and to procure for that crown peace with Denmark, if the King will make up his mind to come to terms with the Elector of Hanover such as the latter desires.

Postscript.—I enclose a copy of a letter from a good hand which arrived from Passarowitz yesterday. The report of an attack by a large body of Turks and Tartars on an Imperial post of 400 men is now said to be false, but it is possible that it is desired here that this intelligence, though true, may not become public. A Saxon regiment of 1,000 horse arrived here the day before yesterday. The Emperor will see it to-morrow,

and the day after they will continue their march to the army assembled near Belgrade. The two Saxon regiments of foot of 2,300 men each do not pass by here, having taken another route. Prince Eugene is leaving every day.

Though according to appearances the Emperor would have willingly delayed the conclusion of the treaty between himself, the Regent, the King of England and the Dutch, I am nevertheless informed that, being pressed by the Regent and the King and perceiving that the Ottoman Court does not intend to come to an agreement with him according to his demands so soon that it would not be necessary for him, having regard to his security on the side of the South as well as on that of the North, to conclude the said treaty, he has ordered M. Pentenrieder to sign that treaty according to the draft thereof, upon which Secretary Schaub, who came here from London and finally from Paris with the draft treaty, left yesterday to return to his Court by way of France. I have just heard that, though the King of Spain has not positively refused an accommodation with the Emperor on the terms of the Regent's proposal, he has added clauses thereto, which may make the conclusion of peace difficult. It is said that one of these clauses is that to secure his son's succession 10,000 men should be immediately sent into Tuscany and the Parmesan territory and should remain there, particularly in the town and port of Leghorn, to which the Emperor appears disinclined to consent, though he might allow, after the conclusion of peace between him and King Philip, a small number of troops, such as two or three thousand Spaniards, to be sent into the said provinces and to remain there. I am not yet informed of the other clauses.

I have to add to the contents of the enclosed copy of a letter from Passarowitz that the reason for the dispatch of couriers from there to Vienna and Adrianople was that the Imperial ambassadors having seen the powers of the Turks, which were presented to them by the mediators, have refused to enter into conference with the Turks, because the powers were not signed by the Grand Seignior but only by the Grand Vizier, and that they do not empower the ambassadors to treat also with the Venetian ambassador, which they both regard as an artifice to cause delay, though the Turks have said to the mediators that the signature of the Grand Signior is not customary but only that of the Grand Vizier for him and that the Imperialists have only to treat with them about the peace with Venice. *French.* 16 *pages. The body mostly in cipher with a decipher. Enclosed,*

Copy of a Letter from Passarowitz.

We are still doing nothing here, expecting the return of the couriers sent by the Imperial ambassadors to Vienna and by the Turkish to Adrianople. However, our army is preparing to make the negotiation go on, and the troops,

which are assembling in considerable numbers under General Merci, are ready to march the end of this month. I have reason to believe we shall have a good peace, because we are in a condition to go on making a good war. French.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 28.—To-day the Emperor received quite unexpectedly a letter from London from George with a sort of protest, namely that, as George had heard that the Emperor was on the point of coming to terms with the King of Sicily and even of giving an Archduchess in marriage to the Prince of Piedmont, if that marriage should take place, the said George would interpret it as if the said Archduchess were to marry the Pretender, from the bad consequences it would cause to the said George, who used very strong and even threatening language, saying that he would not only desist from the negotiations with the Court of Madrid, but would put off sending a fleet to the Mediterranean. This has sensibly affected the Emperor and particularly Prince Eugene, who was promoting such a marriage, and it has been necessary to suspend the said negotiation with Savoy from the need at present of England. Meanwhile the last resolutions of the Court of Madrid are expected with impatience, and it seems that the Emperor strongly desires an accommodation with them. The change of Vizier gives hopes of the negotiations with the Porte being facilitated, and the presence of Prince Eugene will contribute thereto, who left this the day before yesterday to put himself at the head of the Imperial army. The Turks this campaign are very numerous, about 250,000 men, but the Germans will have at the rendezvous near Belgrade 60,000 good soldiers, and 15,000 in the district of Temeswar and 16,000 in Transilvania without counting the garrisons. The Swedish Resident and that of Muscovy assure me that the peace between their masters is nearing conclusion with the exclusion of Hanover. The Hanoverian ministers, Fabricius and Schreder, can accomplish nothing at the said congress. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

JAMES III to the EARL OF MIDDLETON, LIEUT.-GENERAL SHELDON, LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON and WILLIAM DICCONSON.

1718, May 28. Urbino.—Warrant. Having taken into our consideration that it is necessary to give directions anent the disposing and ordering of all such things as belonged to, or were in the custody of the late Queen, we hereby authorize and empower the said four persons or any three of them to call for and take into their custody " all and sundry the cabinets, boxes, papers, books, jewels, plate, clothes, coaches, horses, furniture and in general all goods and moveables whatsoever

belonging to the late Queen, and which were either in her own custody or in the hands of any of her servants, or others for her behoof, conform to and in consequence of the order we have signed apart of the date the 27th instant, and to make full and distinct inventories of the whole, and dispose of them according to these our particular directions aftermentioned.

"It is therefore our will and pleasure that the said four persons or any three of them open and inspect all the said cabinets and boxes, and that they put apart and by themselves all such papers as shall be found in any or all of them concerning religious matters; after reading as much of them and no more than is necessary to know only in general the substance of what they contain, and immediately thereafter to depositate the same in the hands of Père Gaillard, confessor to the late Queen, to be disposed on by him as he shall find most proper.

"All papers in the King's own handwriting, Duke of Mar's, Mr. Nairne's or Mr. Paterson's, all whose handwritings are well known to them, are to be put by themselves, without reading any of them, into a box, which is carefully to be shut up, and sealed with the several seals of the said four persons or any three of them, and thereafter to be depositated in Mr. Sheldon's and Mr. Dicconson's hands.

"All papers concerning State affairs to be put apart and by themselves, after making an inventory of them, which they are to transmit or a copy of it to us, signed by them or any three of them, and then the said papers themselves to be sealed up as above, and deposited in the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson.

"All papers concerning money matters to be put by themselves, and inventoried as the others, and the inventory of them to be signed and transmitted to us, and the papers themselves to be sealed up as above, and then put into the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson.

"All letters to the Queen, and what copies may be of hers, to be put into a box by themselves, without reading any of them, the box to be sealed up with their seals as above, and then deposited in the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson.

"All ciphers whatsoever that shall be found amongst any of the papers to be put into Mr. Dillon's hands.

"The said four persons or any three of them are to make exact and full inventories of all cabinets or boxes belonging to the late Queen and of what they contain, such as jewels &c. and to transmit to us the said inventories or copies of them signed by them or any three of them, and then the things themselves to be sealed up as above, and put into the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson, as the others, to be kept by them until they shall receive our orders, to be kept by them, anent the disposing of them and the other parcels.

" The coaches, horses and what else belongs to the stables to be sold by the direction of the persons above-mentioned or any three of them, with the exception of three or four of the coach horses to be given to Mr. Dillon as he pleases, to serve for his going about our affairs at Paris &c. and two saddle horses to be given to Mr. Nugent, Equerry to the late Queen. The said four persons or any three of them are to make an inventory of the whole, which they are to transmit to us as above, and also an account of what is got for them, and the money to be deposited in the hands of Mr. Dicconson.

" The Queen's wearing clothes, body and bed linen and china to be given to the Bedchamber women.

" The table linen and furniture of the kitchen to be given to Mr. Dicconson.

" The plate to be inventoried and a copy of the inventory signed as above to be sent to us, and the plate itself to be sealed up in a box as above and put into Mr. Sheldon's and Mr. Dicconson's hands.

" The toilette plate to be inventoried and put up in a box sealed as above, and deposited in the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson, and the inventory or a copy of it to be transmitted to us signed as above.

" The vestments and other things belonging to the Queen's private chapel to be given to Mr. Inness and Dr. Ingleton.

" The Queen's books to be given to Mr. Inness, Dr. Ingleton and Père Galliard.

" And lastly if there be anything else which we may have omitted here to give orders about, the persons above-mentioned are to transmit an account of it to us, so as they may receive our directions upon it." *Entry Book* 5, *p.* 80, *and two drafts, one dated* 24 *May.*

Extract of the Last News from Sweden.

1718, May 28 (?). [Received at Urbino.]—Letters from that kingdom say that in a council of war it was deliberated whether it would be more advantageous to make peace with England or with Muscovy, upon which, only two Senators being present, the majority decided it would be more expedient to come to terms with England, but, this being contrary to Baron Görtz' opinion, who had reported to the King that years would be required for that, and that much more blood would be shed before it would be possible to recover what the Czar was offering and that the Senators had given their votes from mere jealousy against himself and were not content that he as a foreigner should succeed in his proposals, his Majesty on further consideration consented to the said Baron's advice, on which he was ordered to go on with his journey to the Isle of Aland to conclude with the Russian plenipotentiaries what had already been almost agreed to, and to reply to their representations with regard to the allies of his Czarish Majesty.

It was said of Monsr. Fabrice, who had endeavoured in every way to get the King to agree to the proposals of Great Britain, that he would return to England with the vessel, on which General Ducker had come, to report to his Britannic Majesty that the King of Sweden was well-inclined for peace, but that he absolutely insisted on the restitution of all the territories he had been deprived of, as he had possessed them before the war. However, General Ducker having orders to follow the King, some presume that the negotiations with England are not yet entirely broken off. It is added that his Swedish Majesty has forbidden, under pain of death, all correspondence with any country or town whatsoever up to 1 May next, which makes people imagine that it is desired to conceal some negotiations or to undertake some important expedition. The King was still in Wermeland.

Letters of a later date from Sweden have since been seen, which confirm that couriers are continually passing between Aland and Lunden. It is said that Count Gyllenborg is still in Aland, who after the conclusion of the peace is to be employed as Swedish minister to the Czarish Court *French.*

James III to Marshal Villeroy.

1718, May 28.—It is not now I know your zeal and affection in everything that concerns me. You have given me sufficient proofs of it on all occasions and particularly in your good offices on behalf of my late mother and myself with the Regent. Mr. Dillon has sent me your letter on my cruel loss. I assure you I feel all these marks of your good heart as I ought and I count on you to continue them at all times, when you shall have occasion to recommend my interests and those of my poor faithful subjects to the Regent, who is the only resource I have left, and to whom I owe obligations I can never forget, of which I ask you to assure him on my behalf. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 238.

James III to the Duc de Noailles.

1718, May 28.—I have received your letter on my mother's death and Mr. Dillon has informed me of the zeal and attention with which you executed the Regent's orders in everything he committed to your care with regard to the Queen's funeral, the safety of her papers and everything that was to be done on so melancholy an occasion. The kindness and the generosity of the Regent have been so remarkable that I shall never forget them. I beg you to help me in thanking him for them and to continue to employ your good offices with him in my favour. You know the sad condition in which the late Queen's household is left and the terrible desolation to which that large number of my faithful subjects will be reduced, who have no subsistence except from the pension of her Majesty, if the Regent do not take pity on

them and place me in a condition to prevent them from dying of hunger. You have by his orders taken the list of them, and I would flatter myself that the resolution he will take with regard to them will be worthy of his good heart, on which I place all my confidence. Mr. Dillon will tell you how sensible I am of the expressions of your zeal and affection for me and my interests. *French. Ibid. p.* 239.

JAMES III to the MOTHER SUPERIOR OF CHAILLOT.

1718, May 28.—Knowing the love my mother always felt for you and all your house, and your corresponding love for her, I must write to you to join my condolences with yours in our common loss and to ask of you and your community the continuance of your prayers. Mr. Dicconson has orders to place in your hands some effects of the late Queen which I beg you to keep secretly till further orders. (Apologizing for not writing with his own hand.) I promise to carry out my mother's good intentions towards you and your house, when I shall be in a condition to do so, and shall always be ready to do all the good I can to a house which the Queen cherished so much and which at present possesses such a precious deposit as that of her heart with that of the late King, my father. *French. Ibid.*

JAMES III to MADAME (the DOWAGER DUCHESS OF ORLEANS).

1718, May 28.—Thanking her for the compliments on the death of his mother, which the Duchess of Lorraine sent him on her behalf. *French. Ibid. p.* 240.

JAMES III to the REGENT.

1718, May 28.—I must in the first place present you with my most sincere thanks for your orders about the funeral of the Queen and the security of her papers and for all the other marks of kindness you have shown for the deceased and for myself, of which Mr. Dillon has sent me a faithful account and also of all the obliging things you have said to him concerning myself and the present situation of my affairs. I beg you to be convinced that I feel as I ought all my obligations to you and shall never forget them. My hopes are not so ill founded that I cannot but flatter myself that I shall some day be able to be useful to you and to show you that you have not obliged an ungrateful person.

Allow me to remind you of the message you gave me by Mr. Dillon, when I left Avignon, "que dans la supposition du cas facheux, qui m' arrive aujourdhuy, vous auriez la bonté outre la pension secrete que vous m'accordates alors pour moy, de me continuer encore secretement celle de la Reine. Il est de mon honneur aussi bien que de mon interest de ne pas abandonner les anciens domestiques de la Reine,

ni tant d' autres officiers et personnes de qualité et de distinction qui ont tout sacrifié pour moy, et dont j'espere encore avoir occasion de me servir utilement. . . . Cependant sans la continuation de vostre secours il m'est impossible de continuer a les subsister et d' une autre costé, si je les laisse perir, la consequence sera fatale pour le bien de mes affaires. Quand vous ferez reflection aux grandes obligations que j'ay depuis mon enfance même à la France et à celles que j'ay encore à vous en particulier, j'espere que vous me ferez la justice d' estre persuadé que les interests de l'une et de l' autre seront toûjours les miennes par inclination autant que par reconnoissance." Do not then abandon me, I conjure you, in my present melancholy situation. I place my whole confidence in you and await from your kindness the decision of my lot and a favourable reply to this letter. I refer myself to Mr. Dillon to explain to you more fully the condition of my affairs and my sentiments towards you and beg you to place full confidence on what he shall tell you on my behalf. (Apologizing for not having written with his own hand and desiring the continuance of his friendship.) 2 *pages. French. Ibid. p.* 241.

James III to the Duchess of Orleans.

1718, May 28.—About the Queen's death and apologizing for not writing with his own hand and requesting her assistance in thanking the Regent for such efficacious orders about everything concerning the performance of the last duties to the Queen. *French. Ibid. p.* 243.

James III to the Duchess of Berry.

1718, May 28.—Communicating to her the death of the Queen and apologizing for not writing with his own hand. *French. Ibid.*

James III to the Most Christian King.

1718, May 28.—Communicating to him the death of the Queen and desiring that his Majesty, following the example of his ancestors, would allow him some share in his valuable friendship. *French. Ibid.*

Winefred, Countess of Nithsdale, to James III.

1718, May 29. La Fleche.—Condoling with him on the death of the Queen.—Sickness hindering my most humble acknowledgements for the honour of your Majesty's letter till lately, by the time it reached St. Germains, the consternation there was such for our general loss, that it was not sent, which I should not have mentioned, but to excuse so unpardonable a fault, as I appeared guilty of, and I think it would be no less a one to speak of anything it contained at this melancholy juncture.

ADMIRAL GEORGE CAMOCKE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 29. Barcelona.—I arrived here last Wednesday and was very graciously received by my old friend, Prince Pio. He has nothing to do with the maritime affair. It all rolls on Senor Don Patino, an Italian. He is Intendant General. The second day I came here, this gentleman approved of some orders I gave, so that now we are hand and glove, and he has given me orders to send to England for officers of all degrees for the service of the Navy and assures me that whoever I recommend from a captain to a boatswain shall be received as such. It's now 4 Sunday morning and in half an hour the Intendant takes me in his coach to the mole, there to take boat to go on board the *Royal*, which I hoist my flag on board of, as Rear Admiral of the Navy and Commander in Chief of the Barcelona squadron and Major-General of the Army. Here is the completest body of troops and the best appointed that I ever saw of foreigners. The whole number will consist of 2,000 horse, 24,000 foot and 6,000 dragoons, all well paid, not one shilling due to them. Our artillery and provisions of war are all shipped, consisting of 165 new brass cannon, 24 to 36 pounders, 24 brass mortars, 7,000,000 dollars in gold and silver, men-of-war 14, galleys 6, and 500 transports.

I have prepared instructions for this great armament, and we shall sail with 20,000 men in ten days at furthest. The Cadiz fleet of 36 sail of the line, 12 frigates and — bombships is expected daily, but your humble servant is to make the disposition for the first debarquement. It is the Cardinal's command, so I hope I shall be able to retain the good character you gave of me. Renny (R. Macdonnell) gives you thanks for your friendly advice. I have made him second lieutenant of my ship and captain of marines. In six months he will be better qualified to be a captain than any of these Jack Startles. Pray tell Prince Cellamare I delivered his present to Prince Pio.

JAMES III to the KING and QUEEN OF SICILY and to the DUKE and DUCHESS OF PARMA.

1718, May 29.—Informing them of the death of the Queen. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 246.

JAMES III to the CARDINAL DE NOAILLES.

1718, May 29.—Replying to his letter of condolence on the death of the Queen. *French. Ibid. p.* 247.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 30.—Since my last I know no further news but that *the Duke* I told you of in my last has continued to act with the same vivacity as at first. He has had several conversations on the same subject with *the Regent*, who seems

entirely determined to do what we all wish. *The Regent* said the last time, I don't know if 'twould not be proper to have it pass through *the Duke of Lor*[*r*]*ain*[*e's*] hands or through the *Cardinal's* that meddles in your affairs in the great city. When he was last with him, he said he waited till he heard from you to finish that affair. The friend (Mezières) does not answer that *the Regent* will not change, but there is now all the reason in the world to believe he designs to do well, and no stone has been left unturned to work him up and more than one wheel has been set agoing. I hope you're satisfied with what has been done. Don't forget a letter of thanks to our *Duke*, for he deserves it, and has followed this affair more assiduously than I thought his abstraction could give him leave.

The public news is that Père Galliard and the Duke of Lauzun have asked the Regent for the continuation of the Queen's pension for St. Germains. I long to hear from you about *Ilay*. Lord Pan[mure] comes to see us very often. He's very melancholy and has been ill. The last words of *the Regent* to *the Duke* were that he was resolved to do all and right. We only fear a change.

Sir Peter Redmond to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 30. Paris.—I wrote you three letters since my arrival here, where I am ashamed to have delayed so long, but could not well help it. I am this minute taking the post to proceed and at Mr. D[illo]n's taking my leave of him. I expect to be the end of this week at Bordeaux, where the gentlemen are your letters are for. I shall write you thence what we resolve on and afterwards from Madrid, where I shall stay till the dog-days are over.

Capt. John Ogilvie to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 30. Dunkirk.—I received a letter from F[ather] G[ræme], telling me that he saw a letter from a man of quality telling a gentleman there was a great party of Gromeltonians joined together to endeavour all they can to ruin *Mar* and that they had sent an express to *the King* with their grievances and that Mr. Hook and Lord Marischal were at the head of them and that they had got in old superannuate Mr. Leslie with them and his hot-headed son and that noble general, George Hamilton, but, if he do not prove a better statesman than he did a general, he will not advance his reputation much. I heard of this story when I was in *England* and it alarmed many of *the King's* friends, but *Lord Oxford* made most of his friends very easy and me among them, for he told them that these stories did not in the least alarm him, for *the King* had too good sense and more regard to his own interest than to interpret anything to *Mar's* disadvantage that can come from a parcel of madmen, fools and boys. But it was told that some believed that *Lord Middleton* must be at the bottom of those politicians'

doings, on which *Lord Oxford* declared he would never be concerned in any affair with *Lord Middleton*, nor would he ever advise any friend of his to have to do with *Lord Middleton*. A certain person pressed *Lord Oxford* to give his reason for it, but his answer was that he was not ready to give characters of men, but how faithful *Lord Middleton* had been to his master himself knew best, but for his part he would never have anything to do with him and added that *Capt. Ogilvie* knew the reasons partly why he would not correspond with him. I am heartily sorry he should have so expressed himself as to me, for what *Lord Oxford* told me of that should have gone to the grave with me and shall, unless *the King* commanded me, and even in that case I should have a dread on me, lest I might be suspected of revenge.

If you have the least doubt of what I write at present, you have but to inquire into all this matter the next letter you write to *Lord Oxford*, and he will avouch all I have said, for you shall never have any story from me, without my giving you my author, and whatever I advance I will sustain. I desired F[ather] G[ræme] to let me know the man of quality's name that wrote to the gentleman, but he told me he had writ you a full account of all this matter. I enclose Father G[ræme]'s letter to me and his answer on the receipt of mine. You will find by his letter I am to go and live at another place, but not at Calais but near Ambleteuse, for, since the English were all banished out of Calais, the holl (? whole) spies are come here, so that it will be almost impossible to manage our affairs here with safety. If it were *the King's* pleasure and yours to allow me to stay but a little time at *Paris*, I could very easily find out the bottom of those wise politicians by means of Maghie, who is now there with Hook, but that shall be as *the King* and you please.

I am afraid your Highland cousin has a touch of the Highland falsehood. That's natural to them, as it's to eat their meat. Mr. Patrick Smith, Methven's brother, who is now at Calais with his cousin F[ather] G[ræme] is a great confident of your Highland cousin's, and he writes his mind pretty freely to Mr. Smith, and he opens his mind sometimes freely. This I thought proper to acquaint you with, both for *the King's* interest and your own. A great deal of interest has been used to have poor Father Græme removed from Calais, but we found means to prevent that. I long extremely to hear from you and so does *Lord Oxford*, for I had a letter lately from *England* wherein he says that pressing affairs call him to the country but that he is resolved to stay till he hears from *Mar*. 3¼ *pages*. *Enclosed*,

Father Archangel Græme to *Capt. J. Ogilvie*.

(*About the arrangements he had made for hiring furniture for his house and about his journey to Calais, recommending him to be there by Wednesday so as to take possession*

on Thursday, the 2nd.) Brigadier Hook is not the man you take him to be and you may remember I never was for embarking of him in affairs with our friend Mar. *(Giving the substance of a letter from a person of quality, as in the last letter.) I am extremely mortified at this news, not only because I see a strong party bent on Lord Mar's ruin, but also because I am afraid you wrote to him in favour of Hook by Maghie's instigation and consequently may have brought Lord Mar to put some trust in him. I am certain, if Lord Mar's enemies carry their point, the King will miss of his, and I am resolved to have no more to do with public affairs the minute my friend is discarded.*—1718, *May* 26. *Calais.*

Father Archangel Græme to [*Capt. J. Ogilvie*].

The first thing I took care of, after I was informed of the cabal against our friend, was to let him know of it, that he may be on his guard. I gave him also the story about the gentleman who, in speaking to me of Mar's *friends at Paris, called them his creatures with my reflections upon it. I had a letter yesterday from Sandy Urquhart, bidding me tell you he does not forget you, but he has nothing to write worthy of postage. All the news he tells me is that it's affirmed that the King of Spain will accept of the peace, but that the King of Sweden has absolutely refused to accept George's proposals. I expect to see you Wednesday night, or, if you arrive after* 7, *on Thursday morning, for you know I can't go abroad after* 7, *though you may come or send to me till* 8. *It's but reasonable you should be provided with all necessary furniture, before you pay anything.*—1718, *May* 29. *Calais.*

Thomas Bruce to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 30. Brussels.—In my last I gave you an account of the tumult here, and also told you I was afraid it might lay down bad precedents for the Emperor's affairs here and I am afraid there is an affair now on the anvil which may prove somewhat difficult. By the old privileges the people pretend to and by the old oath which now both the Emperor and all his people here have taken, amongst other things, the Sovereign swears not to dismember or alienate any part of the territories of the ten provinces, and by the late Barrier treaty a small part is given off to the Dutch from Blankenberg to the banks of the Scheldt. Though this is no great tract, yet the people here look on it as a matter of the greatest consequence, not only as an open infraction of their rights, but because it excludes them from a tract where they were resolved to cut a canal for their trade to the Scheldt, and it puts in the power of the Dutch to drown, when they please, a great part of the neighbouring country. For these reasons

the people there talk as if they would rather take up arms than allow themselves to be made subjects of Holland, and all the other provinces seem to espouse the quarrel, conceiving it both a bad precedent for their property and a prejudice to their trade. This Barrier treaty has never been fully executed on the Emperor's part, and the Dutch have been pressing hard to have it done, and last night all of a sudden General Cadogan arrived at Antwerp and this morning early the Marquis de Prié went from this to wait on him there.

People are generally of opinion that the Dutch, being invited to enter into an alliance with England, the Emperor and France, pretend to stand off a little, thereby to oblige the Emperor to execute the whole articles of that Barrier treaty as a premium to purchase their alliance. They make likewise some observations on this sudden meeting, for, though General Cadogan on his first landing from England wrote to M. de Prié that he would meet him to treat about some matters, yet they think that, if either Cadogan or the Dutch had been resolved to deal fairly on that head and not to catch an advantage of the Emperor, they would not at this juncture have pressed M. de Prié in point of time, when they must suppose that last week's disorders will require his presence here for some small time, and therefore they think that the Dutch, knowing that some of the articles of the Barrier treaty are contrary to the privileges of the people, and finding by last week's work that the people begin to be inflamed, have out of measure pressed this affair, to have it accomplished before the fire spreads further.

Lord Pitsligo to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 30. Vienna.—I wrote to you, I think, twice before I left Holland about the middle of April, these six weeks past being consumed in travelling this length. Less time would have served, had I not been with two persons, who had some business in towns by the way. (Reflections on the Queen's death of which he had heard the news at Ratisbon.) All the discourse here is of Prince Eugene and the Turks. I was weary of Leyden and indeed it turns to very little account to live with a number of countrymen all idle together, nor had I stayed so long, had I not been in expectation of getting over to London, from which I was absolutely dissuaded. This place appears to be pretty agreeable. However, I find a humour of travelling further begins to waken and I would gladly be in Italy. As to the charges of travelling, I remember what you wrote me in January and am infinitely obliged to your friendship and the condescension of another by whose orders you made me such offers. I accept them with reluctancy, but there is no help for it. One thing that justifies my wanderings is that really the expense will be less than I have found it for some months by-gone.

George Jerningham to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, May 19[–30]. *Petersburg.*—I received yours with the duplicates by way of Holland and had writ the immediate post, had yours required it or had anything occurred to me worthy of your notice, since which on the uncertainty of *our affairs Ormonde* thought I should continue my journey hither. I am informed here that *Gyllenborg* and another from *Sweden* are arrived in *Aland* and are now actually *treat*ing with the *Ministers* of *the Czar*. A little time will inform us of what the success of that affair will be.

On my arrival I found *Dr. Erskine* sick and not to be seen. I therefore gave him in writing the heads of my business, desiring he would on the first occasion communicate their contents to *the Czar*, that I might know how far he would assist, in case *affairs* came to *an agreement*. As soon as I have any answer, I'll trouble you again, and I desire you'll depend on my correspondence duly, as anything occurs worthy of postage, and, when I do not, conclude I have nothing to say.

In one from Dr. Ingleton to-day, he acquaints me that *the Queen* desires to have the correspondence of Monsr. Grimeau at *the Hague*. I send his address. He acquaints me besides that *the Queen* now wishes I had stayed longer in *Holland*, till I had had a second order to leave that place. I wrote to you the reasons which hindered me following the first orders and to the Doctor the motives which induced me afterwards to begin my journey, which for the future I shall direct solely to you, they coming from those persons who could only advise me what was proper to be done under the difficulties of our situation, for it was impossible that *the Queen* could give me instructions concerning those matters, and the only rule I could direct myself by was those letters, which *Prince Curakin* and *the Swedish minister at the Hague* had received, and both advised me to continue my journey, judging by those letters that *the treaty* would now go on, since *the King of Sweden* had rejected the offers of *England*. I was loth and afraid that, my being at so great a distance, the critical minute for us might have been over, if I lost any time. I came upon these considerations night and day, till I joined *Ormonde*, who, I found, wanted those lights from his parts, which might have been expected on business so serious as that was ; yet, as I have already marked, he thought fit to send me on, and I am now glad that I have passed these horrid journeys, since I find myself on the place and in readiness to finish our business, provided the others *agree*. If they do not, I must return *re infecta*, yet this is much better than to have lost the critical moment, in case affairs had gone otherwise, which there is still an appearance may finish to satisfaction.

James III to the Duke of Lorraine.

1718, May 30.—Thanking him for his letter on the death of the Queen and for sending him by an express his opinion

and advice on the present situation of his affairs with the offer of his good offices with the Regent.—Your letter of the 12th was delivered here the 23rd and I only delayed to answer it in hopes of being able to do so with my own hand, but a tertian fever, which has not yet altogether left me, obliges me to avail myself of a trusty hand. It is certain that my honour, my interest and everything engage me not to allow so many of my faithful subjects to perish, who have lost their property, exposed their life and sacrificed everything to follow me to France, and who are still capable of doing me useful service in case of an expedition. However, if the Regent discontinues the Queen's pension, which was my resource for subsisting them, they will be obliged to disperse and die of hunger, which will have a very bad effect among my friends in England.

This has obliged me to write to the Regent without loss of time to beg him earnestly to continue me his secret assistance and I sent my letter by the express which brought the news of the Queen's death, but, since you offer so generously your good offices with him, I beg you to employ them as speedily as you can and leave to your good heart the care of representing on this subject everything that your zeal, your prudence and your friendship for me shall dictate. I shall await your reply with impatience and leave it to your discretion to send it me by Mr. Dillon or by some other means you consider the most secure. As to your good advice about marriage, I am entirely of your opinion and I am at present labouring to finish that business as quickly as possible and it is not my fault that it is not finished already. As soon as I can write with my own hand, I will inform you farther on this subject. All you say in your long and obliging letter of 14 April, which I received not long ago, about my affairs is very good sense and I am profiting as far as I can from your wise advice. As to the idea given you at Paris about my affairs in England, I should tell you in confidence that my hopes on that side are very far from being so remote as they have been represented to you. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 244.

James III to the Duchess of Lorraine.

1718, May 30.—Thanking her for her letter of condolence. *French. Ibid. p.* 245.

James III to the King of Sicily.

1718, May 30.—Informing him of the melancholy event which has happened to him. He does not pretend to trouble the King or to require from him any formal answer, leaving it to his prudence to do as he shall judge most proper.—I beg you to tell *the Queen of Sicily* that she need feel no anxiety about her letters to *Queen Mary*, for all necessary precautions have been taken for their being in safety and being seen by

nobody. I am not yet sufficiently recovered from a tertian fever to write with my own hand. I beg you to continue to honour me with your correspondence and advice.

Postscript in the King's own hand.—Anxious as I am for the marriage, I have not yet been able to determine absolutely the means thereto. I beg you therefore to send me the list, which *the Queen of Sicily* had promised to *Queen Mary*. I hope to be able to send you immediately more precise news about a matter wherein you are so kind as to take so much interest and wherein I interest myself still more. *Noted*, as sent in cipher by the post from Rome. *French.* [*Entry Book* 1, *p.* 256.]

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 31. Paris.—I can't add much to what I wrote last Saturday, there being no account here yet how *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover* have received *the King of Spain's* alternative scheme of union, neither do I hear any positive information of what passes at the Congress in Hungary. 'Tis whispered about at *the Regent's* house that *the Prince of Wales* will soon come into this country and remain here incog. for some time. 'Tis even said he'll reside at Versailles. What grounds there are for this rumour I know not, but presume the mystery will soon be unveiled.

I enclose an open note from Sir P. Redmond. He parted this morning for *Bordeaux* and could not go away sooner. He appears to be an active, diligent man and fit for business. Sir Francis Arthur of Madrid and he are fast friends, and I don't question but his channel may be very good to apply to the other for a loan of a considerable sum, when 'tis thought proper to make the proposal. Sir Peter will concert all necessary measures with *Tullibardine* and Campbell for procuring the goods they were about. I gave him all the instructions I could on this score and have wrote at large by him to both those gentlemen.

The post from *England* is still due, therefore I can say nothing new from that country. I had no letter from *Mar* since his of the 3rd, but daily expect Basque's return with a full account from *the King* and *Mar*. The recommendations and orders *James Murray* desired were sent to the persons mentioned in order to recover his loss.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 31. Paris.—We were in so melancholy a way here when I received your letter that till now I could hardly think of anything but of our unspeakable loss and we are now waiting with impatience for the return of the courier who carried that ill news to you, for, till *Dillon* has the King's orders, he can do no more than what he has done in relation to that.

I am here running after M. Couturier, who after all the good words the Regent gave me has marked me down only for 1,000 *crowns*, which will make me very little richer than I

was when I left Urbino. My business here, notwithstanding my pretensions are allowed to be just, will prove a Chancery suit, if your omnipotent countryman, to whom I am yet no ways known, does not help me, and he, they say, is now at variance with M. Argenson and others about the fall and new coining of the money, but has the Regent of his side, so that the Edict is expected out soon.

I have not seen Mr. Booth since he came and his son-in-law, who is since gone for England, would not see him nor let him see his daughter. Lord Clermont is at Bourbon.

The Earl of Panmure to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 31. Paris.—I hope you will mind what I wrote to you the 9th. All I have to add is that Lady Stair sent me a compliment, for which I returned her thanks, and she sent me word afterwards she would be glad to see me privately at her own house, so I went and saw her. She made me many compliments and professions of kindness and said both her lord and she would be ready to do all they could for me and then told me her lord would gladly see me, so I said I was very well satisfied to see him, but he was not then at home, but I saw him some days after privately at his own house, and he also made me many compliments and professions of kindness and said he would be ready to do all in his power for me. I told him I knew nothing could be done for me at present for, being attainted, it could not be taken off but by Parliament, which is not now sitting. He owned that nothing could be done effectually at present, but that matters might be preparing, and that he would willingly concur with any of my friends. This I thought fit to let you know and desire you will acquaint the King with it, who, I know, will not be displeased with it, seeing he allowed me to apply by friends in London, and you know there is no difference betwixt that and applying here, but I desire you may speak of it to nobody else, for Lord Stair desired it might be kept private.

I heard last post from my wife, who had not then got her jointure. The difficulty they make is about an addition I gave her, being a bond of 10,000*l.* sterling. This the Commissioners of the Treasury have referred to the Attorney-General. She was with him with her lawyers and she is afraid they will cut it off, seeing the Attorney-General said it behoved first to be determined to be a good claim before the Court of Enquiry, and after that that George, if he pleased, might give a grant of it, but it's to be feared that, if it come before the Court, they will give no favourable sentence. This seems hard, for they own that the bond would be due to her, if I were naturally dead, and the bill in her favour empowers George to make such provisions for and settlements upon her as she would have been entitled to, in case I were naturally dead, and she is afraid that even the rest of her jointure will be granted only during pleasure. This must be very expensive to her, but there is no help for that. She thinks, after the

affair of her jointure is over, to make a step to Calais, where I would meet her, if she can obtain a licence from the Government. I doubt not but you would be very well pleased with your journey to Rome.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 31. Paris.—This is only for a cover to the encloseds, amongst which are the two packets Sir Hugh said he had sent formerly and a copy of a petition from Mr. Bremingham, a very good chirurgeon. The original, I suppose, will be sent by Gen. Dillon. Neither Robert Arbuthnot nor Robert Gordon can receive the boxes Mr. Kinnaird is to send without declaring what's in them and having them visited by the custom house. *Enclosed,*

MICHAEL BERMINGHAM to *JAMES III.*

Petition stating that he was a native of London and had been for several years a surgeon both at the Hotel Dieu and the General Hospital at Paris and that the late Queen Mother had in 1714 *appointed him her sworn surgeon, and praying to be appointed surgeon to his Majesty in reversion after Monsr. Beaulieu without any wages or emoluments. French.*

JAMES III to PHILIP V.

1718, May.—Though my present condition hardly allows me to write, I cannot defer informing your Majesty of the sad news I have just received of the death of the Queen Mother. I am so sensible of this great loss and my health has been so indifferent for some days that all I can do to-day is to notify the event to your Majesty and the Queen, whom I regard as the best friends left to me in the world and the source from which I expect at a proper time and place my greatest consolation. I earnestly beg the continuance of your friendship. *Draft. French. Pinned to p.* 237 *of Entry Book* 1.

JAMES III to the QUEEN OF SPAIN.

1718, May.—Similar letter to the last. *Ibid.*

The EMPEROR to the CZAR.

[1718, May ?]—Declaring his pleasure at hearing of the Czar's gratitude for his kindness to his son as expressed in his letter of 21 March last.—It was, however, with quite different feelings that he understood both from the above letter and from the Apology published by his Serenity that it was therein most wrongly stated that Prince Alexis had been induced to return to his own country by the Emperor's advice and persuasion, nay even by his threats, whereas he had left it so entirely to his own decision that, as he would not have prevented him, had he wished to return, so if he had been unwilling to do so, he would have granted an asylum to a Prince, who was his kinsman, and under his protection, till a way should be opened for his reconciliation. *Latin.*

James III to Admiral George Camocke.

[1718, May ?]—Urbino. Private instructions. 1. With regard to the important affair now entrusted to your management, you are to represent to the Court of Spain or those directly entrusted in your parts, the great benefit to the King of Spain, if he could be prevailed on to declare for us publicly and, if he would empower you in conjunction with us to make the offers mentioned in our other instructions jointly in his and our name and would allow you to assure the officers of the English fleet, with whom you may treat, of the King of Spain's sincere intentions effectually to serve us, it could hardly be doubted that most of the English fleet would declare for us and engage in his Catholic Majesty's service or at least so many as in conjunction with the Spanish fleet would render the others altogether useless, which would evidently be the happiest thing that can possibly arrive to him at this time.

2. But, if this cannot be obtained, that his Catholic Majesty would at least indirectly and underhand empower you to make use of his name, where you shall find it absolutely necessary, that he will become guaranty for the sum to be promised to Sir George Byng or the next flag officer as mentioned in our other instructions, and will put you in a condition to make good all the other promises and engagements specified in the said instructions, this being equally for our mutual advantage and at this time more immediately for his service than ours.

3. If his Catholic Majesty shall think fit, you are to enter into engagements that we shall be obliged within — years after our restoration to pay him or his successors the sums he shall advance and that in the meantime we will confirm all such engagements as you shall enter into on this account.

4. You are, as far as concerns the King of Spain's part, to make your applications to Cardinal Alberoni or such as he shall direct you to correspond with.

Lastly, you are to correspond with and receive further directions from the Secretary of State. 3 *pages*. *Draft*.

The Countess of Nithsdale to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 1. La Fleche.—Requesting him to remind his Majesty of the pension the late Queen allowed her, which, though but 1,200 *livres* by Mr. Dicconson, yet on the Countess acquainting her with her wants, she sent her 300 *livres* more through Mrs. Strickland, and therefore desiring him to obtain of his Majesty to add 300 *livres* to her pension, without which she cannot subsist.

Pietro Francesco Belloni to John Paterson.

1718, June 1. Bologna.—Acknowledging his letter of the 23rd past and adding he could not send on the enclosed letter for Holland immediately as the post had left. *Italian*.

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 1. Vienna.—Count Reventlow has shown me a letter from Baron Görtz he received three days ago, dated 20 April (N.S.), Stockholm. The Baron was to leave in two days for the Isle of Aland, but he does not say a word of his negotiation with the Russian ministers, which probably proceeds from his knowledge of the King of Sweden's wish for silence to be kept about his affairs, when they are at a crisis as at present. He only says that, since the Emperor fears the peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar, he ought to have less shown his coolness towards the King, that notwithstanding he, Görtz, entered in some manner into the reasons alleged by M. Reventlow for *menagements* on the Emperor's part towards the King of Sweden's enemies, as long as he was occupied with the Turks and had also grounds for apprehension on the side of Italy. Monsr. Vulfrat, Minister of State of the Duke of Mecklenburg, and, as I mentioned in my last, a Pomeranian subject of the King of Sweden, has written by the last ordinary to the Czar's minister here, that the Duke had certain intelligence that the principle of the above negotiation had already been settled and that peace would soon be made in such a manner that he had no need to humble himself too much before those of the Imperial Court, who are not well inclined to the Duke. M. Vulfrat mentions at the same time that the Russian General Repnin was marching with the troops he commands in Lithuania towards Danzig and that a new Russian minister, Brigadier Le Fort, was arrived at Berlin in order to draw the union closer between the Czar and the King of Prussia, both of which Vulfrat considered a consequence of the approach of the peace.

Though you are apparently informed by other channels of what relates to the treaty between the Emperor, the Regent, the Elector of Hanover and the Dutch, I think I ought to inform you of what I have learnt from good hands.

(Then follows an account of how that negotiation had been interfered with by that with the King of Sicily and of the threatening letter of the Elector to the Emperor as in de Busi's letter of 28 May.) People add that Prince Eugene is much vexed at his ill success in this affair, which he had taken much to heart. Notwithstanding what is at present going on between the Regent and the Elector, I flatter myself that the peace excludes the Elector and that the union between the King of Sweden and the Czar will certainly change the theatre of the French Court with regard to that. It is also to be known that, if the Court of Vienna could not change with regard to the Elector, after the settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy and after the above-mentioned event, circumstances and the temper of the Emperor may take such a turn as to render the Elector's friendship no longer necessary for the Emperor. I doubt much, if Prince Eugene is or ever will become a friend of Hanover. The ministers of King Augustus and the courtiers of the Electoral Prince of Saxony and his

partisans at the Court of Vienna show much joy at the ill success of the King of Sicily as they hope that thereby that Prince has got quit for ever of a dangerous rival. *French. Original of 9 pages mostly in cipher with a decipher.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 1.—There is certain news that the peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden is almost on the point of conclusion. The presence of Prince Eugene will bring the Turks to reason. This Court endeavours to give that of London no cause for mistrust owing to the need it has of engaging George with the Regent in its interests. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

JAMES III to CARDINALS IMPERIALI, SACRIPANTI, ALBANI, AQUAVIVA, DE LA TREMOÏLLE, PAULUCCI, OLIVIERI, ACCIAIOLI and POLIGNAC, to DON CARLO and DON ALESSANDRO ALBANI, the PRINCESSE DE PIOMBINO, the PRINCESSE DES URSINS, MADAME LA CONNESTABLE COLONNA and the BISHOP OF TODI.

1718, June 1.—Replying to their respective letters of condolence on the death of the Queen. *French. Entry Book* 1, *pp.* 247–252 and *p.* 255.

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1718, June 1.—In consideration of the attachment to him of the President Salviati and the zeal with which he has always executed the Pope's orders both at Avignon and Urbino, requesting him to grant to the Salviati family the honours which the princes of the first rank at Rome enjoy at his court. *French. Ibid. p.* 254.

HEW WALLACE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 2. Leyden.—Requesting to obtain from the King liberty for him to go over to Scotland. His father being 80 years old, it's reasonable he should do his best to procure him ease from business. Being left tutor to several near relations, it will be difficult for them to extricate their business without him. Lastly, having come off in a hurry, any little money he had is near exhausted. He has no other security than several others, who have privately slipped over, and it is not improbable that the country he lives in being more awed by the usurping powers may soon oblige him to return.

MONSIGNOR LUDOVICO ANGUISSOLA to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, June 2. Ascoli.—Requesting him to deliver to his Majesty the enclosed letter of condolence on the death of his mother. *Italian.*

WILLIAM ERSKINE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 2. Urbino.—Receipt for 10 *pistoles* given him by the Duke of Mar's order.

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Thursday, May 22[–June 2].—Your last of the 25th, N.S. came very safe, though our post house lately have had the humour of peeping.

Of the *Post Boys* you desired, but these three are to be had as yet in London and even them I picked up in three different places. They were all bought up at first, and, if there had been thousands more, they would have been all bought. There was a report that the author was to be called to account, and particularly who put him on it, or gave him the materials, for they reckoned some hand of Joab was in it. But they did not think fit to enter into that inquisition.

You will see by our prints what our discourse is, and by this *St. James' Post* you will have a swatch of the stuff we talk concerning St. Germains, the Pretender &c. No man without living here can well imagine the notions we have, and yet such are always the springs of our measures and actions, so that it was indeed well said of Mr. Locke, Give me but the power of the newspapers and the ballads and pamphlets, I will give any man that will the power of the laws.

Though we are full of reasonings and speculations, we are in a critical point of darkness, both as to the South and the North, and we are afraid the Court is not dazzled with too much light. One thing is certain ; we shall talk big as long as we can, and as long as we think it will terrify princes abroad.

At home we have no more changes in posts and places, though much talked of. We have had many expresses and alarms from Scotland of rebels and arms &c. landing there, and Lord Lovat has many private audiences and pretends extraordinary intelligences, by which he makes his court extremely.

The Abbé du Bois has not been at Court these ten days.

The General Assembly of the Kirk, which has lately begun to sit, are like to be very angry that the Court here has not done more for the Dissenters in England. 2 *pages*.

James Hamilton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 22[–June 2]. London.—This morning *C. Kinnaird* went to *Sir W. Wyndham* in the country. When he returns, he intends to write to you fully. He talked of being here in a few days, but I'm of opinion it will be some weeks. Then he says he will retire to *Scotland*, but I have reason to doubt that being his real intention. *James Murray's* situation is now the common talk, though not as at first reported but as friends knew it to be.

For some months there has been such a prevailing spirit in *England*, as if *the King* was daily to enter on trade here, but of late we have quite the reverse, and there is strange dejectedness in all his Dutch friends' countenances. We have daily strong presumptions of new difficulties and obstructions in traffic. When M. Duprie (? the King of Spain) begins their motions, 'twill open to many a very distant prospect.

The Regent is generally thought to be *the King's* greatest enemy, and that he has at all hands laboured against *his* interest. None is, or has been more artful in endeavouring to pack up matters with *King George* and *the Prince of Wales*, but God has given more grace and I'm assured 'tis as far off as ever.

Spain's attorney here still endeavours the same, and is yet industrious for cementing *the Whigs* with *the Tories*. In this I'm told *the Regent* does most artfully concur, because he cannot so well effect what he has all along aimed at, till matters are settled here and elsewhere, but how a broker of *Spain's* and one of *France's* should drive at the same thing is very odd, when most people look on their owners' interests at this juncture to be directly opposite, except *Spain's* broker has got *money* for that end.

'Tis confirmed what I formerly hinted of *Sir R. Everard* and *Lord Arran's* situation with *the Bishop of Rochester*, but I could not learn any particulars.

'Tis reported that ten men-of-war more are put in commission for the Mediterranean, and that 1,500 men from Ireland are to go aboard this fleet. Notwithstanding we had a long press, our ships are in great want of men, nor is it known how men will be got for these in commission. Our merchants complain heavily, it putting a stop to all commerce but stockjobbing. *Annexed, List of pocket-books, tweezers and watches sent Lord Mar as desired with the price of each. (This list is probably intended as a blind.)*

Anne Oglethorpe to James III.

1718, May 22[–June 2].—Condoling with him on the death of the Queen.—*Lord Orrery* and *Mr. Cæsar* desire their humble duty and compliments on the subject to be presented to you. I send *Lord Oxford's* letter.

Extract from Letters from London.

1718, May 19[–30] and 22[–June 2].—A private letter of the 18th instant from Paris informs us that a little after the death of the Queen Dowager the Duc de Noailles inspected all her papers at St. Germains and then had the seal put upon them. He took only her will, which was not signed, and brought it immediately to the Regent, who read it and found that the Queen, in acknowledgement of all the benefits she had received from the Crown of France, gave to the King all the arrears of her jointure due from the Crown of England, and also her real property consisting of an estate in Cambridgeshire, which after the Revolution had been given by King William to Admiral Herbert, whom he created Lord Torrington.

As soon as the Regent had read the will, he sent to inform Lord Stair, who, it is said, asked for a copy to send to his master, which was granted him. This letter is circulated among the Jacobites, and makes them hope that the King of France wanting to be paid the jointure may cause some differences between the Courts of France and England and

even a war, and that they may see the Pretender return to France and with the assistance of that power try to recover his throne, but all this is chimeras and illusions, which are looked upon with pity. It is even believed that this letter may be forged by the Jacobite party to restore the drooping courage and hope of their adherents.

Last Monday two Englishmen in liquor went into the house of Mr. Petkum, the Holstein minister, and insulted one of his servants. The minister came down, hearing the noise, and, seeing his servant maltreated, threatened with his hand one of the gentlemen, who immediately struck him with his fist and knocked him down. As he was getting up, General Davenport came in and rescued him and made the English go away. It is said the minister is wounded in the face. A foreign minister having complained to the King, he has broken one of the gentlemen, who was an officer on half pay.

The King's nomination of five persons, of whom four are French and the fifth Scotch, to be gentlemen servants of the young princesses gives great jealousy to the English, that not one of their nation is among them. Some even murmur that it shows the King distrusts them.

The reconciliation, it is said, would have already been made and the Prince declared Generalissimo, if the King would have changed some ministers, which, it is said, his Royal Highness insists on strongly, especially on the dismissal of Sunderland and Cadogan, whom he regards as his enemies. *French.*

James III to Cardinal Corsini, Prince Vaini and the Nuncio to France.

1718, June 2.—Replying to their letters of condolence on the Queen's death. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 253.

Col. J. Parker to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 3. Montargis.—I persuade myself Cardinal Gualterio has forwarded you my letters, in one of which I enclosed his answer. Her Majesty's death has put us beyond misery, and what succour can we hope here, when during her life nothing was to be obtained? I have stated my case and with impatience wait his Majesty's pleasure. No subject has had such unnatural trials as I during his minority. Those treasonable counsellors, that ancored (*sic*) him at St. Germains, true friends to Churchill &c, had power to persecute as they pleased those who could detect them. They did not spare me, but Providence armed me against their politics, hoping to murder me by despair in a Bastille by four years' confinement, and, when the shamefulness of my suffering obliged my liberty and they allowed our Master to be of age, he graciously freed me from exile and recalled me to his presence. Though I insisted on my justification, and demanded at least the knowledge of my crime, they disavowed the action and would have it fall absolutely on the Court of France, a very false assertion, as I have undeniable proofs. Being a stranger to

you I take leave to state that I have ever been firm in all principles of loyalty. What I assert I am ready to prove, and had long since done it to the public, had I not conceived it might have been a handle for our enemies to do mischief. I have in this, as on all occasions, sacrificed myself for the King's sake, but I cannot resist starving. I humbly recommend myself to your protection.

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 23[–June 3]. *Petersburg.*—The few days I have been here scarce afford me sufficient to give you the trouble of these lines since all "I have been able to learn is that from *Sweden* there are persons come to *treat* with those sent to *Aland* on the part of *the Czar*, who has with impatience expected their arrival. The *negotiation* is kept so private that it is almost impossible as yet to learn anything that can prudently be relied upon. *Doctor Erskine* was ill upon my coming hither and is much dispirited with sickness and other apprehensions, which he lies under from the malice of his enemies, and dares not act as usually, which obliges me to move him gently upon our concerns. I gave him in writing the heads of my business without seeing him, which I thought with safety he might communicate to *the Czar* and he approved the same; but upon his first going to *Court* he found *the Czar* so much out of humour, that he thought not fit for that time to mention our *affairs*. It is evident of what moment it is to us to know what passes at *Aland*, yet the difficulties, which your friends labour under to come to any certainty in that affair, seem as yet to make it impracticable. I desired *Dr. Erskine* in my first article to acquaint *the Czar*, that the motive which induced *the King* to send *Jerningham* this length was purely that *the Czar* might be informed of the true situation and temperament of *Sweden* from the same person whom *the King* had sent thither, desiring to that end that *the Czar* would appoint me one of the *ministers* to hear what I had further to communicate upon my coming hither. This last I insisted upon in order that our business and interest might come before the *Vice-Chancellor*, who is the person that rules all, and without him it is in vain to expect to do anything here. This has been assured to me by *Görtz*, when I was on the other side, and since by *Prince Curakin*, who knows the temperament of his own *Court* as well as any body. This I presented to *Doctor Erskine* long since, not knowing that there was any private misunderstanding between them; but upon my coming hither I find the *Vice-Chancellor* bears *Doctor Erskine* an implacable hatred, envies his prosperity and in short seeks his ruin. This disposition makes it impossible for *Doctor Erskine* to keep any kind of correspondence with him and therefore all our *affairs* hitherto have in some measure been kept a secret from him; all which proves unfortunately extremely prejudicial to the present *negotiation*. All that I can do, matters standing thus, and provided that *Doctor Erskine*

finds it not expedient to open my commission to *the Czar*, is to seek some other, who has access and not so much to risk as our friend, to petition that I may lay my business before the minister above-mentioned, for, if *Doctor Erskine* should do this at a time that the *treaty* is now *negotiating* and that things should not answer or agree to our reports afterwards, it is most certain that from the complexion which looks upon *Doctor Erskine* at this *Court he* would risk losing his head. Such a situation must necessarily debilitate his good will and render him very circumspect in what he does.

"I shall therefore try all means to move our business by some other canal and borrow only from *Doctor Erskine's* advice and private direction.

"I am truly uneasy to find our affairs under this disposition, since we are well informed that *Görtz* and *Gyllenborg* are the persons carrying on *the treaty* below, where I hope we shall find our account according to the promise made to *Jerningham* on the other side, if *affairs* there come to the wished-for conclusion.

"*The Czar* must first approve *Jerningham's* errand before he can possibly hope to hear what measures they are taking below and, if I can be so happy as to gain this point, I must endeavour next to advance my business so far as to prevail with *the Czar* that he will empower his *ministers* to receive *Jerningham* with the same disposition that *Görtz* has engaged to do on the part of *the King of Sweden*, and, if he will enable me to join those persons now sitting upon their business, that we with them may draw our affairs to some conclusion; if *the Czar* will not favour us so far, it will be impossible for me to attempt such an expedition.

"*The Czar* is gone down for a day or two to see his *fleet. Doctor Erskine* is likewise with him. Upon their return I will take all possible care to pursue my business, for I am very apprehensive that *the Czar's* short stay in these parts should not give others time enough to assist me as intended. *The Czar* has got ready *thirty men-of-war* and is very impatient to go a frolicking abroad with them, he intends within two or three weeks to put to sea, but nobody believes upon any other design than to make an appearance to intimidate his enemies."

O'Berne is soliciting his discharge here and is very uneasy to return, seeing he is useless to the end intended. 4 *pages. Noted*, as received at Urbino 19 July.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Saturday, June 4.—I send this by the address you directed, and my packet more at large under *Nairne's* address. Please let me know the difference of time in the reception of both. Your packets, one of 13 and 14 May, and the other of 18 and 19 May, came together this morning. I shall do all that depends on me near *the Regent* for *the King's* interest, and am impatient for his letter to *the Regent* in the manner I have already advised. I believe you were misinformed

about the posts being robbed near Genoa. In all appearance *Ormonde* will arrive in this neighbourhood before the 20th.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Saturday, June 4.—Enumerating the letters he had written since 1 April to the King and Mar.—I now send you *Ormonde's* to me of the 13th, by which you'll see he'll be soon in *France*. The little hopes *Ormonde* had of *the Czar* and *Dr. Erskine's* unaccountable behaviour towards *him* have determined *Ormonde* to depart from the place he was in. I see no remedy for this, but am glad that *Jerningham* parted 10 May to visit *the Czar* and know his final result in regard to *the King*. 'Tis affirmatively said here that *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar's* factors are together, and most people believe they will come to an agreement, in which case I have still good hopes of *Jerningham's* being useful where he is. I wrote to him at large two days ago and gave him all the accounts here that could be an encouragement to promote *the King's* interest. It will be an age before I can hear from him, which is very melancholy in our present circumstances.

I have nothing to add to what I said about *the King of Spain's* lawsuit, but the time now approaches when we shall surely know the bottom of that matter. I hear no more of *the Prince of Wales* coming into this country, which makes me presume the report was ill-grounded.

I have five packets from *the King* to *Queen Mary*, and can't tell if there be any letters for me in them, but hope I shall soon be informed by Basque's return. I enclose a note of my letters to you since 1 April.

Postscript.—Acknowledging Mar's two packets mentioned in the last.—I am much troubled to find *the King's* ague continues. I hope it will soon be over and beseech the Almighty to comfort him in his just affliction. *Nairne* advised me of *the King's* taking a vomit 7 May, and of his being somewhat weak two days after. No violent remedy can be good for his constitution, and it is not very usual to make an experience on persons of his rank, it being a nice point and not practised except in great extremities. The doctor ought to know best, though it be very sure his prescription will meet with little or no approbation among the physicians here. *Enclosed,*

The SAID NOTE.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 4. Paris.—Acknowledging his Grace's of the 18th and 19th, all the letters in which had been forwarded and delivered.—Your former packets that you think were robbed were all safe. I have told your message to Charles Forbes, who only waits your orders. I'm afraid Maurice Murray will not easily recover.

As to the affairs of St. Germains, and how all that is to be continued or changed I know not, but our people are only paid for February and March subsistence and a very few

for April, nor is there any fund for going farther, but I shall in a few days give in my accounts to Mr. Dicconson, and he will, no doubt, give his where it's proper.

Immediately yesternight, when I received your packets, I sent to ask General Dillon's advice, if I might write to you this way, but he was out of humour and would give none. This morning I wrote by my son and begged his excuse that I could not come myself, it being post day for Britain, but I would attend him this afternoon, however I had no favourable answer. Finding your last letters came so soon, I have ventured to send the encloseds.

The French crown is augmented of value from 5 to 6 *livres*, which will make the subsistence to those in Holland and Flanders very small.

GEORGE MACKENZIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 4, Paris.—You will readily remember I wrote to you to Avignon of my having brought a letter from Scotland for the King from a gentleman. This letter I transmitted to his Majesty by Mr. Stewart of Innernytie. I am sorry to inform you of that gentleman's being dead, considering the firmness he always showed in anything he could serve the King in. Last post I received a letter from his son, wherein he writes of his endeavouring not to come short of his father in duty and loyalty to the King, and seems fond to know if he can expect to be any way useful to him. This I consider myself obliged to inform you of, knowing him capable of serving the King very effectually, and now it may not be improper to give him encouragement to trace his father's footsteps in his affection for the royal family, which, I can assure you, he will follow closely, especially in the confidence of your administration, which in my conversation both with the father and the son they considered of most advantage to the King.

Since your being here I have had several obliging letters from the Marquess of Seaforth, and, you may be sure, I endeavoured in my answers to sweeten his humour in that foolish paper war betwixt the Duke of Gordon and him, managed by female agents to the prejudice of the King's interest, and of late I find him more cool and reasonable. On my arrival here about ten days ago I found some persons of distinction of the King's subjects in a strange humour, as if the sullen peevishness contracted in the Highland hills remained unsweetened by the softer climate of France. I know you have been informed of what passes amongst that set, and therefore need not trouble you with it, but, being informed the Marquess had been writ to with endeavours to bring him into their idle and groundless discontents, I immediately wrote to him to take care of the snare designed for him. I have not yet got his answer, but am glad to hear he has of late written to you. Chagrin and uneasiness are the natural disease of our present circumstances, and

I must regret its taking such a root amongst a great many here, but I doubt not the King's own wisdom with your prudence and care will prevent its further progress. Their discontent seems very weakly and unreasonably founded.

Powrie, who keeps still a true firm Scots heart, is well and offers his humble duty. I beg you may think of what I am informed General Gordon wrote you concerning James Malcolm, a son of Sir John Malcolm, being put on the list for subsistence, since he needs it much. 3 *pages*.

Lord Pitsligo to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 4. Vienna.—Yesternight I had yours which followed me from Holland. I wrote to you last Wednesday, having been here eight days. I find our Master remembers me but too much. When I perceived you had sent my letter to him and he had given you such an answer, I had indeed some confusion. As I reckoned myself obliged to serve him before from duty, he has likewise put me under the ties of gratitude.

I am glad my journey is approved by such good hands. I thought it would be too long to stay in Holland till I should have your answer. I told you I found some curiosity to see the fine things in Italy. Having got this length, the greatest part of the journey is over, and the difference of expense is very small betwixt travelling and staying some time in a place. However, till I hear from you, I shall take no resolution.

Lord Oxford to James III.

1718, May 26[–June 6]. Richmond (? London).—Condoling with him on the Queen's death, and adding that *the King's* circumstances and the present time require his care of his numerous family. He, that is born for the good of the world and has a soul equal to his birth and as extensive a capacity, will sacrifice even his tenderness to his friends' opportunity, as he has often before preferred their service to his own ease and security.

Lord Oxford to the Duke of Mar.

1718, May 26 [– June 6]. Greenwich (? London).—Expressing his great concern at the Queen's death.—Very many here will be made easy by it and think *the King* has an advantage by it and that it will be serviceable to his trade. At least it makes many here easy.

This cruel distance is very troublesome. I am contriving a way to bring *the Regent* about. I hope that may be accomplished. I will give *the King* and *Mar* the state of it as soon as I have found a sure way to do it, but I must conjure you not to give the least glimpse of light to any mortal besides. If *Lord Oxford* were nearer, he would never venture a thought without taking *the King's* and your approbation, but our trade is such we must take the market when it comes.

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Monday, May 26[–June 6].—For some days, whilst our Post Office thought your Regent wavering, they peeped into our letters, but at present *ils sont un peu rasseurez*, and their curiosity is not so extreme. Yet we have such a hotch-potch of uncertainties that I cannot enter into any relation of them nor any speculations upon them with common sense, I mean, on your affairs abroad, for at home we have nothing new, only that, since the Duke of Marlborough and his lady came back from the waters, all embryos of our projected great reconciliations are all blasted. She has treated the foreigners, who were coming into that scene, *de haut en bas*.

The enclosed prints give our current talk. The first part of the journal is liked by many of the best, but nobody thinks it the newsmonger's own doing.

We are told from Paris that *Mar* is expected there very soon. *Sir R. Everard* is in the country, as indeed is almost all the world.

James Edgar to James Paterson.

1718, June 6.—Receipt for 6 *pistoles* received by Lord Mar's order for providing mourning.

Lieut.-General Dillon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Tuesday, June 7.—This is only to tell you that Basque arrived here at 12 last night. All your directions by him shall be punctually observed and I'll soon make a full answer to all the material points of your letters, not having time to read them before the post parts.

Mine of the 4th will inform you of *Ormonde's* departure from the place he was in, so I fear your late letters to him will be sent back to you.

There are no sure accounts here yet, at least that I can find out, of what passes at the Congress in Hungary or of the last embarcation's being parted from Barcelona. Both these points are relative to *the King of Spain's* enterprise upon *Italy* and consequently to *the King's* future hopes that way. The *King of Spain's* factor, who is my particular friend, will communicate to me all the news he receives on this score, and I daily expect an account from Mr. Camocke. I find by yours of 19 May you are much surprised about what I wrote formerly concerning *the Regent* and *the English fleet*. I must own you had great reason to be amazed at *the Regent* making so absurd a bargain, liable to so extravagant an expense. I fear, however, the fact is but too well-grounded, and 'tis taken for granted by persons well-informed here. You must also know that *the Regent* had no need of his people's concurrence in such cases.

I was much afraid *the King's* just affliction would have been a great obstacle to the re-establishment of his health. 2½ *pages*.

William Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 7. Paris.—I wrote to you the 4th current by the Lombardy post and send all I have received since. Father Græme is secure at Calais for a year to come and Charles Forbes attends for your orders. The enclosed prints were sent me by Mr. Hamilton to be forwarded to you. Just now I hear the expected courier is come, but I dare not keep up this packet.

William Gordon to John Paterson.

1718, June 7. Paris.—I wrote to his Grace this morning and have since received his and yours by the courier, and shall be careful of all the encloseds. Tell John Græme that all his letters came safe and have been forwarded to Scotland, and, if his friends do not answer them, it is because they wont.

General Robert Echlin to James III.

1718, June 7. St. Pol de Leon, Brittany.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.—As your Majesty permitted me to retire, I have been with my friend, Capt. Morgan, in Brittany these seven months, where I propose to stay till I receive your commands.

Brigadier Campbell to [the Duke of Mar].

1718, June 7. Bordeaux.—I had yours of 21 March and another of 30 May from *Mr. Dillon*. I am extremely well-pleased with your continuing in the former resolution, though *Barry* proving a rogue obliged me to quit the place, but, when occasion offers, I can still go there and further.

I wrote to you a short time ago about Capt. George. I cannot give you so perfect a report of that affair as I could wish, especially of what relates to the King's interest. But I think the officers' and seamen's pretensions very well grounded and that the captain has dealt unjustly with them. You'll see this from their claims with his answers and Lynch's and Brisbane's reports. Though these gentlemen differ as widely as the captain and his crew, yet Brisbane has certainly the right. (Arguments to prove that this is so.)

It is a great question if he will obey an order to do his crew justice, but, if you judge it their due, I suppose you will signify it to him and then ways may be found to bring him to a compliance. I have insisted mostly on the seamen's dues, and think I can safely condemn the captain on that point, having fully heard all his defences, but as to the King's I cannot be so positive, because we have not had his last answer as to that point. The papers I have sent you enclosed are :—1. The substance of the claims and answers. 2. Brisbane's report. 3. Lynch's report. 4. Exact copy of the book of accounts presented to us. 5. Officers' and seamen's declarations as to the articles of the book. 6. An exact account of the wages, drawn out and

signed by John Aberdeen. 7. Is also an account of what's overcharged in outrig and provisions on the *Speedwell* and *Bonaccord*. The sooner you send your answer as to the seamen's wages, the better, for the captain is very ill. 4 *pages*. *Enclosed*,

The seven documents mentioned in the above letter.

Richard Barry to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 7. Leyden.—I presume Brigadier Campbell has given you an account of the disappointment in St. Sebastian occasioned by a jealousy and conflict of jurisdiction between my good friend, the Captain General, and the magistrates of that city, who are dissatisfied in respect of their privileges, and with an Italian General. The particulars are too long, and unfit to be mentioned in a letter without a cipher and good assurance of going safe to your hands, nor did I dare to write them to Brigadier Campbell, the rather, that I was engaged to the Captain General not to communicate what he designed to do for my master's service till he had given me leave, when the affair had been ripe. The said magistrates made such a noise and augmented the affair to that height, that the Captain General advised me to retire into the country till all that storm had been past. In consequence I design to continue my commerce between Amsterdam and Ireland, France &c.

I left the Captain General in the best intentions to serve my master, in which I confirmed him by representing the honour and advantage it may be to him and his family, when my master's affairs succeed, for he has many children. He's timorous to engage at present in anything that may draw reproaches on him, the Court of Madrid, the King and his minister, Alberoni, having measures to keep with England and being very cautious for fear of drawing enemies on their hands in this conjuncture of their enterprise against the Emperor. These considerations will hinder what was designed to be done at Passages and thereabouts being executed, till it may be winked at from Court. I find that such goods may be bought in this country and some may be easily had from Germany and all may be shipped for Denmark. A ship may also be bought here or even in London, which I esteem least suspicious, and she would be a free bottom, qualified to trade anywhere. I could soon get a faithful captain and a Scottish and Irish crew. With this goods and passengers may be carried to and from any place that may be thought fit and without any suspicion. Indeed it would be very convenient to have one or two ships ready for an occasion; in the interim they might be sent on short voyages, whereby to pay the charges. If it be thought fit to execute this, here are friends enough and in London to put it in practice. My endeavours shall not be wanting. It's a great advantage

I am not at all suspected in this country nor even in England, it being usual for negociants to go abroad about their commerce. I design to wait your answer in Amsterdam. (Giving his address.) In case of miscarriage it will not be known who the letter is for, being addressed as above. 2½ *pages.*

MONSIGNOR ERCOLE MARLIANI to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, June 8. Fano.—Expressing his sorrow at the Queen's death. *Italian.*

ANNE OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 28[–June 8].—I enclose two letters from *Lord Oxford*, one for *the King*, the other for yourself, and beg you to deliver one from me to *the King*. I know not how long they may remain in my hands, the conveyance not being here. I have a tariff from *Lord Orrery* for you, which I shall send by the first sure conveyance. Accept my condolences on your late great loss. It has been a very sensible satisfaction to hear of *the King's* recovery and yours.

Postscript.—June 26[–July 7].—I open my packet, after waiting so long, to let you know I send this by *Menzies*, there having been so much of late writ against the skipper that it would not be prudent to venture sending by him. That is also the reason I do not send you the two tariffs of *Lord Oxford* and *Lord Orrery*. I send this directed to *Capt. Ogilvie* to forward. I have sent him an account of what was writ from your side against the skipper, but beg, if you know anything material that should make him suspected, to let *Capt. Ogilvie* be apprised of it.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, June 10. Metz.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.—*Ormonde* arrived here last night with *Bagenal* and the Bavarian (Butler). We have had a long fatiguing journey, but not the least ill accident. I design leaving this on Sunday morning in order to meet with *Dillon*.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 10. Metz.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death and hoping that the King bears the loss as he ought to do and referring him to his letter to the King.—Sure, if these broils go on, *the King* cannot stay in the country *he* is in now, but will come into a more temperate air. It will be much for *his* health, if he can.

WINEFRED, COUNTESS OF NITHSDALE, to JAMES III.

1718, June 10. La Fleche.—Necessity forces me to acquaint you with my wants, there being now none other to whom I can have recourse, and to represent that, though Mr. Dicconson paid me but 1,200 *livres* during her late Majesty's life, yet, having her orders to recur to her when I wanted, it

not being possible to subsist on that alone, she had the goodness to send me 300 *livres*, through Mrs. Strickland's hands, and your distance, making it impracticable to address you on such occasions, makes me earnestly beg you would send orders to Mr. Dicconson to add the 300 to what he paid me before, for I am even with that so bare that I can with much difficulty bring both ends together.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11.—I wrote to you last Saturday, the 7th, and am so disordered with the greatest heat that ever was felt here and the hurry of going about these three days that I am not able to say much by this post. I delivered *the King's* letter to *the Regent* the day after the express arrived. He received the compliment very graciously and asked many questions about *the King's* health, for which he seemed to have much concern. 'Tis unnecessary to repeat all I said to him about *the King's* interest. *The Regent* ordered me to inform *the King* that he would do all that lay in his power for *his* service, and that *he* may depend on it. I replied with due submission that an answer of that sort in general terms could not be satisfactory, and pressed him in a feeling manner to consider *the King's* present situation and the distress he is in. I also represented how becoming it would be that *the Regent* himself should make answer to *the King* on this occasion, and, as to what regarded *the pension*, that *D'Uxelles*, or whoever he thought most proper of his chief people, might write to *Mar* about it, assuring that what would be done on this score should be kept a strict secret. I proposed this method as being in my opinion more binding than anything he could say to me in a particular discourse. *The Regent* said, it seemed I mistrusted his promise. I told him I never doubted of his good heart and good intentions towards *the King*, but that this matter required a sudden and positive determination which I hoped he would effectuate without delay. On the whole I find that *the Regent* intends to speak of it to the *Council of Regence* before he gives final orders. The said *Council* is now in vacancy and won't assemble till the 20th. I'll take due care to prepare friends among 'em the best I can in order to promote *the King's* interest, which is all I am able to say for the present.

The Duchess of Berry, Madame and the Duchess of Orleans received *the King's* letters very civilly and asked many kind questions about his health. I gave his letter to *Maréchal Villeroy*, who is a true friend. He charged himself with that to *the King of France*, and will do all in his power to serve *the King*. *The Duc de Noailles* is in the country at some distance, but he is expected in town to-morrow. When he comes, he shall have the letter for him. I must do *M. de Lausun* the justice to say that he seems most zealous, but, if *the King* does not write a kind letter to him in answer, there will be no living for me in this town. 2½ *pages*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, Saturday, June 11.—I gave your letter to Mr. Law and told him that *the King* and *Mar* reckoned very much on his friendship and good offices in this important occasion. He spoke in a friendly manner about *the King's* concerns and promised to do all that depended on him for his service. I have informed him of a good part of the steps I made near *the Regent*, that he may be more at the fact. 'Tis most certain he has great access and credit with *the Regent* and that none can be more useful, provided he embraces *the King's* interest sincerely.

I enclose a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to *Ormonde*, dated 28 April O.S., and the letter sent me with it, which I suppose is from Zeachy Hamilton. I can't tell what party *Jerningham* will take, having no news from him, but see with much regret our affairs in those parts have an ill aspect at present.

I expect *Ormonde* in this neighbourhood before the 20th, and find *Sir R. Everard* is resolved to come to him here. I presume he'll be charged with *the Bishop of Rochester's* answer to *the King's* and *Mar's* former packets, and can't imagine what occasioned so long a delay.

Enclosed is Mr. Camocke's last letter to me. If you can find a way to correspond with him it may be useful. By what he says, I suppose him at present in *Italy*.

All your directions about *the King's* affairs at *St. Germains* shall be punctually observed, and next post I'll thank *the King* for his present of coach horses. I hope he is quite rid of the ague and that I shall soon receive an account of his being perfectly recovered. I hope also this will find *Mar* in good health and out of all apprehensions of the disorders he complained of. I am so fatigued with writing and going about those four days that it is not in my power to say more. 3 *pages*.

The EARL MARISCHAL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11. Rouen.—My brother's regret to lose his time idly makes him entreat you to speak to the King to know if it would be agreeable to him that he should go to the Spanish service, and that in that case you would get him his Majesty's recommendation for a commission. 1,000 *livres* will be necessary for his journey. I am sorry he should be obliged to ask a favour of that kind in this time, but I am hopeful it may put him in a way of being less a trouble in the future.

I enclose a letter from Mr. Wallace, who is desirous to know the King's commands therein.

ALEXANDER MURRAY OF STENHOPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11. Dunkirk.—My private business renders it next to impossible for me to wait on his Majesty and your Grace personally. *Capt. Ogilvie* will satisfy you of this, and I hope his good character will remove any disadvantages to which my absence and being so little known to his Majesty and

your Grace naturally subject me. Since my uncle's death, you know as well, if not better than any man, my loyalty and disinterestedness. I am ambitious to be taken under your protection and to be represented to his Majesty as one of his faithful subjects.

JOHN ALEXANDER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11. Rome.—I neglected not to find Padre Abbate Ramelli timeously, but it's my misfortune that Mr. Stewart has gone to Leghorn, for I wrote to him three weeks ago, which I suppose is yet in the post house, advising him what I had done with Ramelli, that he might tell you, for I thought it too much confidence in me to write to you.

When I found Ramelli, he showed me your picture already finished, which pleased me much. It is indeed a little flushy, but that is more allowable in miniature than in oil painting. However, I doubt not he and Trevisani will both be ready to help anything amiss, when you honour them with your presence. I found nothing amiss in the miniature but in the shadow side of the wig, that the curls were something hard, which I told him freely, seeing I know the virtuosi hear willingly the opinion of students on their works. I presented him with six Spanish pistoles with your compliment, not as a payment for so perfect a work, which generosity he admired much, but would by no means receive anything. He answered he was more than paid, if he could do anything to please you, and, seeing I pressed him much, he would receive nothing but the expense of the case and crystal. Your picture remains safe at Trevisani's, till I receive new orders. As to Caputi, he has ended one of the Ios and the other is well advanced. The carnation of that he has ended in an oval pleases me, but I found a little defect in the contorno of the head, of which I took the liberty to advise him, and which, if he mends it, will be well.

I have enquired likewise for your alphabets and arms, which I shall send you carefully packed with the miniatures when ended.

(Thanking him for the honour and favour he has done him with the King, praising God for his Majesty's recovery and condoling on the loss of the Queen.) I shall send my Mount Parnassus of Raphael next Saturday by the *procaccio* (carrier) to you, which I pray you to present most humbly to his Majesty, and to excuse my weak beginnings, till I be able to serve his Majesty to some purpose either by my pencil or person. 2 *pages.*

GIOVANNI FELICE RAMELLI, Abbot of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718 [June]. Rome.—Hearing from Signor Trevisani that his Excellency desired of him his portrait in miniature, begging him to accept of the little work, so far as he has been able to succeed in it. *French.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 11.—I forward the enclosed from Monsr. Stiernhock, who is wishing for answers to several of his letters.

You will see by the enclosed extracts what is going on at the Congress of Passarowitz. A courier is expected every moment with the results of the general conference held there. We are informed from all sides that the Sultan and the Vizier are desirous of peace, especially as they see the Imperial Army is quite ready and very numerous. The Venetians, however, have no hopes of any great advantage from this peace. As the ministry here sees that King Philip is raising difficulties in accepting the proposed accommodation, they will try to make the best terms they can with the Turks, for it is certain that the Emperor will never, unless he is compelled, renounce the monarchy of Spain.

The treaties of peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden are going on in profound silence. I have many friends at the Court of Petersburg, but they are forbidden to write any thing. However, according to advices from other places, the said treaties are in a good train. The King of Sweden had even furnished the prisoners of the Czar with good clothes to enable them to return home. That King has 80,000 men on foot and a formidable fleet, and the Czar has no less. The latter intended this month to put to sea with his fleet to go to Reval, while waiting for the treaties of peace to go on. I ought soon to have an answer to the letter for Mr. Erskine.

Postscript.—This letter having been sent a little too late to the post, remained here till to-day, the 15th, when I have just received yours of 24 May with the enclosure for Monsr. Stiernhock, which I at once delivered to him. You have his answer enclosed. I shall answer yours by the next post. *Over* 4 *pages. French.*

MONSIEUR STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11. Vienna.—Since my last I have learnt that, though the King of Spain has declared that he is willing to make peace with the Emperor by the mediation of the Regent and King George, renouncing his claims on the Italian States and the Low Countries which belong to the Spanish monarchy and confirming his renunciation of the Crown of France, he adds notwithstanding not only a claim of placing troops in Tuscany and Parma to secure the succession of his son by his second marriage, but of keeping Sardinia, so that it appears his intention is to amuse *le tapis* till he sees his way more clearly. However it is certain that in the treaty of alliance with the Regent, King George and the States General, for which the Emperor has given his word and which is on the point of conclusion, the Emperor renounces his claim to Spain independently of the peace with King Philip. It is

a proof of his apprehension of the dangerous consequences to himself which may follow from a delay in declaring the said renunciation.

The courier who carried, it is said, an order to the Imperial ambassadors to enter at once into conferences with the Ottoman ambassadors, notwithstanding the defects in the full powers of the latter, in order that the Emperor might know without delay what they have to say, had not arrived at Passarowitz before the letters of the 29th from there had left, which informed us that inaction continued there. Those of 3 June from the camp of Semlin, where is the general rendezvous of the Imperial army, inform us that the Turks had attacked an Imperial post on the side of Bosnia called Vaillowa, but had been repulsed, and that on the report that the Turks intended a fresh attack in considerable numbers on that post, which it was important for the Imperialists to keep, a General had been ordered to maintain it, and that there was news that a Pasha had arrived near Nisch with several thousand men and that it appeared the army would assemble in the neighbourhood of that place. I have seen a letter from the camp of Semlin from a General saying that, since the Turks were only amusing *le tapis* at Passarowitz, the Imperialists would endeavour to give them battle as soon as possible, and that he hoped to send news of a victory in July, if the Turkish army was assembled so soon, and if in the meantime the Grand Signior did not yield as the Emperor desired. Notwithstanding these appearances of war, I have seen a letter from Monsr. Dalman of the 2nd saying that the Emperor could have peace when he pleased, but the question was of having better terms than the Porte would grant and that the only way the Emperor could succeed therein was by a vigorous prosecution of the war. That means apparently that the Turks are believed to be inclined to an accommodation on the basis of *uti possidetis*, but that the Emperor desires in addition all Wallachia with the places of Wihatsch and Zwornik with a part of Bosnia and a Turkish port on the Adriatic, and that great efforts will be necessary to oblige the Turks to add these cessions to those of the places he has already.

Having written the above yesterday evening, I learnt this morning that a courier arrived at noon yesterday from Passarowitz with news of the first conference held on the 3rd. I have seen a letter from Count Virmond of the 6th, saying in general terms that this first conference took place conformably to the greatness and interest of the Emperor and that the consequences would be manifested by the next two or three conferences. It is said, moreover, since the courier's arrival that the Turkish ambassadors gave the Imperial ones hopes of peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, and that, since the appointment of a new Grand Vizier and the sending of the Aga from him with a letter of compliments

to Prince Eugene, a Capizi Pasha, who arrived 30 May, brought to the said ambassadors a new full power signed by the Grand Signior, authorizing them to treat also about the peace with Venice with the Venetian ambassador or, as others say, with the Imperial ambassadors. Since the arrival of the courier, there is a general report here that peace is not far off. I should believe notwithstanding it is not so near but that it will be preceded by a campaign. The courier also brought news that the Aga of the Janissaries was arrived with a considerable number of Janissaries between Sofia and Nisch, and that the rest of the troops intended to form the Turkish army were also on the march. The conference was held in a magnificent tent of the Emperor's, pitched in the place where the mediating ministers encamp, the Imperial and Turkish ambassadors having two tents besides to retire to. The conference lasted three hours. The Venetian ambassador took no part in it.

Letters from Hamburg say that the English squadron consisting of ten men-of-war, arrived at the Sound 25 May. They speak of Messrs. Fabrice and Schrader being soon sent back to Sweden with new proposals.

Since the beginning of May, according to the last reports, Baron Görtz and Gyllenborg have been in Aland. I await with extreme impatience news of the happy conclusion of the great affair that is going on there. That congress cannot apparently be very protracted, as I presume matters were well prepared beforehand on both sides. 11 *pages. French. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

Copy.

1718, June 11.—Of the paper given by *James Murray* to Mr. Anthony Balfour, as he called himself. My Lord Duke will be pleased, as soon as this written by *James Murray* shall be put into his hands, to give his orders accordingly.

James III to the Maréchal de Matignon, the Maréchal de Villars, the Duc de Lauzun, the Prince de Conti, the Princesses Louise Elizabeth and Marie Therese de Conti, Cardinals Dadda, Pico, Colonna, Boncompagno and Scotto, the Duc de Paganica, Monsieur Anguissola and the Abbe de la Roquette.

1718, June 11.—Replying to their condolences on the Queen's death. *French. Entry Book* 1, *pp.* 256–260.

Mrs. B. Strickland to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 12.—Thanking him for his letter and begging him to present to his Majesty her most dutiful thanks for the great honour he has done her.—My son would have written long since to have given you thanks for the honour of your letter and the recommendations you gave him, but he has

been expecting every day to hear some account out of England, but my son there being ill has put a stop to his business, which we are in some hopes will end well.

Col. W. C[lephan] to John Paterson.

[1718,] June 12.—For some days past I found James Edgar very melancholy. This morning I pressed him to know the reason, and found he had got only 6 pistoles to put himself in mourning, which would not do it, and, his monthly allowance being so small, he was forced to part with two of them to clear his debt to the menage. I cannot come to Court yet with the gout, else I had told the Duke of Mar the poor proud gentleman's circumstances. I wish some way could be taken to do it, for he cannot think of appearing about the Court in worse clothes than other gentlemen.

James III to his Uncle, the Duke of Modena.

1718, June 12.—Replying to his letter of condolence, which he has received from his Envoy Extraordinary, Count Vezzani. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 260.

James III to his Aunt, the Duchess of Brunswick (*i.e.* Duchess of Modena).

1718, June 12.—Replying to her letter of condolence, which he has received from Count Vezzani, and recommending to her protection the Countess Molza, who is returning to Modena, where she is not unknown, having spent almost all her life in the service first of the Duchess, his grandmother, and then of the Queen, whom she served for nearly 30 years, with an attachment which justly deserved the Queen's particular kindness to her, who recommended her to him by name. Your kind heart, I am sure, will inspire you to be favourable to her and her whole family. I am ashamed not to write to you with my own hand, but the great heat hinders my complete recovery, though the fever has left me. *French. Ibid. p.* 261.

The Earl of Panmure to James III.

1718, June 13. Paris.—Expressing his anxiety at hearing of his Majesty's ague and hoping he is now in perfect good health.—I was very concerned to find by a letter from the Duke of Mar that I had incurred your displeasure by not showing my approbation of Mr. Inese's being laid aside, seeing the Duke writes, you thought it looked a little odd that I said not the least thing about it neither in mine to your Majesty nor in mine to the Duke, and that you thought I would have let you know that this was agreeable to me. I thought the reason of my being acquainted with this was only to prevent my application to him in any of your affairs, and it never entered into my thoughts that you expected

any approbation from me, who am a stranger to your affairs. I would not have troubled you with this letter, were it not to vindicate myself, and I did not think I should ever be obliged to do so at your hands.

The Duke also wrote to me that in my letter to him of 4 April I had said no new thing, and that you could say no more to that than what you had said to myself by word of mouth, and the Duke could add nothing to what he had often told me when he spoke to me of that affair, but I beg to remind you there was one thing in that letter I never represented to you or the Duke. (Quotes the passage from that letter about his not being trusted or employed.) This, I beg leave to say, is new and what I never represented to you or to the Duke till then.

The Duke also wrote that you were sorry I had still the same way of thinking as to those things I complain of, but I beg pardon to say that this is what I cannot help, having still the same grounds to complain and nothing done to alter my thoughts. If now or at any other time I have said or done anything to offend you, I am sorry and hope you will have the goodness to pardon it. 4 *pages*.

The Earl of Panmure to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 13. Paris.—(The beginning is on the same topics and partly in the same words as the last.) I thank you for informing me what measures you were to take in relation to the deed in favour of your son. I have given my wife an account of it, but shall not let it be known to anybody else. I heard from her last post that the affair of her jointure is not yet determined, the Attorney-General not having made his report, and that she has ground to fear he will advise its being remitted to the Court of Enquiry in Scotland. If he reports in these terms, it will probably be a troublesome affair, and will delay her meeting me at Calais, for in that case her friends think it absolutely proper she should go to Scotland, as soon as it is remitted from the Treasury, and after that I suppose it will be necessary for her to return to London to get it exped at the Treasury. This cannot be but trouble and expense.

I spoke to Mr. Dillon about the payment of what the King allows me. Mr. Dicconson before the Queen's death paid me for May by her order. Mr. Dillon thought he would pay me for this month, and desired me to write to him about it. The answer I got was that it was not in his power, having no money, nor was he sure when he would have it, and besides, not having any assurance of the continuance of the pension beyond May, he could not pay further, till he had that from the Regent and also the King's orders in what manner to make the future payments, so I desire you will represent this to the King, for it will be very hard if the allowance be not paid, seeing that you know that, though it were paid

punctually, it would be far from serving for subsistence to me by the best management even in the mean condition I am reduced to. I also give you many thanks for recommending me to Madame Mezières and her sister. They have writ to their friends in London in favour of my wife in relation to her jointure and also to try what hopes there may be of getting anything done for me. 3½ *pages.*

Mrs. Mary Plowden to James III.

1718, June 13.—Begging him to continue her his protection and not to forget one, who, ever since his Majesty can remember, has been always most dutifully and heartily attached to him.

James Hamilton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 2[–13]. London.—Our news is very uncertain. Our papers to-day will have a peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden to be as good concluded and would insinuate that the King of Prussia was in the secret, but we of the Court give no credit to these reports ; on the contrary, these two or three days our Court seems positive that the King of Sweden will accept our plan, and none but faithless Jacobites can doubt of the veracity of our successful leaders.

Lord Cadogan is shortly expected from Holland, though his entry was but last Wednesday. 'Tis said our fleet to the Mediterranean will sail in a very few days, consisting of one second-rate, 11 third-rates and 8 fourth-rates. It is to be joined in those seas by the squadron now cruising against the Sallee corsairs. Eight more men-of-war are also put in commission, that are to join this fleet, so that with us even Rome is to be stormed and some of the virtuosos of the Court have made interest with some of the commanders for many of the valuable books of the Vatican. Our stocks keep up.

G. Jerningham to Daniel O'Brien.

1718, June 2[–13]. Rue de l'Arbre Sec [Petersburg].—Though heartily tired with writing letters, I cannot omit answering your obliging remembrance from Danzig, which was my first news of the travellers since their departure.

I met letters at N[? arva], which desired me to stop there, but, finding no reason weighty enough to obey, I continued my journey hither, and found everything in as bad a way as one could wish. *Dr. Erskine* has met with so much malice on our account that he declines mentioning our interest at the proper place any more. I am persuaded he has not meddled with those matters for some while, which naturally occasioned such uneasinesses as you were witness to whilst in these parts. *Sir H. Stirling,* living with his relation, could take no other steps but such as *Dr. Erskine* approved of, so I found neither in a way of doing us service, which makes me not sorry for having taken the trouble of this long

journey, since our cause would have died, if not relieved with other methods. I gave my business in writing to *Dr. Erskine*, attributing the success hitherto of the whole negotiation solely to the credit of Fitzgerald (? the King) at the Court tonnere (? Sweden) that he might boldly assure *the Czar* that, if the matter came to a wished-for conclusion, it would be by our mediation and no other's. This was not sufficient to bring *Dr. Erskine* to a temper of speaking in our favour, on which I desired he would let his Secretary show me the way to the young gentleman you saw at *Ormonde's* when at the waters. He is a favourite here and courts the daughter of the Vice-Chancellor, so I laid my business before him and begged he would procure me a conference with the Vice-Chancellor, that I might lay before him what I had further to communicate on my coming hither. I have had since an occasion to write to this young gentleman on some delay he made in giving me an answer to what I desired, and to-day he has given me an account that the Vice-Chancellor is desirous to see me and will appoint me a meeting to-morrow, by which I hope to put our business into such a channel here, as may correspond with the disposition I met with on the other side the water, for by all I can learn here L'affan (? Görtz) and his companion labour to finish matters with *the Czar*, and, if this last will but offer what is reasonable, I fear not to see a happy end to this knotty affair. 2½ *pages*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, June 14.—I wrote to you the 11th, and can add nothing concerning our hopes from *the Regent*. The *Council of Regency* will assemble the 20th, and soon after we shall know what *the Regent* intends to do for *the King*.

I sent you last post Mr. Camocke's letter to me of the 29th, wherein you'll see the great preparations in *Spain*, and that it was expected all would be in a readiness to set out for *Italy* in less than ten days. I since had a letter from Sir P. Redmond of the 7th from *Bordeaux*. He was near that place with *Lord Tullibardine*, the Brigadier, and the chiefs of *the clans*. He says that after concerting with them, he will pursue his journey and omit nothing to procure the goods you know. I presume he won't fail to inform *Mar* of the measures he intends to take on this account, as he promised to do to *Dillon*. *The Duke of Berwick*, whom he was to visit, told him that he had received a letter from his son with information of *the King of Spain* having sent orders to *Barcelonne* to suspend the execution of his design on *Italy*. This letter must be of the 1st or 2nd. The advice in it has alarmed and troubled me, but I was yesterday morning with my fast friend, *the King of Spain's* factor here, who received the night before a courier from *Alberoni* with letters of the 6th, which confirm what Camocke wrote, so that all goes on as could be wished for, and my friend hopes the issue of this affair will be favourable

both to *the King of Spain's* and *the King's* interest. 'Tis not doubted here that *the English fleet* will part for the *Mediterranean* before the 1st of next month. You have Camocke's proposal and scheme for gaining some of *the fleet's* people. I hope it will be thought proper to try what can be done, and I think that the least success will prove of great consequence to *the King* and convince *the King of Spain* and *Alberoni* that his friendship deserves not only their consideration, but also mutual good offices, which may be equally advantageous to both parties. You are best judge of all this and of how it should be performed, but in all cases a concert and correspondence with Camocke seems necessary with a strong recommendation to keep the secret most strongly. *Genoa* and *Leghorn* will be two proper places to communicate with him, and I should think you can't avoid having two intelligent persons in those towns for that purpose. You may have news before this reaches you of the arrival of *the King of Spain's* people on the *coast* of *Italy*. You'll then be better able to take due measures.

I had yesterday a letter from *Ormonde* dated at Metz the 10th. Enclosed are two from him for *the King* and *Mar*. He'll be in this neighbourhood about the 20th, and God alone knows how long his being here can be concealed or what noise *the Regent* and *Stair* will make about his residence in these parts. 4 *pages*.

Lieut.-General Dominick Sheldon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 14. Paris.—I received yours three days ago and delivered the enclosed this afternoon to the person to whom it was directed, who received me very civilly, and promised, that, when I have received the 3,700 *livres* to complete what was due to me for 1716, for which I believe I am on the *estat* of the next distribution, he will speak to M. Couturier about my arrears, and, if what he proposes be not satisfactory, he would speak to the Regent, which was all I could desire now, for I perceive plainly that, though all our people at St. Germains and I fear in other places are starving, the Tresor Royale will part with no money, till they begin to give out the new species, which will be far inferior in intrinsic value to what is now current.

Dillon having given you an account of what he had from Barcelona, I shall only observe they make a mystery of it here and that *Lady Jersey*, who visits me frequently for what reason I know not, told that story yesterday but by halves, and only added that Stair had a courier from Vienna, and was to dispatch one last night for England, where they are very angry with the stubborn Spaniards for presuming to alter what the allies had proposed to them. *She* is always dining and supping with the top people, so that, thank God, I can never find *her* at home. It is a strange ambition that *she* and another here of the same kind have to be thought knowing

and consequently useful, though the fruit of all their distractions is only to hinder them from thinking of themselves.

I hope *Dillon* will be soon ready to go to execute the commission Basque brought us, which will require some time and perchance give *the King* leisure, if on second thoughts he thinks proper to choose another place for the papers.

George Mackenzie to John Paterson.

1718, June 14. Paris.—I hope you'll forgive the trouble of delivering the enclosed to our friend, giving him an account of Gairntullie's being past hopes of recovery. If he is parted from Urbino in his way hither, you need not send it after him. All the news I can give you is a melancholy prospect of our country from the new Courts of judicature, which, being by the Act establishing them free of all obligation to follow any forms of law or equity practised in any other Court of Great Britain, are like to execute that part of their commission very exactly. Our friends at home are in terrible dread of them.

You might imagine in so agreeable a place as Paris, I should pass my time very pleasantly, but my pocket is too light for that and the looks of all our friends here too melancholy. I have been surprised to observe the discontents, grumblings and clamours of almost everybody. The worst is that, not content with insinuations, some go to pretty plain expressions against what they call the present management. I must regret there should be so many unthinking people among us as to give ground to so much noise without any other reason I know but that they know nothing that is doing and would aim at knowing all things. For my part I'll choose rather to sit in the dark than endeavour to grope my way to the hazard of breaking my face. However, I pray God stop the mouths of such by showing us a way for our deliverance. I wrote last week to the Duke and touched at this with no other design but that of wishing his prudence may prevent even the smallest wound in the King's affairs from growing into a cancer, which may prove dangerous, especially if the same humour be communicated to our friends at home. If this is thought going a little out of my sphere, I beg you'll let his Grace know it proceeds from my affection to him and from no desire of meddling. 2 *pages*.

William Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 14. Paris.—I gave you an account of everything that came by the courier, except the box of flowers for Mrs. Tyldesley, which I received bruised and broke like the former. However, I delivered it as I got it. The encloseds came since my last, and I had this post a message from H. Straiton that he was to receive the 100*l.* sterling from my friend for Lady Dundee, but that he expected 200*l.* more by

your order. Our money affairs are quite failed, as there is no fund for paying April, May, or June, and I am plagued out of my life with letters from a good many that are reduced to great straits, so that, if I had it of my own, I would advance it rather than hear the complaints of misery and want, and Mr. Dicconson gives no great hopes of relief, for the Queen's family being 11 months in arrears, must be supplied with the first that is paid him. I was some months ago put in hopes by General Dillon that Robert Leslie's balance of upwards of 5,000 *livres* would be ordered me, but now I hear nothing of it. Such articles make my cash very low.

This night an English gentleman, Mr. Wright, come from Italy with Mr. Forde to Lyons, tells me that in his appearing before the Provost des Marchands of that town, Mr. Forde was taken for you, till he had cleared himself. However Mr. Wright understood by the Provost that he expected you very soon and had orders to stop you.

Very many here grumble and complain, some saying it's cruel to put away all the King's old servants, others that you will do nothing nor trust anybody but in your own way. A third sort say, you have not any longer a Court of St. Germains to screen you, that you have neglected and wilfully lost the King of Sweden, and that, if you have any hopes from Spain, the Spanish and Irish won't be so acceptable as the Swedes ; in short, a minister to please all must be more than a man.

I think Mr. Wright had it from the Archbishop that the Provost had orders to stop you and that you were daily expected. 2 *pages*.

THOMAS BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 14. Brussels.—Letters which came from Vienna last post give but a remote view of any accommodation at the Congress at Passarowitz and this year's campaign seems unavoidable.

The people here, who managed the conference at Antwerp with General Cadogan, have not taken the least notice of that affair to any person here, so we must wait some further time for satisfaction on that head.

It is generally believed here that, in the alliance now forming between the Emperor and England, his Imperial Majesty's present difficulties will oblige him to go some greater length than he did in the former treaty of May, 1716, towards declaring himself a guaranty for the Hanover succession, but it is somewhat remarkable, as I understand by *the Emperor's general* here, who is lately come from Vienna, that some people of note about the Emperor speak very affectionately even in his presence of the justice of the Pretender's cause without any check from him. He says that for some time the chief discourse there has been of the disposition of some potentates to assist him. Amongst

others one *General Hamilton* takes more freedom than others on that subject. He was some time Domestic to the Emperor, and has all along used freedoms with him. The person I mentioned heard him lately very free with the Emperor, who with a smile told him he had best take care what he said on that subject, for, said he, do you not know I am in alliance with K[ing] G[eorge], and, if he requires of me to turn you out of my service for your behaviour in this matter, what answer can I make him? He replied that, if his Majesty would allow him, he would form an answer. The Emperor gave him leave. Then, said he, I would tell him, I would not allow any man to give me laws in my own country. The Emperor made no return but another smile. However, some of King George's friends, having observed some of these freedoms, have printed a paper on that subject. It has been handed about to all people of distinction; amongst others the person, who is now here, had a copy given him, which I have read. It would seem the author knew that nobody was to contradict him, for, without offering any argument, he puts the constitution of Britain with respect to the succession in the hands of the people by the law of necessity on the Sovereign's mal-administration &c. Very naturally on reading this paper and understanding what I have told you, I could not fail remembering the use designed to be made of another, chiefly calculated for that Court, which, though now altogether useless, would then have served to anticipate any effects which this could have, and, homely as it is, would have been a good text for those inclined to speak on that head, whose education and distance from British conversation gives them but remote and uncertain views of these matters.

A Mr. Chetwood has been for some time here and in Holland, I believe a well-meaning man, but who has too great an itch to be thought a man of business. He is to a troublesome degree inquisitive in matters perhaps of no great consequence to the end he pretends to serve by it. I had written to *Mr. Campion* that he had here chased a story which was new to us here, and which would have continued so, if he, to vindicate *Mr. Campion*, had not showed about town a letter from *Mr. Campion*, denying that he had seen *Bolingbroke* for a long time. I enclose *Mr. Campion's* letter to me on that head. I have neither showed it nor spoke of it to anybody.

Prince Kurakin gave in two memorials to the States of Holland, one with respect to their designed equipment of a squadron to the Baltic, another with respect to a liberty of commerce in the Baltic exclusive of the ports belonging to the Czar.

In answer to both the States General declared that their equipment was only to protect their trade, that they have all along been neutral with respect to the war in the North,

and are still resolved to be so, that they never designed to promote a separate peace betwixt England and Sweden or to draw off the King of Denmark from the Czar's alliance. As to the point of commerce, they have a right to trade in all the ports of the Baltic, to the Czar's as well as to others, that they have not the least thought to be prejudiced in that right and hope he will assist them in it. Though Cadogan's public entry bears the countenance of some progress in his negotiations, I do not hear there is any variation in their Baltic equipment other than what I wrote of last, and it is not easily to be thought they will put themselves on another footing in the Mediterranean than what they have declared with respect to the Baltic.

The person here told amongst other articles they talk at Vienna with some diffidence in general of alliances with England, by reason that a new ministry or a new session may alter or disappoint any alliances made by the Sovereign. This is a very natural observation to any acquainted with the state of affairs in England, or who make a narrow enquiry into them, but, as that Court is not the most inquisitive in the world, it is not impossible this might have been picked out of *T. Bruce's* paper. *Falconbridge's* friend had a copy of it with him and promised to use it. *Falconbridge* was to send one to another friend at Vienna and Mr. *de Wilda* told *T. Bruce* he had sent one with some other papers on that subject to his friend there.

Yesterday Mr. Chetwood went from here to Holland with Mr. Schippin, who stayed here with us a week. *Nearly 3 pages. Enclosed,*

Mr. Campion to T. Bruce.

I am pretty much persuaded that our friend you mention in your letter of the 17th in the times of scarcity of news uses his invention to supply that defect. Before he leaves you, I wish you would hint to him that, though it may not be sometimes improper to communicate to one friend such news as we receive from another, yet letters are designed for him only to whom they are addressed and are but very rarely to be communicated to others.

I know not whence the report took its rise, but what he alone had met with at Brussels had reached England, and I receive letters from thence about it. I answered it was true I had kept a constant correspondence with Lambert (? Bolingbroke) and should not have declined seeing him, had an opportunity offered, but it was near a twelvemonth since I had seen him. About ten days past he went through Charleville with some ladies on his way to Aix. On notice from him I went to meet him at Charleville. Of this I make no secret to my friends, though it is no way necessary for me to publish it. He desires to be as much incognito as he can, but, as he is

gone to a place of public resort and with servants that have lived with him some time, he is as well known as if he appeared publicly and with his own name.

The troops I mentioned have been long in the same garrison, and I don't hear of any being in motion, except where two battalions of the same regiment were in different places, and they have thought it necessary to bring them together on account of the incorporation I mentioned. The troops in general have received orders to furnish themselves with tents and kettles, but it is given out it is only to ease the country. They bring no more to be lodged in the towns, when they change quarters.

I formerly told you my thoughts about my return to England on account of the uneasy situation of my family affairs. I expect in a little time by means of two of my friends, lately gone to England, to get such information as may enable me to take my resolution on pretty sure grounds.

It is impossible we should be much longer without knowing what Mr. Fielding designs to do. I take him to be an honest man and hope the best. 1718, *May* 29. *Sedan.* 2½ *pages.*

William Fraser to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 15.—I acquainted you about a twelvemonth ago by L[ord] P[itsligo], I had been informed by *Mr. Delfosse*, an *archdeacon* and *chanoine* of *Tournay*, that some chief managers in *the States General* were very well disposed for entering into friendship with *the King*, and were willing to engage they should at least do him no hurt, in case of a *new attempt*, by assisting *his enemies in England*. I found him so hearty a well-wisher to *the King* and saw such good proofs of his being well known to *some great men* here and employed by them, that I thought myself obliged to acquaint you then with what he had told me, and, having heard from L[ord] P[itsligo] you reckoned the thing might be entertained and that he was to pass by *Tournay* to enquire further into it, I thought that sufficient warrant, when I met my friend lately at *the Hague*, to enquire if the same disposition continued. I found him as hearty as formerly, and he assures me that many of *the States General* are mightily dissatisfied with *the English ministry*, that they complain much of *their* forcing them into *measures* they have no mind to and not making good what has been promised them, and that they would be very well pleased to enter into terms with *the King*, if they could be satisfied of his being willing to entertain a sincere friendship with them. *The Baron de Velderen*, who is in *the States General* from *the States of Guelderland*, is the person my friend has most interest with. By all I can learn he is a very *considerable man* and of very *great weight* in affairs. He complains heavily of *the English ministry* and hates *Cadogan*, and, as I am told by my friend, gives all manner of signs of

an earnestness to enter into measures with *the King*. He tells him there is all the probability in the world of getting the thing thoroughed and that it will now be a good deal easier than before *by Albemarle's death, who* had a considerable interest and was entirely on *the Elector of Hanover's* side. At first *the Baron* talked only in general, but at length he desired my friend to take his own way of letting *the King* know from him that he promises that how soon *any prince* shall undertake *the restoration*, he will do his utmost to get *the States General* to give no manner of assistance to *his enemies*, and to allow his factors to purchase in this country *under borrowed names* all sorts of merchandize he shall want from it, provided *the King* will give positive assurance that he will always cultivate a sincere friendship with *the States General* and promise *them just conditions of trade*. This he engages his word of honour to do, and reckons himself almost sure of succeeding, knowing it will be reckoned for *the States General's* interest. These are the precise words of the message my friend told me *the Baron* had charged him to transmit to *the King*, and he assures me that, if *the King* thought fit to send me with *powers to treat* of it, the thing might be brought to bear so far as to be of great use to *the King*. My friend is now gone to *Tournay*, but is willing, if *the King* desires it, to come to *the Hague* on some *other pretext* on purpose to do all he can for the advancement of it. He seems to have a great deal of concern for *the King's* affair, and I have seen such letters *from the Baron to him* as make me believe he is trusted by him, but I cannot give such characters of either as may be relied on. That you can be informed of by *B*[*aron*] *Walef*, who knows my friend, or any other way you think fit. The *Baron*, having required the *utmost secrecy* as a condition without which he cannot *treat*, I have spoke of it to nobody but *Sir H. Paterson*, and by his advice to *H. Maule*. I communicated everything from time to time to *Sir H. Paterson*, and have writ this by his papers. He will know how to convey your commands to me. 2½ *pages*.

Monsr. Stiernhock to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 15. Vienna.—Informing him of what passed at the first conference at Passarowitz.—Prince Eugene was arrived at Peterwaradern and was wishing to proceed to the army to open the campaign without delay or else to open it by General Merci with the body of 25,000 men assembled in the Banat of Temeswar and to occupy with them Widin and Nicopoli with the neighbouring Turkish territory. It is said that the Imperialists, when they have occupied these places, will try to exchange them for Wihatsch and Zwornick and a part of Bosnia more convenient for them.

The envoy of the Duke of Mecklenburg here has assured me that King George has again offered to unite closely with the Czar for the vigorous prosecution of the war against the

King of Sweden, if the Czar would break off the negotiations begun with him, but that he did not doubt that the Czar would regard as falsehoods everything suggested by King George, after he shall have received the last information of the projects of the latter and his adherents tending to his destruction.

It is pretended here that news has been received that the Aga of the Janissaries, before going to the campaign with the Janissaries, made on their behalf representations to the Grand Signior in favour of peace, alleging as reason that, knowing by experience they are abandoned in all actions by the cavalry, they foresee a continuation of disasters, if the war goes on. The deposition of the Grand Signior is spoken of here as a certainty, if his army lose another decisive battle. The Imperialists hope that the fear of it, having obliged the Grand Signior to bring about the congress and to agree in writing that he will cede all that the Emperor actually possesses, will soon oblige him to something further to hasten the conclusion of peace. It is said, however, that his deposition would not be to the Emperor's interest as regards the speedy end of the war, since according to the established custom and the temper of the Ottoman nation a Grand Signior, who ascends the throne in time of war, cannot begin his reign by making peace.

By the last news from Sweden Baron Görtz and Comte Gyllenborg left Stockholm, 3 May, for the congress in Aland with a numerous suite and the king had had made for all the Russian common men, who were prisoners in Sweden, blue uniforms to send them back to their master after the peace, the conclusion of which is expected every moment. A Baron Sparre, a relation of the general of that name formerly ambassador in France, has gone to the said congress as Marshal of the Swedish embassy. The said general is recovering.

As I was finishing this, I received yours of 24 May, which I have not time to answer fully to-day. I am very sensible of the gracious marks of satisfaction from the King and from yourself. M. Busi is also much pleased at the engagement he has undertaken and sees himself it is not proper at present to grant him the request he made. He expects very soon the patent signed by the Czar and the letter of credence from the same to him as agent of that monarch at the Court of Vienna and all Germany principally for trade but also for political affairs and the interests generally of his Czarish Majesty. This has been lately decided on, upon the strong recommendation of M. Tolstoi, minister of state, who is much in favour, that M. Busi assisted in the commission of that minister to bring back the Czar's son from the Emperor's dominions.

I thank you for your information about the internal condition of Great Britain and shall make good use of it with my Master.

Postscript.—After writing the above I learnt that an express arrived here yesterday from Passarowitz sent by Mr. Sutton,

the English ambassador. I have not yet been able to ascertain what news he brought. *French.* 14 *pages.*

J. Menzies to the Duke of Mar.

1718, Thursday, June 5[–16].—I thank you for yours of 29 May, which came both safe and quick, but that you mention of the 19th is not yet come. I reckon it went by way of *Sir H. Paterson*, who is in all things most careful, and *Ormonde's* friends in particular have often bid me give him their hearty thanks. I write to him very frequently, and I do everything I can to promote a harmony among all friends that are not naturally mistuned and incapable of concord, and indeed all things go more easily since we have made our applications in the chief place to *Ormonde's* brother (Lord Arran) as the most natural and deserving head of those friends rather than to any assuming usurper of that headship, to which the brother has a ten times better title to. *Lord Oxford* and he are in perfect good understanding and freedom, and many others are fond of doing him right, though his singular modesty demands it not. I doubt not you will think this a not unuseful piece of service, because a solid bottom of very good things, if rightly improved. Besides, it can give just offence to nobody, but satisfaction to every friend that has common prudence and true affection.

In this tranquillity some things are in conception, which you will fully have, when they are better formed and in particular in order to give *the Regent* better notions of the true state of *England's* affairs, of which he seems sadly ignorant, and in order too to do the same with *the King* in the most prudent and secret manner as *the King* shall think fit, but these things are only in embryo, and so I need say no further of them nor enter into any detail of other matters by this common way of the post, of which we have so frequent and just reasons here to be jealous. I am looking out for some sure occasion, and *James Hamilton* will do all he can in his way. He is in much the same situation, though there have been no alarms of late. The difference to the better is only this. I got *C. Kinnaird* to speak of him plainly to the young minister with whom he is intimately acquainted, since they were abroad together, and with whom *Sir W. Wyndham* too is in great personal friendship. *Mr. Kinnaird* found the gentleman very civil. He said he had never yet heard of any accusation or lawsuit against *James Hamilton*, that he would take pains to inform himself, but that he truly believed *James Hamilton* might go about his business, so he do it by degrees and discreetly. But, if he could have full liberty, the next question is how he shall live, having a family.

Mr. Kinnaird is in the country with *Sir W. Wyndham*, but says he will be in town next week. He told me he had minded your commands at *Scotland* and was to write to you before he went to *Sir W. Wyndham.* I begged him to repeat and

enforce what you had bid me say to *Sir W. Wyndham* in a former letter.

I write often by *Mr. Dillon's* channel as you ordered and because there may be some things which he may find ways and means to represent to *the Regent en passant*, and to lose no time.

The Queen's death was dismal news, though we had even friends here, whose prejudices still continue on the account or pretence of religion.

Lord Oxford stays on purpose in town till he can see further into matters.

Our Mediterranean fleet is set out. The ships and the number you'll see in the enclosed *Post Boy*. We make no secrets of those things.

J. Menzies to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, Thursday, June 5[–16].—Here's more Whig and Tory newspapers, by which you can always make some judgment how our public wind blows. We have had little at home this week but horse races and his Majesty but little diverted, so he is got in again to his La Trappe.

The news in the beginning of to-day's *Post Boy* is from your Paris letter *à la main*. Men of sense think that, if these news were true, we should not hear them so soon, and that therefore the Spaniards are learning from us to bully *à leur tour*.

Our fleet for the Mediterranean is at last fairly set out and the soldiers on board will supply what is wanting of seamen. The Imperial ministers were restless till it parted. We are extremely fond of our news from Sweden and Fabricius is very busy with our ministers.

Many letters from France and Italy of late have been positive as to the Pretender's marriage with a Princess of Modena.

We have a strong and current report for ten or twelve days that the Regent or Regency has by Earl Stair intimated to our Court a disposition made by the late Queen to the King of France of the debt due to her from England.

James Hamilton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 5[–16]. London.—(About the letters of 29 and 19 May as in Menzies' letter to Mar.)—*Lord Portmore* was last Saturday with *Marlborough*. After several things passing the latter advised him to draw all his effects out of the stocks, which he accordingly did that day. *Marlborough* entertained him with railing against *Cadogan* and the measures of his directors, notwithstanding few doubt of *Marlborough* being the mainspring of that club, though he still affects the reverse. *Lord Portmore* looks on his head to be as sound as he has known it for some years, though this advice is thought very odd, as our stocks are daily rising. 'Tis said there is a letter here from Mr. *Gyllenborg* importing that no iron can be sent, that

his owner is to be supplied with corn from other hands. These are his words, as *Hamilton* is informed, which does not a little trouble *the King's friends in England*, who built much on that trade and the veracity of *the King of Sweden*.

Now that the *fleet* is disposed of, should *the Regent* be inclinable, he might bring about *the restoration* effectually without running any great risk, would he but shake off those dishonourable projects laid to his charge. This kind of traffic would turn to real advantage as well as reputation, but 'tis feared it is not to be expected from one swelled with his peculiar views. *The English ministry* speak high and with great confidence of their success in all their undertakings, and indeed, for what yet appears to such as me in favour of *the King's* interest, few can doubt of what they say.

Lady Mar was ill of a cold on Sunday evening and has not been abroad since, but this night is much better.

My friend would willingly know if *the King* is inclinable for any more stockings, what colour and size would be acceptable. *Enclosed*,

List of pocket knives, tweezer cases, gold chains &c. sent to the Duke of Mar. (*Probably put as a blind.*)

George Lockhart to James III.

1718, June 5[–16].—In my last I referred you to my letter to *Mar* in which I gave him as full and true account as I could of your affairs. I have since made it my chief business to discover if there were any hopes of bringing about a correspondence betwixt you and *Lord Ilay* and *Argyle*, being fully persuaded that great profit would arise to you from a co-partnership with merchants of so great credit and such knowledge of trade. 'Twas easy to foresee many difficulties, in regard they are very cautious, and have hitherto bent all their thoughts towards that branch of trade in which they were educated and yet I did not think the task insuperable, in so far as it consisted with my certain knowledge that they were once tolerably well disposed towards it, and that their late losses and the bad prospect of trade before them might prevail with them to change their measures. And, some things having since my last occurred, which render the project more feasible, I thought it proper to communicate the same to you, expecting your further commands in it.

Not many days ago I conversed very freely with a gentleman of *Lord Middleton's* surname (*i.e.* Col. John Middleton), a particular friend of these two merchants and who at bottom bears no ill will towards you and came lately from *London*. I told him I was sorry "his and my two friends had been so ill used by the Custom house officers, for, if trade was to stand on the present foundation I wished them a share rather than others, because I expected to find some benefit to myself if I stood in need of their friendship, but, as matters went, I

did not see that they could ever expect to retrieve that branch of trade they had hitherto followed. My friend answered that I judged right and they were determined to quit trade entirely and to live privately on the estates they had made and, come what occasion soever of trade, after this they would concern themselves no manner of way in it but leave it entirely to others, for they had been barbarously ill-used by *the Elector of Hanover*, who was guided by a pack of worthless fellows, and *his* son, who was so senseless a coxcomb, that they were resolved to answer his bills no longer and seldom saw him. I replied I did not see how it was possible nor could I imagine how men so accustomed to business and of such importance could think of secluding themselves from being concerned in trade, that it would not answer their design, for *the Elector of Hanover* would highly resent it and be sure to prosecute them for the balance due on the Company's books and, although *the King* should get judgment against *the Elector of Hanover*, they had no fund to answer his demands upon them, and therefore I was of opinion they should still appear on the Exchange and, since they never could nor would have dealings with their present co-partners, nothing remained but that they should join stocks with *the King*. He answered that he was much of my mind, and wished that they were too, but added he, their schemes have been hitherto so opposite, it would be difficult, though perhaps not impossible, to bring it about and he foresaw that they would think they could never manage trade to advantage whilst *the King* employed *Mar* as his chief factor, who, said he, I knew was their great enemy. I told him, I did indeed know that *Mar* and they had formerly interests which interfered, but these I took to be the result of following different schemes of trade and not personal prejudices and I had often known merchants more at variance than they ever were perfectly reconciled and joined stocks, that he knew I myself in my small course of business had some differences with *Mar* and partly on *Argyle's* account, which were so far from being lasting and inveterated that there was no trader whatsoever on whose credit I could more rely and I was fully persuaded he would answer my bills very cheerfully and, since *Mar* was certainly a great encourager of trade, he would be glad to join with men experienced in and of stocks sufficient to prosecute trade and, if the coasts were clear otherwise, I made no doubt but expedients might be found to remove all the objections he had started with respect to *Mar* and, until that were done, why might not a correspondence be set on foot directly with *the King* himself without the interposition of any other? I added, that I durst answer for it he would deal fairly and on the square with them and punctually perform what he engaged by showing a regard for them both now and afterwards. My friend answered, that he did truly believe, if such an affair was to be accomplished, it would be by this method and wished I would

think on a way how to bring it about, in case a fair opportunity offered. After a good deal of more chat upon this subject he concluded that he would come some time this summer to *Edinburgh*, while *Ilay* was there, and talk with me more fully on this subject. Besides what passed in this conversation, I am fully satisfied from others, *Argyle's* friends and co-partners, that all of them in company with him are so discouraged by the many seizures of their goods that they will not trade any more on the present footing and in this I was confirmed by a conversation I had this very day with a gentleman of *Argyle's* surname and whose sister was married to *Lord Southesk's* lately deceased uncle. This gentleman *Mar* doth know is a very hearty friend of *the King's*, has been long in *London* and but lately come to *Edinburgh*, and, as he has great interests and is much in favour with his cousin *Argyle* and is a person of great veracity, the accounts he gives me may be relied upon, and he not only confirmed what my other friend had told me with respect to trade but assured me he had given his opinion and advice very frankly and fully upon this subject and that he found them both much better disposed than he had expected, and that he was very hopeful, if right measures were taken, they would give all encouragement to a reasonable project of trade. He said that *Argyle* was more cautious than *Ilay*, who I might freely speak to on this subject when I saw him, and that I would find no need of any precautions or preliminaries to introduce it. He added that, though at present they seemed resolved not to trade any more in their own name and were fully determined not to answer *the Elector of Hanover's* bills, though protested, it consisted with his knowledge they had directed their factors to accept *the King's* bills, if he should happen to draw, though they would not be seen in it themselves, and he concluded that, when *Ilay* came here, he and I should put the question fairly to him and, if it were but once begun, he had no fears of the event.

"From all this you will be pleased to consider how far there is any encouragement to hope for the best of these two gentlemen and how far it may be proper for *the King* to write a letter under his own hand to such a person as he can trust and will be acceptable to the other side, empowering him to invite them to join in company with him and to assure them of his good intentions towards them, and withal that none but the person entrusted with the commission knows anything of it and that, if they incline to enter into a co-partnership, it should be prosecuted in a manner agreeable to them. This, as I take it, will be the most probable way of introducing it."

If I get any further light, I shall advise you from time to time thereof. I have imparted the contents hereof to *the Bishop of Edinburgh* and *Capt. Straiton* and to no others, and, it being an affair which must be managed with the greatest dexterity and utmost secrecy, as the least surmise thereof would infallibly ruin it, I have communicated it directly to

yourself, as the most capable to determine what use was to be made of it and to whom imparted, and the sooner you signify your pleasure so much the better.

The bargain betwixt *Argyle* and *Breadalbane*, of which I acquainted *Mar* in my last, is entirely blown up. 2 *pages. Noted*, as received at Urbino 6 Aug. (*See The Lockhart Papers, Vol. II., pp.* 12, 13.)

JAMES III to MARIE ANNE, PRINCESS DOWAGER OF CONTI, the DUC DE BOUILLON, the PRINCESSE D'EPINOIS, CARDINALS BARBERINI and ORIGO and the ARCHBISHOP OF AVIGNON.

1718, June 16.—Replying to their letters of condolence. *French. Entry Book* 1, *pp.* 262-264.

JAMES III to the MOTHER SUPERIOR OF CHAILLOT.

1718, June 16.—"Vous aurez veu par une lettre que je vous ay desja escrite que je n'ignorois pas l'attachement et l'estime particulière que la reine . . . avoit pour vous et toute vostre communauté et l'affection avec laquelle l'un et l'autre y ont si bien correspondu ; ainsi, bien loin de desapprouver la lettre de condoleance que vous m'avez escrite en votre nom et au nom de toutes vos religieuses, je la regarde comme une nouvelle preuve de vostre zele et l'ay receüe avec toute la sensibilité düe à un si triste sujet. J' ay besoin du secours de toutes vos prieres pour m'aider à supporter la grande et irreparable perte que je viens de faire avec la resignation que je dois. Continuez les moy donc, je vous prie, et joignez les avec celles que j'espere que cette ame juste offre aujourd'huy dans le ciel pour vous aussi bien que pour moy ; c'est la consolation la plus solide que sa mort nous laisse. A l'egard de son corps et de son cœur, ils sont en bonnes mains, puisqu'ils sont où la reine a souhaité qu'ils fussent, et vous ne devez point douter qu'en cela, comme en toutes autres choses, les dernières volontés d'une si digne mere ne me soient toujours sacrées et que je ne me fasse un plaisir de vous donner et à toute votre maison des marques de mon estime et de mon bienveillance, quand il plaira à la Providence de m'en donner les moiens." *Ibid. p.* 263.

JOHN PATERSON to JAMES PATERSON.

1718, June 17. Urbino.—I was a good deal surprised at your letter of 24 March. I recommend you to read mine of 28 Dec. once more. 'Tis true I told you the Duke of Mar was not to write to your Viceroy in your behalf as you desired, but I also told you he forbore doing so, because he had reasons to think that, instead of doing you a service, it would have had quite a contrary effect.

As for your story about Sir James Wishart, I am sure either you or he misunderstood what he said, for the Duke in my hearing not only spoke of you to Sir James, but delivered a memorial of your services of my drawing.

One would think you might have left your brother as the party chiefly concerned to judge of that marriage, which you call a misfortunate one. I am sure he never thought it so, and have reason to think he never will; and I am still very proud of the share I had in it.

The Duke spoke to the King about writing in your behalf to the Viceroy and he was of opinion it was very improper even on his account, but more particularly with regard to you, and that it was the direct way to make your present master withdraw from you that favour and protection he promised, when the King spoke to him in your favour. 6½ *pages.*

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 17.—I received yours of 14 May. 'Tis true we were surprised not to have heard from you since 10 March, but we imagined you had some reason for it.

I am very sorry for your account of Theo[philus]. It was not from us he knew that affair. I fear 'tis from Eng[land], but he's in the wrong as to the character you're informed he takes of envoy. I hope 'tis some busy ill-natured body that has told it you, for Mr. Cook and several, that had come from that country and had seen him, talked to us quite differently. I see no vanity in such a thing, since, methinks, any gentleman may expect it. We shall take no notice to him about it, since, if he is indiscreet enough to do any such thing, our letters will not alter him, and, if 'tis his enemies that have told it you, it's needless to vex him.

We received yours of 26 May. The friend (M. de Mezières) is extremely glad that *the King* approves of what he did. I hope he'll be more so now that you've received our other letters. You'll see the couple did their endeavours to make the easy gentleman (the Regent) be put into good humour. Next post we'll write you more, for he's now very busy.

Yesterday the Spanish ambassador told the Regent that his master ordered him to tell him that he found the treaty offered him was entirely against his interest and honour and therefore would never hear of it and would have no peace with the Emperor. This is very strong.

The *Parlement* proposed to decreet *un prise de corps* against Law, but it dropped. They desired the Chambers to unite to consider of the miserable situation of the nation and to take measures about it. The *Chambre de Conte* refused and sent to give notice to the Regent, who gave them many thanks. We don't know if they'll follow their notion. It makes the present discourse of Paris, as well as the conferences between the Emperor and the Grand Turk being broke up, so there's a new campaign.

We received a letter from the Doctor (Lord Ilay), who hopes we were pleased with his last. I don't send it, because it's the beginning of a new *cipher* that he sends and he is to continue it the following posts, so I believe it's better sending it you

all together, but I see plainly you may reckon on him entirely.

The person you speak of is, I fear, a little piqued with you, and you had better write him a kind letter to put him in good humour. He desired us to write to my mother to speak to Lord Sunderland, who is her friend, to favour her in the recovery of her jointure. *Stair* makes him great civilities because of my lady. Pray don't fail to write to him, for it grates him. He thinks he's despised and forgot. He speaks with the greatest regard in the world of the Master, and like an uncle of you.

I hope you won't forget to write to our D[octor] in case you think you'll want him. I write in great haste, for my sister to-day brought a she Christian into the world. Lord Stanhope's secretary arrived two days ago from Vienna and has seen the Regent. He brought the treaty ratified in Latin. The Regent finds three articles entirely changed, which displeases very much. One is that in Tuscany, instead of putting Spanish troops as was agreed, the Emperor puts Swiss. The friend's opinion is that this treaty will turn to smoke. You made me no answer to a letter I writ you about *Spain*. The Spanish fleet is perfectly equipped and paid three months beforehand. They were to part 15 May.

Postscript.—June 20.—An order has been sent to all the Intendants to banish the English from this kingdom. We sent our *Duke* to the [Regent] to know the truth. He but a minute to speak to him, the other's head being entirely taken up with business of the last consequence for himself, but he told him that the order was a thing he was obliged to by the late treaty, which he was pressed to execute, but it was *un coup d'espé dans l'eau*. Those were his very words. The other asked what he would have some of his acquaintance do that were in the case. He said : Just as they've always done ; that it concerned only those that had been at Preston and not the troops. As everybody was alarmed, we thought it proper to know the truth.

The *Parlement* assembled yesterday to redress the grievances of the nation and made their remonstrance to the Regent concerning the new coin, which is to pass for 6 *livres* and is not worth *it*. He received them civilly and told them it was too late to suspend the *arrest* he had given on the coin, which they desired, because the new money was already in the commerce. The same night he ordered the troops to be all ready and distributed powder and ball for 6 shots, which gave an alarm here and room to talk of barricades. To-day the *Parlement* to the great surprise of all passed an Act to forbid anybody on pain of death to receive or coin the new money or to pay any crowns but at the rate of 5 *livres*. The Council of Regence this afternoon passed an Act to break that of the *Parlement*. This makes a great noise but will end in wind, for the *Parlement* has not power to support what they've

done, but the case is, they must be now masters or crushed for ever, for it's a bold stroke.

We're informed Mr. Hook is named here envoy for Prussia. He has desired to be brought here to-morrow for the first time of his life.

The affair we writ to you of by the courier seems still in the same way. God knows if 'twill continue, for you know the person we have to deal with is so fickle. He told *the Duke* that he had received a letter from *the King*, which he had not answered because of the ceremony, but *the King* was as well pleased as if he had, as — had told him.

It's said Mr. Dillon is going to command under Mr. Medavy in Provence. He's been very useful to King James before he leaves his service, since, as he's told all the unhappy St. Germains people, he has made the Regent give the pension once more.

Second postscript.—The friend is just come home from supper with M. le Duc, to whom he delivered the message you ordered him to give. He seemed pleased that *the King* intended to write to him and told him he should always receive that honour with a great deal of satisfaction. Perhaps a time may come you'll be glad to be well with him.

Lord Stair's servants have had a quarrel with M. le Duc's. After many blows they were parted and Lord Stair turned his away, because M. le Duc was in his coach when it happened. 6 *pages.*

The Marquess of Tullibardine to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 17.—*Glendarule* has a letter from *Mar* of 26 May, which he showed *Tullibardine*, who is very sensible of the kind manner *Mar* remembers him. *The King's* illness gives no small uneasiness here, but I hope the season now as well as a good constitution will help *him* to get easily over a small touch of the ague, which few escape in such countries. The loss of *Queen Mary* is a most melancholy subject. I received yours by *Sir P. Redmond*, who passed this way about 8 days ago. He appears to be a very worthy gentleman and seems fit for any business besides being expert at his own. *Clanranald*, *Brigadier Campbell*, *Glendarule* and I talked fully with him about the goods formerly spoke of. He has a right notion of them, especially of the manner and places where they are to be provided. In all probability nothing in his power will be wanting to effectuate the undertaking. When the business can be brought any length, so as to set the people at work that must be employed, he'll inform *Clanranald*, who understands that affair better than any other here, that he may go as privately as possible to see the goods well prepared and made up fit for the market, so as to prevent any mistakes, since tradesmen cannot be otherwise fully acquainted with all that's necessary for them to do. Though *Brigadier Campbell* is very diligent, his being likewise sent again to those parts is

not very necessary, since the other is sufficient alone, which two could not carry on so quietly. He is truly brave and full of the greatest honour, but there's sometimes an openness in his temper which may be too communicative, which is mentioned as a thing that makes his returning to *Spain* the less necessary, especially since he himself is not very fond of it. He has had a letter from his coining acquaintance, who is come to *Flush[i]ng* from *England*. If he has not already writ you the contents, they shall be sent as soon as possible. He is at present 8 or 9 leagues distant.

There is a *Mr. Meagher*, an *Irish* merchant that lives at *St. Sebastian*, who made the discovery of *Barry's* designs. Being his correspondent he was suspected as an associate in the coining affair, which made him be taken up, and, after standing a trial, he was found innocent. *Barry* being the occasion of his imprisonment, when his letters were sent to him to forward, believing there might be something in them that would bring himself into further trouble, he broke them up and found the letters and other papers to the two *Mr. Stanhopes* who are at *England* and *Spain*, all which he immediately sent to *Brigadier Campbell*, who, he knew, had been concerned with *Barry* in a particular manner and therefore could make the best use of them. *Sir P. Redmond* thinks it a service that deserves thanks and, if *Mar* writes him a letter in *the King's* name, it may encourage him as well as others in those parts to make known what further comes in their way of this kind, which is not impossible, for that working fellow has several children and near relations besides other acquaintances all over the country, who will not be wanting to execute his projects, which, it's probable, he'll be busier with now than ever. I have yet only had an account from the young man that went to *Scotland* of his being got there, and that he had acquainted some friends how things stand as to *Mar* and *Tullibardine*, which they were very well pleased to hear. *Glendarule* and I think of moving from hence in a little time.

I almost forgot Capt. George's affair, which seems to have been odd enough. I believe *Brigadier Campbell* has given you a particular account of the whole, only he has not long survived the report, though he thought no shame of the business, nor to the last showed the least sign of repentance. On the contrary, it's said he made a very extraordinary exit out of this world, after being fully admonished of his dangerous condition both as to the state of his soul and body. 3 *pages*.

Clanranald to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 17. Near *Bordeaux*.—The motives of calling *Brigadier Campbell* and me from *Bayonne* must be known to you long ere now. (About Sir P. Redmond, as in the last letter.) He discoursed me fully on the subject of *swords* and *targes*. I gave him all the satisfaction I was able. It was

concluded that some people, who understand those manufactures, must go to *Spain* when advertised, and carry samples of the different species. Care is taken in the meantime to provide such, which is all that can be done till further advice.

The sudden and much lamented death of *Queen Mary* gives me occasion to trouble you with another affair, which, though not directly concerning myself, I cannot but look on as a duty, I mean, to recommend to your care some of my friends, whom the loss of that worthy person may have placed in a fascious situation. It's the mother and sister of the widow *Clanranald*, who live at *St. Germains* since *Queen Mary* and her family first settled there. The attachment of this poor family to *the King's* must be known to *the King*, which, I'm hopeful, with your good offices, will be sufficient to render their circumstances as easy as the times will allow.

I hear often from the widow *Clanranald*, who is still at *Edinburgh*, and had a line from her last night advising me that a considerable number of *troops* are to be disposed of in the farms of *the Highlands*, but, according to the disposition intended of them, they can never answer the ends proposed by it, and, if *the Highlanders* had but an equal quantity of the same species, which in all events would be necessary for *them*, I should look on this as an advantage rather than as any loss to *them*. I'm further advised by her that five *ships* are appointed to inspect all the Pedlars (? Isles), least they should be found smugglers in trade. I had a letter from another friend, giving the same account, only adding that *the Duke of Atholl* and Mr. Carney have openly declared that ere many years *the Highlanders* should be entirely turned out of *their* possessions and set adrift in the wide world. I am of opinion this severity is owing to the villainy of the infernal rascal *Barry*. Since ever I understood his practices, I was apprehensive of some such thing.

I understand the widow has a mind to cross the water as soon as she can end her business in *Scotland*, for she has an inclination to see her mother, which is natural after 20 years' absence. She will be glad to see me too, and I shall not be sorry to see a person I'm so much obliged to. Yet my duty to *the King* and my deference for your commands will not allow me to think of going to the parts of *St. Germains* or *Paris* without his or your approbation, since it was not thought advisable when I saw you last, and I know not if it may be so yet. But, if that or some other reason do not hinder it, I should be glad of permission to winter in those parts, whether my friend come or not, for my situation here will not be very agreeable in a little time, most of my friends being retired from hereabouts already and the few remaining will leave the end of next month or the beginning of August. Besides the condition of my health will render it more necessary for me to be near such friends as I have at *St. Germains*. I beg this only if there be no occasion for my service elsewhere.

My distemper is an ague. I took it when we had the uncomfortable news of the death of good Mr. Looms. I am for some weeks pretty free of the fits. It has brought me very low. What I have most to fear is its return with the fall of the leaf.

(About *the King's* illness, as in the last letter.)

The enclosed paper was sent me by a friend in the country. I send it, supposing it might be new to you. *Over 2 pages.*

SIR H. PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 17. *Rotterdam.*—I long very much to hear from you, having had none since that mentioning your going to *Rome.*

The enclosed from *Mr. Fraser* contains a subject that I presume *the King* will think worth his consideration. Could it be brought to bear, it would be without doubt of very great consequence. *Fraser* has wrote so fully, that I need not say much more, only I shall give you the thoughts of those he mentions its being communicated to here. As you will, I believe, then agree that, could anything effectual be made of this, it would be essential service to *the King,* so it is humbly advised he should not neglect this opportunity of pushing it on his side as far as it will go. The persons have certainly a good interest with *the States General,* they being of his family, and they may think it a neglect, if nothing should be done on *the King's* part. If *the King* therefore judges it fit to proceed any further on it, it's proposed he should either send a proper person immediately to *Holland* fully empowered to manage it, or else that he would send a factory to whom here he thinks fit in the usual form. All the steps of this have been communicated to *H. Maule,* who, *Lord Mar* knows, is the most proper of any of the *King's people* here to manage such an affair. I know not if he would incline that the factory should be sent in his name, but I am very sure he will give all the assistance in his power in the management of it and that he will be very ready to do everything for the advancement of *the King's* interest. I would therefore propose, if a factory is sent, that it should be to a blank person, if such a method is usual, and be offered to *H. Maule,* to whom *the King* or *Lord Mar* by his direction may write a line, and, if he does not care to have his own name in the factory, it may be given to *Fraser,* who is a very capable young man, as *Lord Mar* knows, and he will do everything in it by *H. Maule's* direction and assistance. He is a very zealous, hearty well-wisher to *the King,* and as he has brought this the length it is, I am sure he would be at all the pains he is capable of to bring it to a good conclusion.

It is likewise humbly advised that *Lord Mar* by *the King's* direction may write a letter of compliment to *Fraser's* friend at *Tournay,* thanking him in *the King's* name for his friendship and acquainting him that *the King* was willing to do what was reasonable on his part, and had accordingly sent instructions

to one to meet with his friend in order to agree upon what should be for their mutual interests, to which *the King* hoped he would continue to use his good endeavours, which he would always retain a just sense of.

Fraser, who knows a little of his friend's temper, thinks that some such letter would please him much and make him very active. It need not be addressed, but that left to *Fraser*, who will deliver it, and please let it be wrote in French. They expect a speedy answer, and wish to have it before the *States General* enter into any new *treaty* with *King George*, to which they are now much pressed by *Cadogan*, who is noways acceptable to the *States General*. The most considerable part of *the people of Holland* are entirely against meddling in *the treaty* against *the King of Spain*, and, if *the governing party there* takes other measures, which is not yet certain, it will be by the interest of *money* and, though that, as it's said, has been given here for the expense of *the ships*, yet it does not appear that *the men-of-war* can be in any readiness, for *men* cannot be got for *the ships'* service and this, we are told, is the answer *the States* have made to *Cadogan*, and that he cannot expect the *men-of-war* demanded, on which a new addition of *ten* is made by *England*, where they are likewise in much want of *men*.

By all this it seems a favourable opportunity for *the King* to try what can be done here after such encouragement, and, if he can but obtain the two things mentioned by *Fraser* and which they give hopes of, it will be of the utmost use to him.

The other enclosed which I here send you from Neilson is from one *Barre*, whom I met here accidentally. He tells me he lives at *Bayon*[*ne*] and was employed there by *the King* in some affairs, which, coming to be known, he was obliged to retire for a while. He showed me the subscriptions of two letters he had from *Lord Mar* dated from *Avignon*. He has been lately in *England*, and says he is to wait here till he hear from *Lord Mar* and *Brigadier Campbell*, whom he left at his house at *Bayonne* when he came away. He has given me his address where to send any answer to this, which he read to me before he sealed it.

I heard from *Ormonde* on his removal. I expect he is by this time come to *France*, where I sent him some letters to *Dillon's* care by last post.

By what I heard from *Jerningham* since his return to these parts, I find *Ormonde* complains a little of *Dr. Erskine* and *Sir H. Stirling*, that they were not more punctual in their correspondence. I am sorry he should think he has any ground for this, and I dare say they did all in their power for his service while in those parts. On what I heard of this from *Jerningham*, I wrote to *Sir H. Stirling*, from whom I had a letter last post, a copy of which is enclosed, which is all the accounts I can give you with any certitude of affairs there. I wish *Jerningham* may act in concert with *Dr. Erskine*

and *Sir H. Stirling*, who, I doubt not, will do all that's possible for *the King's* interest.

During the time *Ormonde* has been there, I never failed to give him an account of anything of the least moment that came to my knowledge, and I believe I was perhaps too troublesome to him that way, but it was by his own desire. Now that *the King of Sweden's* and the Czar's factors have been some time together, I hope it will not be long ere the result of their meeting is known, which I wish may be good.

(List of the letters he had sent Mar since the last Mar acknowledged.)

I heard by last post from *Paris* of *Lord Mar's* being returned to *Urbino*, so I hope to hear from him soon. I sent the last two letters by *W. Gordon*, as I do this, because I had not heard from you of those I sent the other way.

Should it be judged proper to send a factory, I know not if you will venture it the common way. No letters, I think, have yet miscarried by the post, and I believe anything will come safe that *W. Gordon* sends to his correspondent here, which will be the best way to send the returns to this. *Fraser* is gone to *Brussels*, but will come here on a call and any return to him may be sent under my cover.

We have had a late alarm here of *the King's* having been indisposed. I pray God preserve *him* and send *him* soon a good *wife*, which everybody longs for, and you may believe the least accounts of *his* illness go to all *his* lovers' hearts. 6 *pages*.

The Earl of Panmure to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 18. Paris.—I am desired by Sir Adam Blair to recommend his condition to you. I doubt not you know both what he has acted and suffered for the King and, as it is the King's interest that such should be rewarded, I doubt not you will contribute all you can towards it. I shall not enter into the particulars as he is to send you a memorial, so I refer to it. What makes me recommend him the more earnestly is that his first lady was my relation by my mother's side. I am desired by him to recommend to you a Mr. Banks, who was employed under Mr. Dicconson in paying out money, for above these 20 years. He is reckoned a very honest man and capable of serving the King in that station.

Lady W. Strickland to James III.

1718, June 18.—Before I leave this sad place, I presume to present your Majesty the humble duty of the oldest of your servants, who has been so unhappy as to outlive and by her Majesty's command to close the eyes of the best of queens and mistresses, since which I am very desirous to shut mine to all the world and am going to the English Poor Clares at Rouen, having got leave to live within the convent. Your great

goodness in thinking of us of the Queen's Bedchamber has the most humble duty and acknowledgements from us all and during the little time I have to live your preservation and prosperity will be the subject of my unworthy prayers.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 18. Near Bordeaux.—I received yours of 26 May and immediately read it to *Tullibardine*, who is most sensible of your friendship and writes to you by this post himself. I made your compliments to *Clanranald*, who is with us, and will to *Brigadier Campbell*, who lives with some of our friends about 8 leagues from here.

(About Sir Peter Redmond's visit and about providing swords and targes, as in the letters of Tullibardine and Clanranald of the previous day.)

You will have *Brigadier Campbell's* report on the blind captain's affair ere this comes to you. All agree he has not dealt fairly with *the King*, but he is now dead and they say he died as he lived. You will see by *Tullibardine's* letter that *Barry* is come to *Holland* and has writ to *Brigadier Campbell*. No doubt the rogue is come to act a second part of the same game, for it does not appear he knows of his being discovered. The moment we know the contents of his letter you shall be acquainted. I am very glad you approve of the way *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule* gave up the correspondence with *Mr. Inese*.

It gives me great contentment that *the King* is pleased with what I sent you from *Glengarry*. To-day I write to him and *J. Macleod, junior*, and will make them your compliments and acquaint them with *the King's* goodness towards them in the terms you desire, and I will make your compliments to *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck], who is arrived home with his young lady as *Lord Glenorchy* is with his. I hope both will act their parts according to their promise. I thought I could do no less than acquaint you with what my friend wrote me from *Scotland* concerning *the Earl Marischal's* story of *Mar*. Had not I sent you an exact double of what was writ me then, I do not think I would have mentioned *John Paterson's* name on that occasion, for, as to that false and malicious story handed about a long time ago against him, he has been so lucky and his innocency such that it gained no credit with any I ever heard talk of the subject. It would appear by my friend's letter that *the Earl Marischal* was also the author of the story against him. The moment I received that letter a considerable time ago I wrote to my correspondent how much *the Earl Marischal* was in the wrong as to *Mar*, and how injurious it was to contrive so false a story of *John Paterson*, for so happy was his temper and so great his discretion that, notwithstanding the load of business *Mar* kept on his hands all the time we were in *Scotland* and the number of different people he had to deal with,

neither then nor since did I know the man he ever disobliged or that complained of him.

You do me too much honour in sending me the account of what passed between *Mar* and *the Earl Marischal* since we parted, and so unjust has *the Earl Marischal* been to *Mar*, that it was given out by his friends that he was obliged to leave *the King's* family and retire into the country through *Mar's* means. This my correspondent wrote to me in answer to mine desiring him to condescend on some particular, for I thought all that story was over of *the Earl Marischal's* unreasonable as well as unjust prejudice against *Mar*.

Now could anything be more gross than this? Is it not known to all that *the King* ordered all his other servants as well as he away on business above a twelvemonth ago and yet he would make his improvement of what happened then, with all which I acquainted my correspondent. Indeed, by what you write I see his part is very unjustifiable of late as well as some time ago, and that *Mar* has been at more pains to gain upon him than could be expected after such manifest ingratitude. I do not think his malicious trifling worth *Mar's* noticing and I agree the less these things are spoken of, the better, yet I am now obliged to write you a new story in relation to *the Earl Marischal* and it's only my duty to *Mar* that forces me to do it.

When I waited on *Sir P. Redmond* at *Bordeaux*, I waited on your friend *General Gordon*. He inquired if I heard anything of *the Earl Marischal's* new attempts against *Mar*. I told him, nothing of late. He then said the old Laird (Malcolm of Grange) showed him a letter he had from *Smith of Methven's* brother *Peter* from *Calais* telling him that the Grumeltonians, as he calls them, are at work against *Mar* and that *the Earl Marischal* and Col. or Brigadier Hook were the ringleaders. I took the first opportunity to wait on the laird, who told me the same story. A day after I received a letter from *Major Fraser* on his arrival at *Calais*, where he met his friend, young *Lockhart*. They were to be soon at *Paris* and from there go to Angers to the Academy. He wrote me the very same story and I enclose that part of his letter. He says so much of this Brigadier Hook that I resolved to inform myself of his character all I could. I knew he was employed by the Courts of *France* and *St. Germains* and sent by them to *Scotland* before the 1708, so I inquired of the old laird about him, who, I knew, was then a dealer in those matters. He looked upon Hook to be no good man. His first appearance in the world was as one of the Duke of Monmouth's chaplains and he was with him, when he invaded England. Afterwards he had his pardon on doing some services and he mentioned some unfavourable circumstances about him, in which appeared a good deal of treachery. Afterwards he turned Roman Catholic at *St. Germains*. His extraction was of Ireland and of mean parentage. His next great appearance was being sent to *Scotland* by the

Courts of *St. Germains* and *France*, and he had from *St. Germains* very ample credentials. He acted a double part and so villainously towards *the King* that, if all the truth were known, he richly deserved the gallows. Here we were interrupted by company and I was obliged to go out of town without having another opportunity of seeing him, but, as I was parting with *General Gordon*, he said that the laird had told him a very strange story of Hook and that it was fit *Mar* should be acquainted with it. This Hook acted a double part when sent to *Scotland*. His first proposal to the late *Duke of Hamilton* was that there should be an entire separation betwixt *Scotland* and *England* and that *the Duke of Hamilton* should set up for himself and be master of *Scotland* and that he would be supported by *France* and that the old friendship betwixt *Scotland* and *France* should be renewed. This story the laird had from Mr. Carnegie, the priest, who was Hook's bedfellow in a lady's house in the Canongate, and he said that *Capt. H. Straiton* and that lady know this story to be truth. *The Duke of Hamilton* rejected the proposal with indignation. Then Hook went through *the King's* friends with his credentials from *St. Germains*, which gave him such credit that he had papers under their hands, which he carried with him. This *General Gordon* desired me to write to you, that you might know all, and this was the story the laird was going to tell me, when we were interrupted. He appeared exceeding angry that *the Earl Marischal* should disturb *the King* with such foolish work. Your true friend, *Tullibardine*, is extremely angry at *the Earl Marischal*, and wonders at *Mar's* goodness in having been at so great pains to reclaim *the Earl Marischal* and is no less scandalized at *the Earl Marischal's* unfair dealing with *Mar* and *Tullibardine* and all here, that have heard this last story, resent extremely that *the Earl Marischal* presumes to molest *the King* in his wise and steady course of management.

It's a good time since we had the account of good *Queen Mary's* death, which was to all here a most afflicting stroke. I would hope it may make no change on *the Regent* with respect to *the King*.

(About the King's illness.)

I am glad you have hopes that *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* may come to agree, for much depends on it and *the King of Spain's* going on with his lawsuit will, I hope, have good effects.

Clanranald writes you some accounts he has had from his sister-in-law. I hope it will not answer the design and it will not fail to stir up *the Highlanders* to the last degree of revenge and it may come to be so many lost to *the Elector of Hanover* as he employs in that service.

Lady Macdonald is talking of coming over to see her mother, who has been a long time on the establishment at *St. Germains*, having come over at the very beginning with her husband,

Col. Mackenzie, who had then a regiment of dragoons. Besides his personal services, he lent money in Ireland to *the King's* father and afterwards died at *St. Germains* and left this lady and a daughter behind him there, who is a tender, sickly woman. You know, as well as I do, what she deserves on *Lady Macdonald's* account. She had the common cast in the reduction of her pension some time ago, which, I believe, rendered her circumstances not very easy. 6¼ *pages.*

Colin Campbell of Glendarule to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 18.—The moment I read your note concerning *Argyle* I burnt it. I hope you forgive me the trouble I gave you and my presumption on that head and that you believe that no partiality towards *the Highlanders* or any other private view could lead me to enlarge on such a subject. I wish from my heart *Argyle* and all *the King's* adversaries may come to deserve his favour, for the honest *Highlanders* and all good men will with much cheerfulness submit in all cases to whatever he may think convenient. Our part is only to obey and contribute with cheerfulness in all things that may promote *the King's* affairs.

I judge Mr. *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck] is the person *J. Macleod, junior,* expects the best accounts from of *Argyle's* intentions and, if you think fit, I will again write to him about it. It's very probable *Argyle* may now come to determine himself, seeing he is slighted by *the Prince of Wales* as well as ill-used by *the Elector of Hanover,* but it was always my opinion, when he came to be in earnest, he would go to work by other hands.

You have enclosed the part of *Major Fraser's* letter to me in relation to Brigadier Hook and the rest.

You have a hint from *Tullibardine* and, it's like, a little from *Clanranald* concerning *Brigadier Campbell.* He is certainly a man that understands his own profession and of great honour and probity, a most faithful servant to *the King* and to you a sincere friend. Were it not this is no secret amongst those conversant with him here, I would have great difficulty in saying anything about it. His kind and sincere heart makes him too open. You are best judge how that defect can be guarded against.

Whenever you write to me concerning *Argyle,* let it be in a note apart. *Enclosed,*

Major Fraser to *Glendarule.*

I am told our infatuate idiots have again fallen to work with the Duke of Mar and that Brigadier Hook is the spring of that affair. He's certainly a cunning, designing fellow as any in Europe and, for ought I know, may be bribed by the King's enemies. He certainly could not

do them a greater service than by getting that great man removed, and, if he has such interest at the Court of France, as they say, it may be dangerous. When I arrive in Paris, I shall endeavour to inform you of all these matters. Extract.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 18.—I wrote most fully to my correspondent in my answer to his of the falsehood of that malicious story and that you were, as you well deserved, thoroughly trusted and employed as formerly and were looked on by all honest men as a person of worth and merit. It's true I omitted in my letter to *Mar*, wherein I mentioned *Earl Marischal's* story and his, to acquaint him with what I wrote about you, which made you think I had omitted to do you justice. 2 *pages.*

GEORGE FLINT to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 18. Calais.—Though it be rung in my ears that some have traduced me to his Majesty, my innocence had warranted my silence, did not extremity press me to take pen in hand, for I am starving here with my wife, who is almost as remarkable as myself for her actions and sufferings in the royal cause.

How I have been educated in letters and business, in the custom house, bank and taxes, in travels and in some little experience at home and abroad how long my mother lived and died under the royal patronage, are, I believe, not unknown to his Majesty. In 1710 in my native town, Newcastle-on-Tyne, how much I contributed to turn the whole North of England to what I then thought the dawning of a restoration, some of my fellow-sufferers were witnesses. I immediately attacked in public print the then sitting Parliament and ministry, for which, had they continued, I must have fled my country. In 1714 I proposed with the expense of but 1,000*l.* to attempt to seize the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, the whole Hanoverian family and most of the Malignants in Parliament, as the unhappy Lord Peterborough, whom I then thought an honest man, can testify. In 1715 I intended to seize Newcastle, had I not been prevented by 11 weeks' sickness, out of which, when not quite recovered, I betook myself to those labours, which had like to have ended at Tyburn, and in prison, when sick and in bed unable to wield a pen, I caused my wife to write by me, and when shut up from the sight or hearing of mankind other than the jailers, I caused them by my wife's means, unknown to themselves, to fetch and carry my papers, had in spite of them pen, ink and paper and wrote from 1 to 5 or 6 in the morning, which lucubrations, if judged here of no use, were otherwise esteemed there, at least our enemies have often said and still say I did them more harm than all the rest of their enemies. I am universally styled

the King's champion, and my wife the championess. I am forced to adduce these truths, though immodestly in my own defence, for, though I am not sure anyone has traduced me, I am but too sure I am perishing with my wife for want of food and raiment.

The 500 *livres* I received of her Majesty's bounty were almost consumed by my previous debts, my necessary raiment and by my journey to and from and expenses in Paris, and though I have been on this side about 14 and my wife about 11 months, long sick and still under medicine, we have had but 4 months' pension from January last, and that in driblets of 4 or 5 *livres* and sometimes less and Mr. Francia has paid us none these two months and will pay us no more, alleging he does not expect to be repaid what he has already paid us on the King's account. Father Græme offers to get us regularly paid as soon as he receives an order for it, which order I beg you will cause to be dispatched.

Postscript.—I never was a mercenary scribbler, but threw up a very handsome fortune to take the pen in hand. I furnished not only copy but the whole expense of printing &c. out of my own pocket, permitting the printer to reap all the gains, save of some few I sold in the pressyard. My wife assisted me with heroical courage and constancy, was 12 months, as I 15 in prison, and, after my escape, was thrust into the common side of Newgate among the dregs of street whores and thieves, laid in that kennel on the cold ground, whence she was carried out almost dead, long struggled for life in England and came here last August, a piercing spectacle, and has almost ever since lain sick, is still under medicine, and I doubt will never recover her health. 6 *pages*.

Monsignor Alamanno Salviati to [David Nairne].

1718, June 18.—Promising to do all he can at a proper time to find an employment for the person recommended by him. *French.*

M. Stiernhock to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 18. Vienna.—The Imperial ambassadors at Passarowitz did not deliver their demands at the first but at the second conference. At the first they only accepted the Turkish declaration that they had orders to make peace on the basis of *uti possidetis* as a preliminary and informed them it was not sufficient, that, the victorious Imperial army being in a condition and on the point of penetrating to the heart of the Ottoman empire, they demanded in addition to that preliminary condition others for the Emperor's advantage and for that of his ally the republic of Venice and that they expected the Turkish ambassadors to make such offers, to which the latter replied they had no instructions to make any other offers but those they had just made.

At the second conference the Imperial ambassadors declared in writing the demands of the Emperor in addition to what had been settled as a preliminary. What I have been able to learn of these demands is that they consist alternatively of the cession of Widdin and Nisch with the country as far as Nisch or of Wihatsch and Zwornik with part of Bosnia, bordering like those places on Croatia, those last being the most advantageous for the Emperor, of the cession of Croja, a strong place in Albania on the Hismo (Ishmi) near the Gulf of Drino on the Adriatic, or at least in the liberty of transporting from thence on all occasions to the kingdom of Naples, and of an equivalent to the Venetians for the Morea. Reports are different about the alleged claim to the whole of Wallachia. But, if the negotiations are delayed till the Imperial army has penetrated further into the Ottoman territories, that claim with others will certainly be raised, at least if the state of affairs in Christendom does not hinder the Emperor from doing so. It is at least certain that the deputies here from the part of Wallachia that is under the Emperor's rule are making strong representations to induce him not to lose this opportunity of acquiring the whole of that Christian province. I have seen a copy of a long memorial they delivered on that subject a few days ago.

The second conference was on the 7th and 8th. The Turkish ambassadors sent an express to Adrianople to report what had passed and to demand instructions.

Ambassador Sutton and St. Saphorin, the English minister here, are making strong representations against the Emperor's new claims, advising him to facilitate the speedy conclusion of peace, which shows their fear of the events which might happen in Christendom to the great prejudice of the present government in England, if the Turkish war is prolonged, and of the jealousy of the prejudice to English trade in the Levant which might follow from the considerable further progress of the Imperial arms.

Prince Eugene has arrived at Belgrade, where he will reside as long as the grand army remains at the adjoining camp of Semlin. I have seen a letter from a good hand from that camp, which arrived yesterday, saying that people continued to speak of an approaching movement of the corps assembled in the Banat of Temeswar, but that that of the grand army would be delayed a little longer, a great number of recruits and remounts on the march being still wanting, besides the troops of Saxony and Bavaria. The Aga, sent with a letter of notification and compliments from the new Grand Vizier to Prince Eugene, left Passarowitz on the 10th for Belgrade.

A project is spoken of here of the Spaniards disembarking at Genoa to join the Piedmontese in attacking the Milanese as being ready to be executed on the Emperor's refusal to accept the Duke of Savoy's proposals.

Postscript.—M. de Busi has procured a copy of the plan of accommodation between the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, proposed to them by the Regent and King George and accepted by the first, and also of the measures to be taken by the Regent, King George and the Dutch to carry it out in case of opposition. Busi has given it to me to read, and I have carefully informed myself if it is authentic, but there are separate and secret articles concerning the mutual guaranty of the Regent's succession and of his government during the minority, the security of the House of Hanover on the throne of Great Britain and the Barrier treaty in favour of the Dutch. They also speak of a promised guaranty of the Emperor's dominions outside Italy and of the country of Hanover in the secret article. M. de Busi will let you see the said paper, and you will do me a favour, if you will kindly continue to communicate what you learn and your opinion concerning the Kings of Spain and Sicily, that is, whether they continue firm or not in refusing to come to an accommodation with the Emperor on the basis of the plan drawn up in London and accepted by the Emperor, notwithstanding the appearances of peace between him and the Grand Signior. 11 *pages. French.*

Capt. H. Straiton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 7[–18].—This is chiefly to forward the enclosed letter for *the King* from *Mr. Lockhart,* containing a full account of conversations he had with two of the *Duke of Argyle's* friends.

He desires me to make his apology for not writing to you. The reason is that he may have it to say to *Lord Ilay* and *Argyle* that he has written to nobody but *the King* on the subject of commencing a trade with them, which he thinks the best method at first to bring in these two merchants to a treaty or close correspondence, and bids me assure you he has used that method without the least intention to offend you or encroach on your province.

This affair is so nice and of so much importance that I will not offer my opinion, though I like the project much the better for what *Argyle's* namesake says of it, for he has the character of a man of principle and integrity and was always a friend to the Company, and on that account and for his generous kindness and liberality to *Lord Southesk's* young fatherless cousins he merits the esteem of all honest men. I dare not indeed say so very much for *Col. Middleton,* but it's generally thought his bias inclines to the right side and, though he has made insinuations against *Mar* which I do not like, perhaps it has been a random shot, and possibly may not be agreeable to *Argyle's* intentions. I shall be on the watch and, if I can discover any design against *Mar,* I will not fail to give him an account.

In my two last of 12 April and 3 May I forgot to tell you that your friend *Lord Eglinton* has at last got a son, and *the King*

is godfather. I am glad of it both on his own account and for the disappointment of the Whig presumptive heirs. With the first of these two letters I sent *Mar* returns to all his and *the King's* letters he had sent me some time before and hope all are with you before this.

Your friend and namesake L[ord] D[un] was to-day with me, and I always find him where I leave him, most hearty and frank in promoting *the King's* service and all the Company's concerns. He has been lately with young Abell (young Lord Aberdeen *i.e.* Lord Haddo) and had a full conference on that subject. His stomach is not much for *arms*, but he positively promises to join in the *money* trade, yet is so very cautious that he will not deal with anybody about it, but only with your said friend, and allows him only to tell me of it, so, if *Mar* thinks it fit, I wish some compliment were made him ; he is not without pride. It may incline him to be more frank and possibly oblige him to abate his extreme caution and use his endeavours to set others right, at least his brother-in-law S[altou]n and his kinsman, the *Duke of Gordon*, for I am told he has great influence on both these *money* merchants.

When your said friend was lately with *the Duke of Gordon*, neither touched anything of the Company's affairs, but he had a full and free conference with Mr. *Grant's* namesake, whom I formerly mentioned on the subject of *Mackintosh's* money matters, the chief tutor and manager of *the Duke of Gordon* and his whole effects. In short this tutor promises for the *Duke of Gordon* that he will heartily join in the *money* trade and have a stock ready for the first opportunity and speaks of no less than double what I told you *Lord Eglinton* promised. At the same time the tutor is very positive that *the Duke* on a certain event should keep close at home, and not personally meddle, but leave the conduct of affairs to himself and other friends, which, I suppose, *the King* and you may approve.

That 100*l.* sterling which *the King* ordered to be given to a lady of *the Duke of Montrose's* name, I have received from his banker's correspondent here, and shall carefully send it her in two or three days. It is with much unwillingness I undertake to trouble you in asking money for anybody, but *Lord Dumfermline* is in so hard circumstances and his case amongst the most favourable that I could not well decline to represent it. He has suffered much and [has] a hard sentence against him, which, he tells me, has put it out of his power to get the use of any small effects that belong to him, and, besides, you know he represents a sufferer for the Company, so I wish you may mind him, that he may be capable to renew his trade again the first opportunity.

M[ARY], DUCHESS OF PERTH, to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, June 20.—Requesting him to deliver the enclosed to the King himself.

M[ary], Duchess of Perth, to James III.

[1718,] June 20. St. Germains.—I think it my duty not to undertake so long a journey as to Scotland without letting your Majesty know, in case I can be useful there for your service during the three or four months I design to stay there, for I hope in that time to settle my jointure, of which I have not received a farthing since my lord's death. I am advised to go to assert my right, which, though very small, will be a considerable help to me.

Sir Thomas Higgons to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 20. St. Germains.—Nothing but the Day of Judgment can give us a truer emblem of horror and confusion than this miserable place is filled with at present for the Queen's death. Besides our apprehension how sensibly our master must be touched at the loss of the best of mothers and truest friend much heightens our afflictions. All that we have to console him and us is the certainty of her being at last eternally happy, who never knew what true satisfaction was upon earth, her whole life having been a continual scene of mortification.

Our master has been enured to afflictions from his cradle and consequently may be able to bear a shock, which lesser souls must sink under, but this sudden stroke, I am afraid, may make too deep an impression even on a mind though ever so well guarded against the shocks of fate. May Heaven increase his patience and fortify his soul.

I had lately a letter from Brussels from Lord A[iles]bury, who desires me to send condolences to the King and his most humble service to you.

Very few of our countrymen are at Paris at present. Dr. Garth is there, whom my brother saw. He speaks with respect of his master George, but says the Prince, his son, is such a scoundrel that he is despised by everybody and has very few partisans, and that he will never be able to hold the reins, if he should ever come to govern. 3 *pages*.

Lady Sophia Bulkeley to David Nairne.

1718, June 20.—Requesting him to present the enclosed letter to his Majesty, and hoping that the Duke of Mar will accept her respectful compliments and begging the favour of his protection.—

Could I live without entreating the favours I do of his Majesty I would never mention it. It is very cruel I must at this time trouble him, when I have 500*l*. a year for my life in England, which for this 29 years I cannot get. If I could, I would never ask anything of him till his restoration, not doubting he would reward our faithful services as the Queen was so good as to tell us that dismal night before her death, and, in the meantime that his Majesty is restored, he will be pleased to make me to live the way I have proposed.

If I should not find, as I hope I may, a person who will give me wherewithal to pay my debts on the King's bond (I beg pardon if this is not a proper term for it), I shall have at least the comfort to think my creditors will be paid when he is restored. To consider in what a terrible wanting condition I am in is very deplorable, but I should be very sorry not to have served the best of Queens, so I can repine at nothing so much as that my sad condition has obliged me to trouble his Majesty.

Lady Sophia Bulkeley to James III.

[1718, June 20.]—I beg leave to remind your Majesty of a most disconsolate afflicted servant the Queen has left in a most deplorable condition. What is very afflicting to me is that I must now entreat a favour from your Majesty, which if I could possibly forbear, I would rather than breathe, though I flatter myself my request can no ways be troublesome, since it will be of no present expense.

During near 30 years' banishment I have contracted a debt of about 20,000 *livres*, which seems a great deal, if one does not consider how many years I have lived here with a numerous family for a great part of the time. You may have heard that I lived very frugally, so I cannot accuse myself, being in debt but for what was absolutely necessary to subsist us. To pay these debts the Queen had given me leave to try to go to England to recover a legacy my sister left, but now the time is lapsed, as I am told, and, though I endeavoured, I could not obtain a privy seal with leave to go.

Now she is gone I must expect to be prosecuted by my creditors, if you will not graciously grant me an assurance under your hand and seal for 2,000*l.* to be paid when you are restored, with which bond I hope to find some well-meaning moneyed person, who may have faith as much as I have in your restoration and on whom I shall impose secrecy.

Since my being in France the happiest time of my life was when I saw your Majesties together at Bar and Commercy, but I have felt most sensibly what the Queen said with tears, when she had parted at Moutiez (Montiers) with your Majesty, that the satisfactions of this life are very short and the afflictions endless. I may well remember that sentence, for nobody has felt all your Majesty's misfortunes more truly and afflictively than I have, besides what I have had to bear in my own particular and on the score of the narrowness of my fortune for so long a time, that I know not how to live on from one month's end to another, wherefore the Queen ordered that, when money came, Lady Charlotte and myself and others, who have nothing to depend on but our salaries, should be paid what was due to us, for we had not been now in being, if she had not had that consideration for us, wherefore I must implore the same grace from your Majesty, and that you will give your speedy order to this

effect that I may be paid as when the Queen lived, otherwise I may perish and I am certain you would not let me do so, after having served the Queen 33 years with all possible zeal and duty.

JOHN O'REILLY to his kinsman, CHARLES WOGAN.

1718, June 20. Ohlau.—Yours of 30 April came to me to-day. Touching the matter in question, I am sure a virtuous Princess would be no charges to his Majesty. To the contrary her friends would fortify his party and give jealousy to his enemies; in short the Emperor and both the Electors could not in honour be against his interest. The Prince here told me long ago that he would give the youngest as much and more than he gave to either of the two others, and has promised the Duke of Modena 400,000 crowns. The second, Princess Charlotte, is to part according to the contract 1 August, but it is not yet known when the other parts and there's no thoughts of our favourite's going, yet I know very well, if it was our master's desire, she would be there as soon as any of the rest, but, if things were concluded, she has pretext enough to go to see her sisters at any time. I will keep your interest close to my heart, and, if you should have further directions, I promise it shall be very well handled and with as much secrecy as is requisite. Both the eldest Princesses had the smallpox, but our favourite had it not, though she was every day in their chambers, and it's not above six weeks since they had it. All the doctors here say she will never have it, neither had the Prince it, and, she being much of his nature, each by court says she will never have it. 4 *pages*.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Monday, June 9[–20].—Here's a new cargo of our most material prints. There is a piece of Dutch news to-day in the *Daily Courant* about a gentleman on your side the water, General Dillon, which has a fate I have not in all my experience seen any piece of news have here. It is disbelieved and despised both by the Jacobites and the Government, so that the inventor may go and hang himself. Some fancy it to come from Barry of Bayonne, who has got in with the gentlemen at Leyden. We have no changes or anything of consequence here, only, as we are very agueish towards your Regent, we are at present in a love fit from a very angry one. Since the last express we are in hopes *qu'il a changé de pays, et qu'il est à present Alleman, très Alleman*, as Harlequin used to say.

Our Germans here hope Sir George Byng will act vigorously, but the body of even our Whigs are mad to think of a war with Spain, by which our South Sea, Africa and Turkey trade must all sink, and they are afraid too, when the King of Spain is affronted and assaulted himself, he may easily play the Pretender upon us.

JAMES HAMILTON to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, June 9[–20]. London.—Giving an account of Lady Mar's illness, which was an intermittent fever. 2 *pages*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, June 21.—I enclose an edict, by which you'll see the great change in the coin of this country. The intrinsic value of a new *louis d'or* is but 16 *livres*, though it passes for 36 and that of a new crown but 55 pence, though it passes for 6 *livres* and so all other coin in proportion. Men of business and the wise here pretend and even affirm that this alteration will ruin the nation. The Parliament makes a great noise about it and attributes the blame to Mr. Law, accusing him to be the chief promoter of this change. They were two days ago in a body and in high ceremony with *the Regent* to represent the ill consequences of it, and to complain of Mr. Law for presuming to give so pernicious a counsel.

All this put *the Regent* into a prodigious fury. He gave a short and dissatisfactory answer and, I am told, is resolved to support Mr. Law at any price. The Parliament deliberated the day following on issuing a *prise de corps* against Law. *The Regent* being informed of this resolution sent immediate orders to the foot and horse guards to be ready at a call and had powder and ball distributed to them. There are actually 50 foot guards at Law's house to secure his person from insult. The affair is looked on here as very serious and what may produce extraordinary consequences and none doubts that *the Regent* will stand by Mr. Law to the utmost of his power.

Letters of the 7th from Barcelona assure that the fleet would be ready to sail for *Italy* before the 12th.

The SAME to the SAME.

1718, Tuesday, June 21.—My last was of the 14th. I had no news from your quarters since the packets of 28 and 29 May. I hope *the King's* health is perfectly recovered.

The Regent has not yet explained what he intends to fix for *the King*, but I hope the matter will soon be determined. He is solicited on that account by more than *Dillon*. The latter attends him with great assiduity.

The King of Spain's refusal of acquiescing to the scheme of union has both surprised and troubled *the Emperor* to the last degree. He pretends now to be very sorry for having consented to the proposal, and breathes but vengeance and *the King of Spain's* total ruin. *The Emperor* has sent a late express to *the Regent* and *the Elector of Hanover* to have their approbation for putting *a garrison* of his *troops into Leghorn, Piacenza* and *Genoa* &c. What their answer will be is not yet known. Thinking people here believe that *the Regent* for his own sake will not meddle with this point.

Cadogan, who is actually with *Holland*, has pressed that state with all earnestness to declare for the *neutrality* of *Italy* and to fit out a certain number of *men-of-war for the Mediterranean* in conjunction with *the English fleet.* They have excused themselves on their low condition and said they could not resolve to commit any act of hostility without sufficient reason for so doing. *The King of Spain's* factor here assures me this was the answer, and 'tis said under the rose, that the Governors there have no mind to disturb *Spain. England* duped them in the last *treaty* of commerce made with that country, which they won't easily forget. Finally 'tis thought, if their present resolution continues, that, soon or late, *the Triple Alliance* may receive great damage by it.

We see nothing here but daily couriers going to and fro from *the Emperor* to *the Regent* and from the latter to *the Elector of Hanover. The Regent* is quite out of humour and those that hitherto seemed most in his interest make no scruple now to find fault with the bargains he made and especially in regard to *the Elector of Hanover.* In a word, if *the King of Spain's* project on *Italy* be concerted as taken for granted here, great and good changes may happen.

Ormonde came last night within two leagues of this neighbourhood and *Dillon* intends to visit him to-day. I am told he is in perfect health. 2½ *pages.*

L. Inese to James III.

1718, June 21.—Your great goodness in ordering for me a share of the chapel and books of the Queen obliges me to return my most humble thanks. My being indeed so sensible of your former goodness hath made any alteration that of late has appeared in your Majesty towards me the more grievous to me, so that I should have been quite sunk under the weight on my spirits, had not the blessed Queen assured me that your displeasure to her knowledge was grounded on misinformations and mistakes, which she had fully cleared in her letters to you, and that by the answers she expected she was sure I should have reason to be satisfied, but it pleased God to take her to Himself before these answers came, so that now I have no resource but to apply immediately to your own innate goodness for that comfort I so much want.

Postscript.—This being your birthday we are now going to offer up at the holy altar our vows and prayers that God may give you many happier years than we have yet seen and that, till his appointed time for that comes, he may sanctify your sufferings and support you with interior graces and consolations in proportion to your crosses and afflictions, that you may truly say with another afflicted holy King, *secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo consolationes tuæ lætificarunt animam meam.*

W. Gordon to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 21. Paris.—Forwarding enclosures.—Both the Parliament here and the people through all this kingdom complain and are enraged at the management of the coin in augmenting and diminishing its value and course and their resentment runs very high against Mr. Law, whom they take to be the adviser of those measures, and, if the Regent did not protect him, he would very soon suffer the effects of their rage.

John Alexander to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 22. Rome.—I received your letter, while I was busy about the drawings of the two little ovals, which I shall send in a letter next post, as they are not both finished. I hope the stories will please you, if my weak performance and ideas answer your *bon gusto*. One represents Perseus cutting off Medusa's head and the other Perseus delivering Andromeda. I had a genio to do these two stories, because I found them applicable to your Grace in the last conjuncture you had in Scotland.

You will receive from the post the Parnassus of Raphael. I was mistaken in promising to send it by the *procaccio* (carrier), for none goes betwixt this and Urbino, but only muleteers, which I unhappily missed by half an hour. The carriage will cost more this way, which I leave you to pay, that they may be more punctual in delivering it. I pray you anew to excuse my weak beginnings to the King.

I suppose critics will see my picture and, that they may not criticize what is not faulty, I confess it is three years since I painted it, and at that time I lived on my own industry and the small money my father could send me, so I could not go to the expense of fine ultramarine, which is the cause the blues are not so beautiful. For the rest I have copied the original even to the least herbs and that to an error, if Raphael was capable of making any.

I need not explain the personages in the picture as his Majesty has Bellori on the paintings of Raphael. The *basso relievo*, on which Sappho leans, is in the original the situation of a window, the top of which enters into the picture. I have taken the liberty to represent in that place the story of Apollo flaying Marsyas, which picture is likewise of Raphael, for I found nothing could match him but himself.

You had reason to find the story proper for the King, for I imagine that Apollo and Homer there accord to sing hymns in praise of virtue after his victory over Marsyas, so I hope a happy day, when his Majesty, victorious over his enemies, shall be the subject of our songs and mirth.

There is here this year past an English gentlewoman, Mrs. Mary Ann Glanville, recommended to me with an extraordinary good character, which I find she really deserves. I beg you would recommend her to Cardinal Gualterio's protection,

seeing she is a Roman Catholic and desirous to live in some monastery. When he comes to town, I shall inform him of her at large, being confident that your recommendation will be of weight with him. (Directions how the picture should be unpacked &c.) 2 *pages.*

M. Stiernhock to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 22. Vienna.—I send the enclosed papers, which seem to me worthy of your curiosity. I have only to add that according to the advices I have from good hands the disagreement between the Czar and the King of Poland goes on increasing and has caused the mission of M. le Coq, a French refugee, as Resident of that King in London, to renew and strengthen the friendship between him and King George. M. le Coq has been, it is said, formerly in England and is agreeable to the present ministry. It is believed that the Prussian peace will be made conjointly with or immediately after that of Muscovy to the exclusion of the other allies of the North. The Grand Signior has written to the King of Prussia to desire his friendship and his intervention for peace with the Emperor. The Aga, who has been sent to Poland, has given the letter to an agent of the King of Prussia in that kingdom. *Over* 2 *pages. French. Enclosed,*

Letter.

M. de Marderfelt, the Prussian envoy at the Russian Court, has written from Petersburg on 23 *May* (*N.S.*) *to his Majesty and M. Osterman* (*the Mecklenburg minister*), *the same day to myself that Baron Schapiroff was ordered to go and join Messrs. de Brusse and Osterman* (*the Muscovite minister*) *in Aland. Some add that M. Tolstoy will also go there. It is an evident mark that the iron is in the fire and peace is going to be forged. I doubt not some blow will be struck in our favour. When these letters left Petersburg, Görtz and Gyllenborg were every moment expected at Aland and the greater part of their suite was there already. It is certain that King George's emissaries are returned from Sweden with* tanto di naso, *though it is said their proposals were sufficiently favourable. They intend to return, but I hope they will find the way rough. His Prussian Majesty left this five days ago for Königsberg. Count Golofskin, the Czarish minister, followed him yesterday, and I am on the point of taking the same road. As there is much trade between the merchants of Königsberg and Stockholm, those of Königsberg are informed by their correspondents at Stockholm that the King of Sweden had already named and got ready for transportation the regiments intended to cross to Livonia to take possession of the places there, which the Czar will restore, and perhaps to form an army,*

which increasing itself on the march might go into Poland and thence into Germany. June 14. *Berlin. French. Copy.*

Papers.

Letters from Belgrade of the 13*th inform us that the Aga sent with a letter from the new Grand Vizier to Prince Eugene delivered it to the Prince on the* 11*th and was sent back next day with the answer, that Prince Eugene was on the point of going to confer with the Imperialists and the mediators and to see the troops in the Banat of Temeswar, and the dispositions of General Merci, their commander, that the march of that corps and of the grand army seemed suspended till the return of the last express of the Turkish ambassadors, and that it was being seen whether the Emperor and the Grand Signior could approach each other so closely in the negotiation, that they should have no further recourse to arms. Some believe that apprehensions from both the South and the North may make the Emperor pliable towards the Turks, and that so peace may be immediately concluded on the basis of* uti possidetis. *June* 22. *Vienna. French.*

Charles François de Busi to John Paterson.

1718, June 22.—Thanking him for his letter of 24 May and acquiescing in the decision not to employ him at present as his Majesty's agent.—I have not yet received Mr. Erskine's answer from Petersburg. The letter has doubtless been safely delivered to him. His being with the Czar at Peterhof will have been the cause of his silence. As soon as I receive the answer, I will forward it.

We have recent advices from Berlin, Petersburg and elsewhere that peace is almost concluded between the Czar and the King of Sweden. The Vice-Chancellor, Baron Schapiroff, was to go in person to finish that important matter, but they do not wish to treat with the Elector of Hanover, and nothing is said about the Kings of Denmark and Poland, but both the King of Sweden and the Czar show great confidence and partiality towards the King of Prussia. The Czar is even going to Memel immediately for an interview with him.

This Court is very jealous of the said separate peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden. The Emperor, as well as some other Princes of the Empire, would willingly find some pretext for breaking with the Czar, if the Turkish war and the threats of King Philip and the Duke of Savoy to seize the Milanese did not hinder him. 4 *pages. French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

Bill.

1718, June 22.—For various medicines supplied to the Duke of Mar. Noted by John Paterson as paid on that day. *Italian.*

James III to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, June 23. Urbino.—I desire you would deliver the enclosed into Ormonde's own hand and when you are alone with him, it containing a particular of great importance, so much that I would not have you trust it to the post. I cannot express how sensible I am of, and satisfied with, your care and diligence on this last dismal occasion. I am well, but not yet fit for much application. *Copy.*

James III to the Duke of Ormonde.

1718, June 23. Urbino.—It is in vain to enlarge on an irretrievable as well as irreparable loss and on that of a long and tedious illness, "which with God's help, and my new doctor's good management, is now over, though I am still very weak and quite *accablé* with the hot weather. I cannot now but wish you joy of your being delivered out of your long prison, where your courage and patience have, I am sure, been sufficiently exercised. You have done your part, and the disagreeableness of want of success makes in one sense your merit the greater with me. We have been but too much used to disappointments and misfortunes, and it is but by bearing with them and struggling against them that we can hope to see and deserve to enjoy better days.

"In the circumstances you left things, your having quitted the North was unavoidable, but yet my hopes from thence are far from vanished, as they are much increased in relation to Spain. Nothing is omitted by me to improve them, and though I have neither letters nor promise, yet the measures they seem to take, and the true sense they have of their own interest, are to me better securities to expect real good from them than the most sacred words of the great politicians of this age, and you shall not fail to be duly informed of what progress is made in that respect.

"The uncertainty of affairs and violence of the heats will, I fear, deprive me for some short time of the satisfaction of your company, but by autumn I hope either affairs will take a new face, or that you will find me in this country in a less disagreeable place, and with more agreeable company, for on your last letter to me I have taken my resolution in relation to marriage, and am immediately dispatching one to Ohlau to propose and conclude, if possible, immediately that affair, and to contrive it so as that she and I may meet in a few months, and I cannot but hope that that may be compassed, and that I shall not repent of my choice, which for want of another I may call a necessity.

"The great point in that, for the success, I take to be secrecy, and therefore, as well-satisfied as I was with Wogan's last journey there, I durst not make him return, the rather that Murray being here, I could not make a better choice, nor one more agreeable to my friends in England. You are the only

person now on earth who could have obliged me to put anything of this affair in writing. You must therefore excuse me, if, though I think it useless, I conjure you to mention nothing of it by word or writing to any soul but Dillon, on whom I desire you will impose the same secrecy, in showing him this letter; for I apprehend nothing can disappoint this affair but want of secrecy. You will have found by Dillon how nice I am in general on that head, and the resolutions I have taken, without excepting my best friends, to trust and employ none but such as are absolutely necessary, since by that means only my affairs can be managed with that privacy and regard to my friends in England which is due to them and requisite for my service.

"I wish therefore you would make choice of any one sure discreet person to serve you for a sort of *commis*, whom you may alone employ in what relates to my business. Nothing is so free as such a choice, and therefore I shall not so much as propose one to you, the rather that I know none so fit as Kennedy for such a trust, nor that would, I believe, be better liked in England, but in that you are master.

"I hope this will find you safe at your journey's end, where you may chance to be troubled with a number of fine politicians, who have now made Dillon a great object of their malice; but such matters may be despised, and can never be of much consequence, nor shall I much covet some people's approbation, when I act by reason, and with the advice of a few of you on this side of the sea, and that of my friends on the other. I see plainly now that some people will always be against those who more eminently deserve of me, or can more effectually serve me than they. That, it seems, is their principle, yours I know is the reverse, and mine is to stand firm by those who serve me well, and after that we need trouble our heads very little with such matters." 3¼ *pages. Copy.*

The Duke of Mar to Charles François de Busi.

1718, June 23.—Acknowledging various letters received from him and M. Stiernhock and specifying those written in reply, and adding that he will write to the latter in a few posts and begging him in the meanwhile to excuse his not acknowledging his letters to himself. *Draft.*

The Duke of Ormonde to James III.

1718, June 23.—*Ormonde* has but little to trouble you with at present, he arriving here but on the 20th. He saw *Dillon* the day before yesterday. He has, to be sure, informed *the King* of all he knows. Everybody is in great expectation to hear what is doing in your part of the world, and *the Regent*, I suppose, designs to take his measures according to what he hears from thence. (About the unpopularity of the Regent and Law, and about the Parliament as in previous letters.)

The Duke of Ormonde to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 23.—(To the same effect as the last.)

Col. J. Parker to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 23.—Humbly craving to know his Majesty's pleasure, his Grace having been acquainted with the deplorable sufferings he has resisted, and his present, which are no longer supportable, obliging him to reiterate the same complaint.—Your Grace cannot but know the damnable declaration, which was topped upon the late King to tarnish his repute, and, when the villainy appeared, the turn that was given to it; the same hands sent me to the Bastille to stop my mouth. 2 *pages.*

Capt. John Ogilvie to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 23. Dunkirk.—Acknowledging letters received and about those he had forwarded to Lady Mar and about addresses, and about *Menzies'* carelessness with regard to them.—Murray of Stenhope passed here, going to England and thence to Scotland. I think him a very pretty gentleman and very far from what he was represented by the family he had the misfortune to be concerned in. He has given me a letter for the Duke of Mar.

I enclose a very melancholy letter from Father Græme and the copy of one he wrote to Blackwell or Ord at St. Omer; which he sent up to Dicconson, which made a noise. If anybody had fallen on the subject with me, I should have been very apt to have said all he wrote. I believe him the uprightest man of the character of priesthood amongst them that ever I knew. If he had never declared himself openly a friend to *Lord Mar*, he had not had so many enemies.

I also send a letter from *Anne Oglethorpe*, in answer to what you ordered me to acquaint *Lord Oxford* with. I am very sorry the affair of Capt. Urquhart's brother failed. He was persuaded to go into the Muscovite service before I had your answer. However, we must take the next best course, for that project of hers is not to be thought of, for Father Græme writes he had a letter from England that the man she proposed is already in trouble for carrying over some of our people, so being once blown upon renders him useless. I see no better way than to make a bargain with the man we had, who was perfectly honest and faithful, but was not able to attend us altogether on so small a salary. This often occasioned inconvenient delays, he being forced to follow something more than our affairs for a living. However, he wrote me the other day from England that he is going to bring a good stout vessel that will bide a winter's night. Such a ship may stand 200*l.* or 150*l.*, so, if we will but advance him 50*l.*, he is very willing to engage with us again. I send his letter. Let me have your orders and they shall be obeyed immediately.

I am not punctually paid the money from Mr. Bankes (? W. Gordon). The last quarter is not paid yet, and perhaps this may not be. It was to be paid in advance, for, if I have not always ready money, it will be impossible for me to execute any orders that come. Necessity forces me to tell you this, for I am above 600 *livres* in debt here, so, unless you order some way to take me out of it, I know not what to do, for I would wish to make drawing on my friend in *England* the last shift. Mrs. *Ogilvie* has been a long time very ill here and continues so. She would have written to you but is not able. I am very ill myself or I would have written more at large. 3 *pages. Enclosed,*

Father Græme to *Capt. Ogilvie.*

The peevish humour you found me in was so far from being an effect of any indifference for my friends that it proceeded from an excess of attachment to them, for it vexed me then, as it does now, to think that the man I would go the farthest to serve should have turned his back on me without so much as inquiring into the truth of what my enemies have both industriously and maliciously laid to my charge, for, first, I never told any that Lord Mar *corresponded with me, unless to such as I knew for certain he made no secret of it to, and, as to my letter to Dil[lo]n, which, it seems has made no small noise, I appeal to* Lord Mar's *own good sense, if it was not more imprudence in Dil[lo]n's way of using it than in my writing it, for, had he communicated it only to* Lord Mar, *as I supposed he would, neither he nor I would have been blamed for indiscretion, and, since he showed it to those who ought not to have seen it, I can't help thinking he alone is to bear the blame, especially as* Lord Mar *had sent me positive orders to let Dil[lo]n know what passes here.*

You must know that, Col. Hales coming here with his nephew from Paris to go to England, the latter was stopped here by a lettre de cachet, *on which his uncle complained bitterly and said he was sure* Queen Mary *had procured that letter, for fear his nephew should have turned Protestant after going over. 'Twas none of my business to examine the Colonel's grounds for saying so, but I thought it my duty to inform Dil[lo]n of the fact, never doubting my information would be sent straight to* Lord Mar, *whom I take to be the only person capable of remedying sores of that nature, but instead it seems my letter was carried to* Queen Mary, *who thought it a very insolent step of mine, and no wonder, since my reflections, however true, were not well enough digested to deserve* her *approbation. I am heartily sorry to have occasioned* Lord Mar *the least uneasiness by that unhappy letter, which might have had quite a contrary effect, had it been rightly managed by Dil[lo]n ; therefore I hope he'll not let me be sacrificed*

for other people's faults, for I never was so imprudent as to give advice or find fault with my superiors, even when their notions of right and wrong have been contrary to mine. I have often thought it my duty to let them know the opinion the world had of them, but in that case I always made it my business to convince them of my modesty and respect as well as of my zeal. Whatever reasons Queen Mary *had to complain of me, I am sure* Lord Mar *can have none, unless he takes it ill that I declined, as I did,* Queen Mary's *correspondence and begged the honour of his, for I have never transgressed his orders even in the minutest trifles.*

Mr. Avery has got another letter from his correspondents, who are extremely pressing to know how their project was relished by the King *and seem willing to prove their sincerity by sending money to him, or any other way which may be thought more proper.* 1718, *June* 14. *Calais.* 3 *pages.*

Father Græme to *Mr. Ord.*

If Mr. Carr comes this way, he shall find me very ready to serve him in everything in my power, but what makes him resolve to go over? I hope it is not for want of being countenanced as he deserves, seeing you told me he is a man of parts and has been a great sufferer, for I conceive his being a member of the Church of England ought not to diminish anything of the reward due to his loyalty, but the contrary. I tell you this, because I hear the King's Protestant subjects complain as if they were not taken notice of on account of their religion and allege that, when they address themselves to you for subsistence, you insinuate that the only way to ingratiate themselves to the Court is to become Roman Catholics, but, methinks, you have given but too sufficient proofs of your loyalty to be thought capable of ruining the King's interest by such conduct and therefore I look upon all that as a malicious story invented by the Whigs to alienate the hearts of the King's faithful Protestant subjects. I thought it proper to let you know what has been said on that score both on t'other side and on this, that you may take proper methods to justify yourself of so black a calumny.

I am sorry money is so scarce with you and can't help thinking that it's hard the poor gentlemen under your care should be left starving, whilst all the rest are punctually paid, but it's true distinctions are to be made amongst men and the most deserving are certainly to be first taken care of. 1718, *April* 11. *Copy.*

Anne Oglethorpe to *Capt. Ogilvie.*

I received yesterday yours of the 12*th and sent* Lord Oxford *the part relating to him. I have not yet had an answer.*

He designs sending you goods, but, when they will be ready, I cannot tell. I am mighty sorry for the King *and* Lord Mar's *illness. I wish they had used the old tariff and that we had heard from them, for the season for the country is far advanced and everyone longs for country air. I am very much concerned for Mrs.* Ogilvie's *illness.* 1718, *June* 5[–16].

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 12[–13]. London.—Giving a further account of Lady Mar's illness. She and the physicians look on all danger to be over.

The DUKE OF MAR to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, June 24.—Introducing the bearer, Mr. Morphy (*i.e.* James Murray), who is to pass that way on his travels, to whom he may talk freely of anything concerning the affairs they used to write of and who can give very just and faithful accounts of England, from whence he is lately come. *Draft.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, June 24.—Since I wrote yesterday, I received four letters from *the King*, some duplicates and of old dates. I am very sensible of his goodness in his concern for *Ormonde's* return, but heartily mortified it was not in his power to do him the service he desired. *Dr. Erskine's* behaviour is very unaccountable, and must proceed from a very great natural laziness, that hindered him from writing more than two letters in seven months, especially considering by whom *Ormonde* was employed. Indeed, as a gentleman, I might have expected to have met with more civility.

I had a letter from *Jerningham* from Narva. He has had a letter from *Sir H. Stirling*, but little encouragement in it to proceed further, though he seems to intend to go on.

I hope *the King* will not delay finishing *marriage*, since it is what all his friends desire so earnestly and is so much for his interest and theirs.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 24. Brussels.—Last night Mr. *de Wilda* surprised me not a little with some accounts he had from his friend at Vienna, who tells him that the Emperor owns himself mistaken in not complying with the propositions formerly made him touching King James' interest, that he finds King George and the Dutch are betraying him both in his treaty with the Turks and his interest in Italy, that they believe in Vienna that the English fleet is no other than an amusement to cheat the Emperor, and will only exchange the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon and afterwards return home; that therefore he has sent orders to London and

the Hague to proceed no further in the alliance nor in the execution of the Barrier Treaty, that he is resolved at any rate to purchase a peace with the Turks, to be in good correspondence with the Northern powers and to push his affairs in Italy and this country.

You imagine such a train of novelties would surprise anybody, and, indeed, I know not how to give entire credit to them, though I can as little judge how a man, who has a good canal of correspondence, should be imposed on in matters of that consequence, for I am fully persuaded from his character that he does not mean to impose on me, especially seeing that it can be no use to him to do so. I never conversed with him but as a private person, giving my own private thoughts and conjectures, and I never pretended to give him any rise to the propositions I made him, other than that they were suitable, as I thought, to his master's interest and mine. The greatest length I ever went was to tell him, that, if they were liked, I could probably find some means to put them a going. However, all the reception I gave him was to tell him that, whether King George and the Dutch would be faithful to the Emperor or not, the Dutch would never for many reasons concur in means to render him too powerful, and that, as matters stood at present, neither would be found an ally sufficient to support him. It was always my opinion that he should contribute to make a peace betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden and join himself to them, by which he might find the Muscovite useful in his wars with the Turks and would disengage Sweden from France, which had already made a step towards it by assuming Hanover in his place, and that, by forwarding at the same time King James' interest, he would disable Hanover and purchase England. If he was now sensible of his mistake, the best way to repair it was to make an entire alteration of his measures in all those points and to proceed in the treaty he was offering to Spain.

He said he had reason to believe the Emperor would do so in every point except the last, for he was resolved, as soon as peace was made with the Turks, to push in Italy and, after he had secured his possessions there, he would make peace with Spain, and would both comprehend King James' interest in the treaty and would make use of his interest to bring it about.

I told him, in my humble opinion, a treaty with Spain was the first step to be made, because perhaps by that he would find an accommodation with the Turks so much the easier and would thereby find himself easy in all his southern concerns.

As for King James' interest with Spain, I knew no other than that which justice begets with all men, whose by-views do not drive them against it, or that the King of Spain may see, as all other potentates may, that, if King James were restored by their means, he must be a much more useful ally

to them than King George can be, and that, if King James could find any particular interest with King Philip, I did not doubt he would heartily employ it for the Emperor's service, if the Emperor would turn his views that way.

This is the substance of what passed. He tells me that, not daring to trust his correspondence to the ordinary post, his friend writes that in some weeks he shall have by a certain canal a full and distinct account of all these matters and he has promised to let me know so far of them as relates to our affairs. He expects some time after to visit his friends in Vienna.

I had some thoughts of sending this by 150 (? Dillon), leaving it open for him to read, but on second thoughts I believe it is not proper, and therefore I send it as usual.

We have had a new tumult at Malines. It began amongst some tradesmen who refused to comply with a sentence given against them with respect to some of their privileges. Ten or twelve townsmen were killed and 20 or 30 wounded, no soldiers killed, but several wounded, and the whole garrison of 250 foot and 150 horse driven entirely out of the town, after which some houses were plundered and they are now searching the convents to find the judge who gave the sentence against them. They apprehend tumults from other parts, and, if the Emperor does not prevent the execution of the Barrier Treaty, it's believed there will be an universal insurrection. 2¼ *pages.*

Sir William Ellis to Brigadier John Hay.

1718, June 24.—Receipt for a bill of 3,200 *livres tournois* drawn by his lady on William Gordon and payable to William Dicconson.

George Jerningham to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 13[–24]. Petersburg.—We were very big with expectation that the first express from *Aland* would have brought somewhat very material to *the Czar, but it imported* only *that the last* offers *made by the Czar had been* forwarded *to the King of Sweden* and that *Görtz had had no* return *to them.*

"*As to our* own *affairs, Schapiroff* has since acquainted *me that* he *had* spoken *to the Czar of* each point *I had* recommended *to him* and *in* answer thereto has told *me that the Czar* was well pleased with *my* errand and bids *me* assure *the King that he* would assist *the King of Sweden* with anything for *that* purpose *after the agreement, that Jerningham* might *correspond* with *Görtz,* only requiring *that I* would *bring my letter to them* with a cachet volant, *that they* might read *it* before *they* forwarded *it,* which *I* could not refuse *to do,* whatever constraint and difficulty *it* put *me to.* I have given you here the trouble of the copy of that *letter* which I writ upon that occasion, *by* which *you will* see how *I* have pushed

the main question and *made Görtz those* offers which *the Czar* approved I should do, videlicet of *the Czar's* willingness *to be* assisting *in that affair*, after the *treaty*, yet, apprehending that *I had not* explained that *article* ample enough to give *Görtz* satisfaction sufficient to depend upon, *I* begged *that the Czar* would empower one *of* his *ministers* upon *the place to make Görtz the* same declaration and *I am* since informed *that Osterman* had *orders* sent him thereupon to mention the same to *Görtz*. These are the present situation *of our affair* here, which must be at a stop as least as to us, until *I hear* from *Görtz*, which will take up a fortnight, if not three weeks, before *I* get his *answer*."

Requesting that, if his business carries him still further off, the King would order a remittance to be made him to Rotterdam that he may have a little credit lodged there in case his necessities require it.

Postscript.—Apprehending this letter miscarrying I grew afraid to send the enclosed entire and therefore cut it and sent the other half to *Sir H. Paterson* to be forwarded. 2 *pages. Enclosed,*

G. Jerningham to Baron Görtz.

"*Apres mon retour de* Suède, *je representay les affaires telles que je les avois trouvé chez vous et la maniere sincere dont vous aviez traité avec moy sur nos interets a donné beaucoup de contentement. Depuis rien n'a eté negligé de notre part pour faire reüssir ce que vous m'aviez si fort recommandé, ce que vous pouvez assez juger par le lieu d'ou j'ay l'honneur de vous ecrire.*

"*Les affaires dans notre pais vont toujours de mieux en mieux et plusieurs d'entre la noblesse, qui etoient autrefois nos ennemis, pensent tout de bon à leur devoir ; en effet que voulez vous d'une nation libre reduite en esclavage, chargée de dettes et privée de tout commerce ? Il suffit de vous dire que, si vous pouviez mettre une heureuse conclusion à ce que vous avez presentement entre les mains, vous pourriez bientôt avoir la gloire de faire triompher la justice de notre cause, assisté d'un peuple outré et secondé, comme vous le serez infailliblement, d'un prince puissant.*

"*Si vous voulez que je m'explique plus particulierement sur ce sujet, et si vous trouvez que notre affaire puisse etre mieux avancé par une entreveüe secrette, je crois que je pourray bien faire en sorte de vous aller trouver.*

"*Tout ce que j'ay à vous demander presentement est la continuation de votre amitié et que vous vouliez bien m'expliquer la situation des affaires, en tant qu'il sera necessaire pour nous apprendre sur quoy nous pouvons conter.*" 1718, *June* 9[–20]. *Petersburg. Copy.*

James III to Prince James Sobieski.

1718, June [24].—"Monsr. Murray. . . . qui vous doit rendre ceci, est chargé en mon nom de vous demander votre fille, la Princesse Clementine, en mariage, etant muni a cette effet de mes pleins pouvoirs, afin d'etre en etat de conclure heureusement et promptement ce que je desire avec tant d'ardeur. Je me flatte que ceci vous sera un temoinage assez authentique de ma sensibilité pour votre amitié passée, du veritable estime que je conserve pour vous et toute votre famille et de mes sentimens pour la merite et la personne de la Princesse. Sans m'etendre donc d'avantage ici et me rapportant au porteur, a qui je vous prie de donner entiere creance, j'ose vous recommender ici instamment le secret et la diligence, vous pouvant assurer avec verité que vous me trouverez toujours pret a aller même au devant de tout ce que peut vous faire plaisir ou contribuer au bonheur de la Princesse."

Postscript.—Requesting him to excuse any defect in the ceremonial of addressing him. *French. Draft.*

James III to Princess Sobieska.

1718, June [24].—"J'ose me flatter, Madame, que vous ne desagrerée point la commission du porteur, Monsr. Murray, lorsqu'il vous demandera en mariage en mon nom la Princesse Clementine, votre fille, qui m'est si respectable par son merite et sa vertu. Vous me trouverez toujours disposée à satisfaire en toute a que votre juste tendresse pour une si digne fille peut vous faire souhaitter de moy. Votre consentement me rendera heureux, et la Princesse le sera, autant qu'il peut dependre de moy. Je vous suplie d'en etre persuadé et que ma reconnoissance pour une don si estimable egalera la haute estime que je conserve de maintenant pour vous." *Draft.*

James III to the Princess Clementina.

1718, June [24].—"Apres vous avoir demandé en mariage au Prince, votre père, et à la Princesse, votre mère, trouvez bon, Madame, que je m'addresse à vous dans la meme veu et que j'ai le plaisir de vous devoir à vous meme aussi bien qu' à eux le bonheur que j'attent de vos consentement reciproche, puisqu' il y a long tems que votre merite aussi bien que votre personne sont les objets de mon admiration et de mes justes desirs, bien persuadé que tout que j'ai entendu dire de vous est bien au dessous de la verité.

"Des veux flatteux et des veine parole ne pourroit que choquer une coeur et une esprit fait comme le votre, mais j'ose esperer que vous ne trouverez pas indigne d'eux l'offre d'une coeur qui se donne à vous par inclination avant de le faire par devoir comme une gage assuré que mes soins et mon application pour le present et pour l'avenir tenderont egalement à vous rendre aussi contente heureux que vous meritez de l'etre.

" Votre merite, Madame, ne sauroit qu' a tirer d'en haut des nouvelles benedictions sur la justice de ma cause et donner une nouvelle ardeur au zele et à l'attachement qu'ont deja pour moy tant de fideles sujets. Fais le Ciel que le comble de mon bonheur personelle et propre soit le commencement de celui que je partagerai alors avec vous et n'envisagerai plus que par rapport de vous." *Draft.*

James III to James Murray.

1718, June 24. Urbino.—Full power to treat with Prince James Sobieski for a marriage with one of his daughters. *Draft.* 1½ *page. Latin. There is also a fair copy in Entry Book* 5, *p.* 85.

Instructions to James Murray.

1718, June 24. Urbino.—Whereas we have been earnestly desired again and again by our good subjects of the three kingdoms to think seriously of marriage without more delay for preserving to them the royal family in the right and direct line, that they may have a further and stronger prospect than in our person only of the means of delivering them and our kingdoms from the oppression of the foreign family and for restoring the constitution of the said three kingdoms to their ancient legal state, that nothing may be wanting in us to give satisfaction to their reasonable and just request, we have for some time made it our business to inform ourselves of the different princesses in Europe, but such is the misfortune of our present situation that we can find no princess whom we could obtain and whom our subjects would advise us to marry except the Princess Clementina, youngest and only daughter undisposed of of Prince James, eldest son to John Sobieski, late King of Poland, we, having had a very good character of the person and qualities of the said Princess from one we sent on purpose to the Court of the said Prince James, as well as from others, now think fit to appoint James Murray to negotiate and conclude our marriage with the said Princess, for which we have given him full powers and hereto subjoin our instructions :—

1. You are forthwith to go to Ohlau, where the said Prince keeps his Court, in as private and unobserved a manner as you can, and address yourself to Monsr. O'Reilly, the Governor, giving him the letter you have for him from Mr. Wogan and desiring him to get you introduced to Prince James.

2. When you are so introduced, you are to tell the Prince that you had come lately from England, with some messages for us from our friends there, which having delivered, you were proceeding on your journey to Danzig, on a concern of your own there, and that we had ordered you to pass by the said place, being not far out of your road, to make our compliments to the Prince, to the Princess, his wife, and the Prince,

his brother, on our being informed of their expressing themselves on many occasions with much friendship and kindness of us.

3. You are to endeavour as of yourself to see the Princesses, his daughters, and to observe and inform yourself about them as narrowly and particularly as you can, especially of the youngest, as to her person, understanding and disposition, and to endeavour to lead the said Prince to speak of the match betwixt her and us, which will be easier, by his having, as we are informed, spoken of it to several others, and by his so doing to discover what dote or fortune he thinks of giving her in that view.

4. If necessary, you may let the Prince know you have heard us mention the said match as a thing that would not be disagreeable to us, but that you had some reason to believe that we were not at this time absolutely free from engagements elsewhere, but that you believed we were soon more likely to be disengaged than otherwise.

5. You are to endeavour to know if Princess Clementina be to come to Italy with her two betrothed sisters and to do all you can to incline Prince James to send her with them and to know what time they come.

6. After bringing Prince James to open himself to you on this head as far as you think he likely will, without your opening further to him, *you are authorized and required to deliver our letters to him, to his wife and to his daughter, and to propose the match to him, unless you perceive anything that appears to you disagreeable in her person, manners or otherwise, or if you think from anything in her shape and stature that she is not likely to have children, so far as you are capable of judging of such a thing (neither of which we can at present apprehend after the character and accounts we have of her), you are to advance no further* in that affair but write an account of the whole to us or our Secretary of State, and continue yourself somewhere not far from Ohlau, either in Germany or Poland, where you will be least observed, till you have further orders.

7. In case the proposed match betwixt the Princess Charlotte, the Prince's second daughter, and the Prince of Guastalla, should chance to be broke off when you come to the Prince's Court, and you think her more agreeable and desirable than Princess Clementina, you are not to propose the match for the last, but inform us of it, and wait our further orders.

8. If you find it advisable to propose the match, you are to let Prince James know that much will depend on its being kept an inviolable secret, till the Princess be once in the Pope's territories in Italy and so near where we are that it can be in nobody's power to prevent it, and that we cannot bind ourselves to the completing of the match, if the Princess be not in such a place as above within three months after the time

of finishing the writings and that, failing that, all you do or say about the match shall be no more binding on us, of which you are likewise to take notice very carefully in drawing any papers you may sign in our name, for which there must be a particular clause.

9. You are to endeavour to get the dote or fortune with the Princess as great, as soon and in as good a manner payable, and as much in ready money as you can, and inform Prince James that our restoration will very much depend on it and, if you can bring him to advance more money than he intends to give his daughter, you may engage our paying it on our restoration with interest.

10. You are to enter into articles in writing on our account for the marriage settlements conform to our full powers to you, whereby you are to contract for such a jointure to her as our future Queen after our decease, she surviving us, as has been usual to be given to the former Queens of England, but only to be performed and further secured by us after our restoration.

11. In case of the Prince's proposing that the fortune he gives with the Princess should be secured for part of her dower or jointure, in case of our decease before our restoration, you are to represent the inconveniencies of such a thing, by reason of our being probably to employ that money for recovering our kingdoms, but that he may be sure, as it is our interest, so it would be our care to employ that money to the best use and that it would be our endeavour and desire to provide for our future spouse in the best manner we can in case of our decease before her, and our restoration, and that in the situation our ill fortune has placed us at present such things cannot be done with all the forms and securities usual for princes, but that, as my fortune is in the hands of Providence, so must the same Providence be trusted for that of my future Queen, and, if he should still insist on this article, you are to endeavour to get him to agree to as much of the said moneys being left in our power as you can.

12. Your are to finish this whole affair as soon as you can, correspond with our Secretary of State and observe all directions sent you.

13. When you have finished the treaty you are to return to where we may then happen to be, unless otherwise ordered. 7 *pages. Entry Book* 5, *p.* 87. *There are also two drafts with some differences among the papers and a separate paper containing the passage between asterisks.*

The Duke of Mar to Capt. Macdonald.

1718, June 24. Urbino.—Excusing himself for his delay in answering his letter of 13 March.—I spoke of what you then proposed to the King, who would very readily have written to Maréchal Villars as you desired, but he assured me it could be of no manner of use to you. *Copy.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Saturday, June 25.—As to the malicious reports spread at *England* about *the Queen* and *Dillon*, they were not talked of but after *James Murray's* departure thence. The public prints I have already sent you give a general information of them, and I can assure the accounts I had on that score were not imaginary. *The Queen* is out of the way of being offended, and I can with truth affirm that *Dillon* makes little or no care either of the invention or authors, who proceed still in the same manner. You'll soon hear more of this.

The enclosed prints will give you an account of *the English fleet* which set out for the Mediterranean the 14th. They write from Barcelona of the 12th, that the Spanish fleet would be ready to part before the 20th. The latter's slowness is variously talked of and the King of Spain's well-wishers are very sorry for the delay.

Our Parliament continues making a great noise about what I mentioned in my last. They are to go in a body next Monday to make their remonstrances to the King in due form. The issue none dare determine till 'tis known what impression these proceedings will make on the public.

I am very glad *the King* is rid of the ague, though you don't say his health is entirely re-established. 2 *pages*.

SIR ADAM BLAIR to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 25. St. Germains.—I durst not presume to trouble you with this, without the Earl of Panmure's kind recommendation, not having been so well-known to your Grace as I was to your father, who on all occasions befriended me, which induced me to make him all the returns I was capable of, and particularly in a fine of Glenkindy's, a vassal of his, who had been guilty of a horrid murder. My Lord's interest procured a pardon for his life, and he was only fined 20,000 *livres*, for which your father gave security. I procured a grant of this and some other fines before the Revolution for payment of considerable debts due by the Crown to my father, but forbore pursuing the payment, being unwilling to incommode his lordship, and, when it shall please God to restore the King, you shall command me to do in that what may be most for your interest. The enclosed memorial will, I hope, by your interest with the King procure me his order to have the 400 *livres* retrenched from my pension these three years added again to it, when things are settled by the Court of France. The King and your Grace, I hope, will believe that nothing but absolute necessity could oblige me to importune his Majesty at this time, being pressed by my creditors to pay the debts I was forced to contract these three years past, and a sentence is already given against me, and I am threatened to have my goods seized and sold. *Enclosed*,

The SAID MEMORIAL.

Sir Adam is the only person who has been impeached by two parliaments, first in England, where all endeavours were used to take his life. Lord Lucas, Governor of the Tower, Mr. Wildman, postmaster, and Capt. Richardson, Keeper of Newgate, called his servant before them, who for ten weeks before had been kept prisoner in a vault under grouud, crawling with vermin, without a bed, fed with bread and water to fit him for their purpose. Lord Lucas offered him 100 guineas, *Richardson* 100*l. sterling and Wildman a commission of lieutenant to swear as they would instruct him. He refused and was turned into the common gaol. Sir Adam continued prisoner a year, and, his health being entirely ruined, petitioned parliament to be bailed, which, being seconded by some of the King's friends, was obtained, giving* 10,000*l. sterling bail to appear when called by the parliament. Three weeks after, on the defeat of the English fleet in Bantry Bay, he was again committed close prisoner to Newgate where he remained half a year till the defeat of the King's army in Ireland and then was bailed again in the King's Bench for* 6,000*l. He afterwards applied to the parliament to have his bail there discharged, that he might have leave to return home, which was granted, and three weeks after new warrants were out against him and he was forced to retire to France in May. The following December he was sent back by the late King to concert matters with his Majesty's friends there and brought a most favourable return of abundance of regiments ready to join the King at his landing and of all that undertaking nothing was discovered nor did any man suffer as in others that were betrayed, but the slowness in rigging out the French fleet ruined that undertaking of La Hogue, though Sir Adam gave the King timeous notice of the number and force of the English fleet and of the day they were to sail. This could not have failed, if the French fleet had been ready at the time appointed, there being then only* 7,000 *men in England spread over the kingdom.*

After coming to France Sir Adam was again impeached by the Parliament of Scotland and sentenced to be hanged and quartered and his estate was confiscated and sold by the Prince of Orange.

During the late King's life Sir Adam had 1,200 livres *which was never retrenched, whilst all the others were, and his Majesty told him not to be concerned at any retrenchment in pensions, for, as long as he paid anyone, he would pay him. Sir Adam had the Queen's promise to be one of the first Grooms of the Bedchamber as soon as his family was established, but, she told him that, considering his health, he could not possibly attend the*

King in that post and proposed to him instead to send for three of his eldest sons to be bred in France and she would pay their pensions. They were here about a year and a half, in which time the King died, and three weeks after they were sent away and their pensions cut off and part of his own. This he does not impute to the Queen, but things were misrepresented to her in the time of her affliction for the King.

After this Sir Adam's wife came to France. The Queen settled a pension on her of 400 livres, *so she and Sir Adam had* 1,600 livres, *which three years after were reduced to* 1,250. *Sir Adam on new application to her Majesty got an addition of* 400 livres, *paid quarterly, which she did not put on the establishment, but assured him it should be punctually paid, till the late Duke of Perth procured for them* 400 livres *at the Court of France, as he did also for many others, on which three years ago* 400 livres *were cut off their pension, so that they have been starving the last three years, being reduced to* 1,250 livres, *and not having received these three years a penny of the French pension nor can they hope it will be continued.*

Sir Adam and his wife are persuaded his Majesty will not suffer them to starve here, while his family is wholly abandoned and starving at home, two of his sons being gone to the Indies to seek their bread and his daughters being forced to work for theirs. It is therefore hoped his Majesty will order the 400 livres, *which have been cut off, to be added again to his pension and paid in future with the* 1,250 livres. *At the foot,*

CERTIFICATE BY JAMES II.

Of the services and sufferings of Sir Adam for his loyalty. 1699, *Nov.* 24, *St. Germains. Copy. French.*

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER to JAMES III.

1718, June 14[–25].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers, p.* 22.) *Probably enclosed,*

Statement of the condition of affairs in England. (*Printed in the Stuart Papers, p.* 30.)

JAMES III to CARDINAL PATRIZZI.

1718, June 25.—I was very sorry to learn by your letter from Fossonbrone that you are detained there by the gout, but I hope it will have no bad consequences and that this will find you happily arrived at your legation of Ferrara, on which I congratulate you. It would have given me great pleasure to have seen you here on your journey, but, since that proved impossible, I am obliged at least for your good intention. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 265.

JAMES III to the MARQUIS and MARQUISE D'ANGEAU, the ARCHBISHOP OF REIMS, the MARQUIS DE PUYZEULX, CARDINALS CORNARO, GOZZADINI and SPINOLA and the EARL OF DUNDEE.

1718, June 25.—Replying to their letters of condolence. The letter to the Marquise d'Angeau has this postscript, said to be in the King's own hand:—"Je vous prie d'assurer Madame de Maintenon de mes respects, et, si je l'ose dire, de mille amitiés dans cette triste conjuncture pour moy. Ses bontés pour la Reine et pour moy ne s'effaceront jamais de ma memoire. Je n'aurois pas manqué de luy escrire moymême, mais je crois plus suivre son goust en luy envoiant mes complimens par votre canal." *French. Entry Book* 1, *pp.* 265–267.

JAMES III to the PRINCE DE VAUDEMONT.

1718, June 26. Urbino.—I know your good heart too well to doubt for a moment the sincerity of all you say in your letter of 15 May on the occasion of my late cruel loss. I should have long since sought some consolation from you, had I not been for two months prostrated by a fever, which has prevented me from the least application. I am at present perfectly free from it, but the weather hinders me from recovering my strength completely, which obliges me to dictate and even to use a hand which is unknown to you, Nairne being ill, as indeed everybody here is more or less.

The dispositions of *the Duke of Orleans* as far as I can learn, are good with regard to *money*, but his resolutions are still unknown to me, though I expect every day to be informed of them.

The departure of *Ormonde* from the place where his patience has been so long tried should not trouble you. I believe he will not rejoin *the King* till after the heats. The son of *Queen Mary* is always hoping for good news of his lawsuit, notwithstanding that obscurity about it always prevails. As soon as that shall cease, you shall be informed, and I hope soon to be in a condition to give you some news that will please you about him personally. The Spanish fleet is the subject of everyone's conversation here, but hitherto it has not appeared on the coast. I beg you to make a million compliments from me to their Royal Highnesses and to inform *the Duke of Lorraine* of the family affairs I have told you about, not being able at present to write to him myself. *Nearly* 3 *pages. Draft. French.* (*There is a second draft of this letter, dated June* 30.)

JAMES III to his Uncle, the DUKE OF PARMA.

1718, June 26. Urbino.—Condoling with him on the death of his sister, the writer's aunt (the Duchess Dowager of Modena). *Latin.* 2 *Drafts.*

W. Nugent to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 26. St. Germains.—Requesting him to assure the King of his humble acknowledgements for his goodness towards him, and returning his Grace his humble thanks for his protection, and begging the continuance of it.—Mr. Dillon showed me your letter, by which the King commands me to remain here till further orders, being pleased to continue me his equerry. The Duke of Ormonde, to whom I am related, will, I am persuaded, own himself obliged to you for your favours to me.

George Mackenzie to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 26. Versailles.—I could almost blame my own forwardness in troubling you with this letter, had I not been pressed to it by Mr. Innes, with whom I was some hours yesterday and who seems to bear you a great deal of respect and affection. We are here every day full of complaints. The two principally insisted on are that nothing is a doing, that several probable methods might be proposed for restoring the King but they will not be regarded, if they proceed not entirely from your Grace. The other is, that the King ought to have a council, that this was the method Charles II used when in like circumstances and is the only means to preserve a confidence betwixt the King and his subjects, and to give them grounds to think it is not designed both the King and they should lead an inactive life abroad. This is what is commonly talked among us, with some flourishes of circumstances. Those who seem most uneasy are the Earl Marischal, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Leslie's, the doctor's son, the first probably on a grudge you know better than I, the second very much by the insinuations and artifice of Brigadier Hook and the third by a fondness for his own schemes. You will easily see how groundless all these pretences of discontent are and yet it may be reasonable to prevent its spreading. I find already by some letters from England it has reached some there and, as the name of Dr. Leslie has justly a weight with the clergy of England, everything proceeding from his family will be received as an oracle and I cannot but regret to see the sweetest blood, that can be, soured by the conversation of his son. If once the opinion of the improbability of the restoration, which is every day talked here, take in England, it will soon extinguish with many that spirit so necessary for keeping up the King's party there and it may be reasonably thought the present government will catch such an opportunity and improve it to their advantage.

For the part Brigadier Hook acts in fomenting the prevailing humour, I wish it could bear any construction to his advantage, but what mayn't be thought of a subject, who could at the time of the Union bear a message from the French King to the Duke of Hamilton to engage him to set up for King of Scotland with the promise of all the assistance France could give? Your friend and servant, James Malcolm,

assures me he had this from the best hands and in his last letter on hearing what passes among us here presses me to write this to you, and I know not how far the person who now governs may use him as a tool to divide us for certain advantages he may propose by it.

How far employing the busy spirits here in some thing or other might contribute to divert their present humour and deny them the leisure they have to communicate their disquiet to others you will judge, for, as I have told several here, I cannot think in the sourness that naturally attends our present circumstances that the Council, they seem so earnest the King should have, is practicable, considering the jealousies and emulation among such as might have a pretence to that honour, which would for ever distract all measures and but widen the breaches the proposers design to make up by it, but whether the King's using such people with a greater confidence than at present and letting them know separately what he thought proper and enquiring their advice in matters that might be safely communicated would allay the humour a little and sweeten them by an appearing confidence, I ought not to pretend to determine.

A late circumstance in England, though seemingly a trifle, may be of bad consequence to the King's affairs. Mr. Archibald Campbell and Mr. Gadderar, whose character you know, have of late out of a foolish humour of novelty writ several pamphlets for changing some passages in the Liturgy and propose several new rites and ceremonies not before known, approaching too near the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It is none of my business to enquire how right these gentlemen found their opinions, but, if not prevented, it will introduce a rent among that part of the Church of England which has adhered to the King. You know to what a height a paper war runs in England, and, as all divisions in a family threaten its ruin, so this present gives besides a handle to the Whigs to use their common cry of Popery by representing these pamphlets as an introduction to it, if the King is restored.

I doubt not the King's commands might contribute to stop the progress of this division, and I think it is for his interest it should. Dr. Leslie opposes it and endeavours to prevent it, but the King's interposing his commands might prevail more, since the spreading such doctrines so unseasonably may justly be represented as prejudicial to his interest, and may therefore, though founded on a pretence of conscience, be laid aside to a more fit occasion. 3½ *pages.*

The Bishop of Rochester to the Duke of Mar.
1718, June 15[–26].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, *p.* 27.)

George Jerningham to Sir Hugh Paterson.

1718, June 15[–26]. *Petersburg.*—I begin to look on our affairs with some heart. The insight I have made into our

business by my application to Baron *Schapiroff* gives me much reason to esteem those who directed me so well. He made no difficulty, after I had given him to understand the nature of our own affairs, to represent them in their true light to *the Czar*. The latter approves my errand and not only bids me assure *the King* that he may depend on a kind return in him for those good services which *the King* has done him, but that he will empower *Osterman* to make *Görtz* acquainted with his utmost pleasure on that point. He has given me leave to write to *Görtz*, which I have done, and, if he can put an end to these knotty affairs before him, there seems no room to apprehend that other things will go amiss. Thus far am I advanced since I wrote, and hope on the answer to mine to be able to give you somewhat better inteligence. The Baron (whom let us call Bigsby) has promised to communicate to me what passes below and thinks we have both an equal interest in the happy conclusion of these affairs.

I enclose a letter for *Prince Kurakin*, which I promised you some time ago. The other paper is part of the letter I wrote to *Görtz*, which I desire you'll forward to the *Duke of Mar*, to meet its other half which I sent by way of *Paris*, being afraid to send it whole. I wrote last post to the *Bavarian Minister* to give you a rendezvous that you may settle a method to meet on occasion without being troublesome to one another. 2 *pages*.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MODENA.

1718, June 26.—Condoling with him on the death of the Dowager Duchess of Modena, the Duke's niece and his own aunt. *French. Entry Book* 1, *p.* 268.

JAMES III to CARDINAL TOLOMEI and the CONSTABLE COLONNA.

1718, June 26.—Replying to their letters of condolence on the Queen's death. *French. Ibid.*

SIR WILLIAM KEITH to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 27. Rouen.—Though his allowance is enough to give him meat, drink, and lodging, he wants his Grace's assistance to get clothes, linen and other necessaries. If he had 100 *livres* a month, it would make him very easy.

SIR WILLIAM KEITH to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 27. Rouen.—Requesting him to deliver the above letter to the Duke and to forward him the Duke's answer.

JAMES MURRAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 27. Bologna.—I came here about 7 yesterday morning and had the pleasure to see the opera at night. I am

little able to judge of such performances, but in my poor opinion the operas we have seen at London are in no respect comparable to it. M. Le Comte has promised me to send you a collection of the prettiest songs, I wish he could send the performers along with them. I have learnt, since I have been here, that Belloni has been gone two months and a half and carried with him above 3,000 pistoles of his uncle's money. He pretended by his letters from Urbino that the King had engaged him to make a long journey for his service, but people here now look on that as a pretext and hardly expect to see him more. You know best what is in this, but, whether true or false, I judged it might not be improper to acquaint you with it. I set out this evening for Venice.

Sir Peter Redmond to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 27. Madrid.—Leaving Paris the 30th, in four days I arrived at Bordeaux, and delivered your letters as directed and went five or six leagues into the country to see some of the gentlemen that were sick. They are all mighty hearty and zealous, and I am charmed with the sweet temper and good principles of Lord Tullibardine. I have fixed with them what we are to do, when I can get the permission to ship the goods, and, had I not sufficient motives already to pursue that affair, their entreaties alone would, I believe, influence me to undertake it. I don't wonder they made no advances in the matter, considering the many disadvantages they live under of hiding themselves &c. besides Barry's villainy. I don't know how soon I may get the permission, but, as my will is good and I shall spare no time nor expense, I hope God will bless my endeavours.

I cannot give you the particulars of my rencontre with the Duke of Berwick at Bordeaux. He received me very coldly, though his man, Doran, came to ask if I could not see him *en passant*, but sent his brother-in-law, Mr. Bulkeley, to invite me to dinner. Much discourse passed, but nothing about my master, till I drew out his picture, which brought on, after dinner in the garden, some hours' discourse of several things I had but little notice of and seemed to have less, though you may guess I was not quite silent in making the sharpest replies I could, when I heard Bolingbroke justified &c. beyond what I could expect. He, the Duke says, denies his having writ the villainous letter, 'twas said to his father. I told the Duke he ought to deny it publicly as it gave public scandal, but amidst all the Duke vowed, on seeing a good probability of restoring the King, he'd venture his life and fortune in it. I believe his chief enemies would make great advances for him, had they foreseen his restoration, but I believe the Duke has anxiety at heart for what's past and fears any projects that may be set on foot without consulting him, for he often said there was no running on projects till all things and from all corners were ready to do it effectually. I told him, he

spoke much at his ease, that the King and his faithful followers were wandering from their homes and that it was natural for them to give in with any occasion that offered probable or even possible. He says those that advised the King from England of Peterborough's design were the King's greatest enemies. I told him, I hoped he advised the King of the same, as he said he knew them well. 'Twould take up much time and paper to mention all the particulars he touched on, on which I answered him my own sentiments innocently, as one that knows but little of the matter. 'Tis not my business to create misunderstandings or ill blood between any of the King's subjects, especially his principal ones, but 'tis certain the English in general are very uneasy that the King is entirely in the Scotch's hands, though they have not courage enough themselves to dispute that royal prize as generously as the Scotch and Irish have done with loss of life and fortune, as I took the liberty to tell the Duchess at dinner, when she said the three nations had little to reproach one another with. I begged her pardon; the Scotch and Irish had got broken heads and lost their estates in the cause, but, though I hoped the English were true and loyal, they had made but little advances yet, only drinking healths, at which the Duke laughed heartily. 'Tis 1718 years since the gentleman answered: He was married and could not come; but it seems the Scotch and Irish are not so uxorious as their neighbours. I parted late at night, I hope in his good graces, though I might have talked somewhat too free, but, as I meant no evil, I hope the motto of his garter will excuse me.

I arrived here the 24th, much fatigued coming over the Pyrenees, and 'tis miserable travelling in Spain, and, to divert the symptoms I found of a fever, am bled &c., but I hope in a day or two to be able to go to the Escurial, where the King, Court and Cardinal are these three days and remain, 'tis thought, a couple of months. I shall be able in my next to give you an account of the curiosities of that place, his Majesty and the royal family. The great fleet sailed for Italy from Barcelona the 18th, consisting of 480 sail, of which 30 are men-of-war, 30,000 good landmen on board, of which 7,000 are horse, all well-found and furnished beyond belief. You'll know more of them there now than we can here. The English here and in Cadiz are all so fast selling their goods publicly at any rate and Stanhope says, as soon as the English fleet appears on this coast, the Spanish will declare war against them, so, thank God, we have a fair chance to see Europe embroiled, for 'tis no longer a jest and amusement, and I am told we shall be shortly surprised with other movements from all parts. The Pope's nuncio has shut up his nunciature and parts from this country in a few days, for the Pope would not keep a minister in a court that attacks his son, the Emperor, whilst engaged against the

infidels. I was with the nuncio this morning and am to be again to-morrow. He is a good man and much in my master's interest and told me he often pressed here, by directions from his master, the affairs of ours.

I am uneasy I am not at the Escurial to deliver my letters to the Cardinal, but I am not as well as you could wish me and hardly able to write this, but I hope in two days I shall go there. By all the character I have of the Cardinal, he is the greatest man of the age, and 'tis incomprehensible how he finds time to go through all he undertakes, for 'tis he that orders and directs from the greatest affairs to the most minute thing of this Court. I am afraid I shall not find him so affable and easy as I have the Italian princes and cardinals, but, as my *proces* is but small, I hope to overcome it or give a good reason to the contrary.

I am here with Sir Francis Arthur, a rich and good subject of the King's, who lives as handsome as any nobleman or public minister here. He desired me to put him with myself at his Majesty's feet and to give you his humble respects. His lady, a woman of good fashion, is the most loyal in the world for the King and never spares to rattle off all the English ministers that have been here generously on that head, who all visit her and Sir Francis. I brought her the King's picture from Rome, which charms her. Sir Francis was knighted by our master several years ago. He is one of the richest bankers in Europe and the most gentlemanlike. 'Tis thought he can command 100,000*l.* He is a convert to the Scotch faction as well as myself against all its dronish, malicious opposers. 'Twill not be amiss you mention some kind things from the King and yourself to him and his lady in your next to me, for I shall stay here, till I receive your further orders, let my friends the Portuguese fret as much as they please at my going to Urbino. I wish I had my poor family and effects from thence. 4 *pages.*

The Bishop of Rochester to Lieut.-General Dillon.

1718, June 16[–27].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, *p.* 38.)

James Hamilton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 16[–27]. London.—Last Saturday the Earl of Stanhope set out for Paris to negotiate a general peace, which is here reported to be advanced to a crisis. However, that day South Sea fell to 14 and the others proportionable, for some of the stock-jobbers have it that the King of Spain is to land 35,000 men and the Duke of Savoy is to join them with 25,000, all which he is to command in person, to reduce Milan and its capital and afterwards to march through the Ecclesiastical territories to reduce the kingdom of Naples by force or necessity. The Spanish minister here has packed up all, to depart on the first advice of your fleet's entering on hostilities against his master.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 16[–27]. London.—Concerning Lady Mar's illness, in which there is a sensible alteration for the better.

Postscript.—Sir R. Everard leaves this in two or three days to meet his friend *Ormonde* at *Paris*. I most heartily pray that all seeming misunderstandings between *Mar* and *Ormonde* were removed or contradicted, for we have it from several hands that *Dr. Erskine* carried [himself] with coldness to the latter and you may guess at whose door it's laid. This with other fresh accounts from *Italy* raise what I don't care to mention. The goods shipped 19 May are not yet come, though *Lady Mar* has received a good quantity about that date.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 28. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters and of a box for the Duke.—I am glad the King is perfectly recovered and that your Grace is much better.

SIR HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 28.—I wrote you a long letter the 17th, and enclosed you some others, particularly one from Mr. W. Fraser. I hope you will receive them, and that it will be thought worth while that the affair that letter contained should be entertained. I shall say no more of it, only the unwillingness *the States* have shown to enter into *the treaty* and that *Cadogan* has not yet been able to bring *them* into any measures shows plainly the interest *the opposite party* has, among which the person named by Fraser is the chief, and he continues still fond of entering into these measures proposed with the *King*.

Amsterdam and *Leyden* make great opposition to *the treaty* and *the States* are to have it again to-morrow under consideration, when it's not thought *they* will come to any formal resolution, though *Cadogan* and the *Emperor's minister* labour hard. It is the opinion of some that, if *the States* should be got to enter into measures against the *King of Spain*, it will be on the express condition that *they are* put to no charge, so that *England* must pay all, and, though *the States* do come in, it will be near a month or more before it can pass the common forms. I got yesterday a copy of *the treaty* to have sent you, but, after showing it to some friends, it was judged of consequence to send it to *Jerningham* to be communicated to those there, particularly to *Görtz*, there being one article in it by which the parties contracting guarantee to one another all that each is now in possession of, which plainly includes *Bremen* and *Verden* and entirely cuts off all *the King of Sweden's* pretensions; besides *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover* have other views of this treaty, which will be no ways to the interest of either *the Czar* or *the King of Sweden*, since it's thought it's designed against them as well as *the King of Spain* and to oblige them to enter into such measures

as the two first shall think fit. *The Czar's* and *the King of Sweden's* factors are apprised of this, and I hope it will be a good means to forward *the peace*, which, I was assured yesterday from a pretty good hand at *the Hague* was in a great forwardness and that person told me he had seen a letter from *the States'* factor at *Petersburg* which said so.

I send you one from *Jerningham*, which, I'm afraid by what he writes me, you'll not find very satisfactory. *Dr. Erskine's* situation with *the Vice-Chancellor* is unlucky, and *Görtz* mentioned him to *Jerningham*, as he told me, to be the chief opposer of *the peace* and advised using *money's* interest with him. However I hope that difficulty is got over and that *the Czar* has allowed him to go to *Aland*. My friend at *the Hague* told me of a thing that I hope will make *Görtz* push the affair of *the peace*. He said that *the English ministry* had represented *Görtz* in very odious colours to *the Czar*, advising him to have no dealing with him, for he would cheat him and impose on him. *The Czar* has, it seems, informed *Görtz* of this, which has, as my friend tells me, put him in the utmost resentment, and he doubts not he will do his utmost to be revenged. I hope we shall soon hear more of this.

I sent you a letter from one that passes under the name of Neilson (Barry), whom I told you I had seen here accidentally, I am since informed by *Menzies* that he is a rogue and corresponds with *Stanhope*. If so, he could do no hurt here, so you may be easy about him. I have not heard of him since he gave me that letter, but he left his address with me. I wish that *Mar* may be apprised of him, with whom he pretends to correspond.

You have here one enclosed from *H. Straiton*, which came only yesterday, though I believe it's of an old date. I hope *Mar* has long ago received some other letters I sent him from *him*. I received one from *Mar* of the 22nd and a note of the 26th with one enclosed, which was sent as desired. I long to hear from *Mar* again concerning his cousin Ann's (the King's) health, which you may believe all that young lady's friends and well-wishers have the utmost concern about.

I see by the newspapers *Dillon* has left *Paris*, so I fancy *James Murray* will soon be obliged to come there. I find several know of his being come over and on what account and it was writ to this from Paris.

I wish *Mar* would write to *H. Maule*. He has been in very good humour for some time and is very hearty and willing to do anything in his power for *the King's* service. The deed I mention of his brother's was a bond to his friend (? wife) for a very considerable sum, which *H. Maule* thinks will not be applied for the behoof of his family.

I have not heard from *Ormonde* since he left Bailie (? the Baltic). I sent *Dillon* some letters for him.

Sparre is much better, as their factor informs me, and he says he has been with his master, since he had the accident you mention. It seems by the last offers that *the Elector of Hanover* made to *the King of Sweden* he still pretends to keep possession of certain jurisdictions and pretensions over these goods of his, which *the King of Sweden* will not consent to.

It's now some time since the *ships* went from *England* for *Italy*, but it's hoped the *King of Spain* would be in a condition to do his business before their arrival.

Postscript.—Since I wrote the enclosed yesterday, I have heard from *Menzies* dated their 3rd. He says the *Elector of Hanover's* affairs grow more and more perplexed and straitened, and *the English ministry* begins to apprehend that some of their new partners abroad will not go the lengths they expected. For this reason and on account of an express arrived the day before from *Paris*, *Stanhope* was to set out for thence next day.

England is in the utmost uneasiness on account of *its* commerce with *Spain*, and, should *the latter* take the measures *England* is afraid of, it will infallibly ruin *its* credit and so very much embarrass the *English ministry*, and, as nothing can more essentially affect *England* than this, so it's judged it may be for the *King of Spain's* interest as well as *the King's* that, if the former gives up all commerce with *England*, he should think of publishing such a paper about it as would be agreeable to *England*, setting forth the reasons why he was obliged to take such measures, and that the *Elector's* proceedings had forced him to it. Some such thing as this would have a very good effect and might light hard upon *the English ministry* and *their* friends. *The Spanish minister* has been spoke to of this, and was very well pleased with it, and said he would mention it to *the King of Spain*. He has had a very free communing with *the States* on *the treaty*. 5 *pages*.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND to the DUKE OF PERTH.

1718, June 28. Bologna.—The enclosed I had from Mr. Murray for Col. Hay which I beg you to give him. The other is the news of the Spanish fleet's arrival at Vado near Genoa. By it you will see their strength and their designs. It's no more doubted here that the Duke of Savoy is to join them with all his force and march straight to Milan, which makes great noise in this country, everyone having their own fears. A letter arrived last night from Leghorn with an account of a Spanish colonel, who landed at Marseilles from Constantinople and was going to Madrid, and he told he was going with good news to that Court, that the Turk would not accept any more of the peace, having an account of the great Spanish preparations against the enemy. If you or the Duke of Mar has a mind, I shall every week send a small paper to Urbino with an account of the proceedings of the

army, because this place lies near and all the expresses pass this way from Milan, so that they have fresh news here almost every day.

(About Mr. Belloni's leaving Bologna and his reasons for it, much more fully than in James Murray's letter calendared *ante*, *p.* 584, and explaining the arrangements made in consequence at Bologna about the correspondence of the Court of Urbino.) 9 *pages.*

PAPER given to the KING by the PRESIDENT.

1718, June 28.—In this city of Bologna is at present a band of several persons, who under pretence of travelling and playing, are to pass by Urbino to make an attempt on the person of the Chevalier de St. George.

I advise your Eminence of it that you may be on your guard in a matter of such great importance. I do not know the names of all the band. However their chief calls himself Baron de Bendin, a Dutchman, aged about 45. (Description of him.) There will be with him a Piedmontese, by name the Sieur de Marsalle, who was formerly condemned at Venice to imprisonment for life for cheating at cards. Five or six weeks ago they were expelled from Leghorn for an attempt to assassinate a German officer they had cheated, and as cheaters at cards. (Description of him.) They pretend in public not to know each other and may have changed their names, but it will not be difficult for your Eminence to have them arrested and at least expelled from the States of the Church. I have learned all this from the mouth of one of their friends, to whom they had made the proposal of so diabolical an attempt, for which however he had all the horror imaginable. I beg of you a million pardons that I do not sign my name, it not being my character to give information, but doing it only from my ardent zeal for the King's person and for the advantage of religion.

Postscript.—The same person has told me this moment that there is to be another with the same band, by name the Baron de Cerlach, and that this Baron is to have with him some book for making the devil appear and for availing oneself of his assistance. (Description of the Baron.) *French.*

FATHER GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 29. Calais.—Lord Stanhope arrived here before yesterday (*sic*) and went immediately post for Paris, whence we are told he is to go to Spain to try, if English gold will not have more influence on the politics of that nation than an English fleet.

Sir [R.] Edmond Everard is come over to-day and goes likewise post for Paris. He'll take Rouen in his way coming back, to meet the Earl Marischal. The skipper who used to carry our goods is not only blown upon, but was sent for and examined at the Secretary's office. If we may depend on

what he says, they have got nothing out of him, and he is come off with flying colours, but, as he owns that large offers have been made him, I have written to *Ogilvie* to take care nothing of consequence be sent by him, at least till we have tried his fidelity by some sham packets. If he be still sound, I scarce think we can meet with another so fit, for, though he is blown upon, he has such prudence and resolution, that I am apt to believe goods would be safer in his hands than in another's less suspected, yet one thing I cannot help being stunned at, which is to find him desirous to be employed at this very conjuncture, whereas one would naturally think he ought to desire us not to employ him, till he sees how far the government is resolved to have an eye over him &c. Therefore I cautioned *Ogilvie* and Sir [R.] Edmond also, who told me a packet was to come to me by the said skipper, who being on this side, Sir [R.] Edmond has time to order it to be sent some other way. Your two letters for *Lady Mar* were safe delivered ; you must not be surprised she has not yet answered them, for she has had a most violent fever, but is now out of danger.

I have laid down a scheme for Pat. (*sic*) Smyth, showing how he may manage a reconciliation betwixt you and his brother, and, as the last is to make all the advances, I have made Peter write him a very pressing letter. Sandy Murrray of Stenhope is to be the bearer and is to undertake to second it all he can. I am so much tied up to all the ordinary regularities of this house that I am forced to end my letter. This, with my being confined not to go abroad except on play days, obliges me to reiterate the request I made you to obtain for me at least elbow room. 2½ *pages*.

F. Panton to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 29. Rome.—The handkerchiefs I told you I expected from Naples should have come by Lord Lempster, who must needs undertake that commission himself, which I had given to his servant, but he forgot it. I wrote immediately for some on seeing your commission in Lord Nithsdale's letter and I expect them every day. (Importuning his Grace for a warrant to Mr. Dugud, a Scotch jeweller, settled at Rome, to call himself the King's jeweller.)

Since you left this, there is no alteration amongst our countrymen here, only one or two Irish gentlemen are come, Whigs I believe. One is son to the late Bishop of Londonderry, Ash, the other is called Domville. There is also one Dalton, an Englishman, who stayed some time at Rheims, where he got particularly acquainted, he says, with the Earl Marischal. He pretends from that acquaintance to have learnt the characters of most of the Court of Urbino, which he talks very confidently of, but I am apt to believe from his vanity and emptiness they are rather from his own imagination than from his conversation with my lord, who

I think has more sense than to have been so free with him, especially Dalton being an inveterate Whig.

Most of our gentlemen think of staying here till September, only the D[uke] of Q[ueensberry] talks sometimes of going sooner, which we all oppose with all our might because of the danger, real or imaginary, of leaving Rome during the heats. He is really a fine gentleman and allows me, when we are alone, to speak freely enough and gives me more and more ground to think well of his principles, though he is still reserved, though not on your Grace's subject, of whom he always expresses himself with great warmth and affection. Lord Linton and he have been very much vexed of lately by an accident, which happened between their servants, an Italian servant of my lord's having killed with a stiletto a Scots servant of the Duke's, and then fled to a church, where he is. It has made no difference between the masters, Lord Linton having shown himself as forward in pursuing the murderer as the Duke himself.

All our news here come from one of the clerks of the Secretary's office to Mr. Stanhope. They are no more than the common chat of the town, to which the writer gives the most favourable turn he can for his own party and they prove so seldom true and are so often contradicted by subsequent ones that he begins to be shy of showing them. He and I, though very good friends, have frequent battles about his king and my king. As we have agreed to take nothing ill of either side, we commonly divide the company, and, if our party is not the most numerous, we flatter ourselves that is supplied another way. He had last week a long dissertation from his correspondent occasioned by his writing of the Queen's death and of that pretended coldness betwixt the King and her, by your advising him to lay aside the St. Germains' people. As to the coldness, I denied it positively, and as to the other I told him I took the writer to be a Jacobite, since he took so much pains to publish a thing that entirely defeated and cancelled that old cant that the King's restoration was to be feared because of his being surrounded by Papist counsellors and men of arbitrary power. The newswriter was very uppish two posts ago, believing the King of Spain to have been bullied into the agreement proposed by France and England between the Emperor and him, but this last post his hopes are very much sunk. He writes likewise that the Czar had given new assurances of not abandoning his old friends and that he would not make a separate peace, but, says he, we don't trust so much to that as not to look narrowly to him. I have been so long without hearing from England that I am afraid either my letters must have been lost or my friend out of town.

Cardinal Gualterio is arrived two days ago, but has been so busy that I have not yet seen him.

All our people here have been and are still in doubt, whether to put on mourning for the Queen or not, and seem to wait

till they see what is done in England. I have been censured for putting on deep mourning, but I tell them that, as there is no law to the contrary, and I have nothing to fear or hope from the government in England, I may at least be allowed so much English liberty as to wear a coat of any colour I please. Lord Linton has likewise put both himself and his servants into deep mourning. 5 *pages.*

M. Stiernhock to the Duke of Mar.

1718, June 29. Vienna.—A courier returned here some days ago from London with news of the sailing of the fleet for the Mediterranean. I am not informed whether he brought news of the signature of the treaty by the ministers of the Emperor, of France and of England at London, which has been expected here since the departure of Secretary Schaub, notwithstanding the delay of the final resolution of the States General. I learn for certain that the treaty is not yet signed and the Emperor requires some change in it, but people here continue to believe it will be concluded. I learn however that the Marquis d'Ussol, the minister of Savoy here, received instructions eight days ago to inform this Court that, while the King of Spain is on the eve of executing his great designs against the Emperor's dominions in Italy, the Duke cannot avoid making a final attempt to dispose his Imperial Majesty to accept his proposals, which are intended to anticipate the execution of that design by bringing about an accommodation between his Imperial Majesty and himself and by his intervention between him and the said King, and to form a close connexion between the Houses of Austria and Savoy, including therein the marriage of one of the archduchesses to the Prince of Piedmont, but that, if the Emperor persisted in rejecting those proposals, the Duke foresaw disastrous consequences for his Imperial Majesty.

An express arrived here four days ago bringing a letter from the Regent to the Emperor concerning the Quadruple Alliance. The minister of Savoy assures here that, when the last letters left Barcelona, the Spanish fleet was ready to sail for Italy with a very considerable number of troops and that the English fleet would come too late to hinder their passage and the disembarcation of the troops.

(News from Passarowitz, that the Imperial ambassadors had been ordered to abate their demands.)

I enclose a copy of a letter received yesterday from the Swedish Resident at the Hague. By the last news received by the Court of Mecklenburg from Petersburg Baron Görtz and Count Gyllenborg are arrived in Aland. They and the Czar's ministers in the first conference gave reciprocal assurances of their desire for peace and proceeded to go into the details. Baron Schapiroff was on the point of departure for Aland, and appearances were good for the success of that congress.

The Electoral Prince of Bavaria has arrived here and his brother, Prince Ferdinand, is expected, both to assist in the campaign against the Turks. It is said that the Imperial Court has dissuaded the Electoral Prince from the journey into France planned by his father and that there is no doubt of his intended marriage to one of the Josephine archduchesses.

A secretary of the Prince of Löwenstein, the governor of Milan, is arrived here to press for speedy reinforcements as absolutely necessary for the defence of that country.

I have just heard that, a great conference having been held here the 25th on the subject of the peace with the Turks, an express left the 26th with dispatches for Prince Eugene and the Imperial ambassadors at Passarowitz, containing, it is said, the Emperor's final decision that he gives up all claims except that of the cession of Wihatsch and Zwornick with the adjoining part of Bosnia, which borders on Croatia. If the Turks add without delay this cession to that of all which the Imperialists at present possess, peace is made at once, but, if they hesitate to make up their mind, there will be no delay in compelling them to do so by arms. After writing the above, a friend has communicated to me the enclosed extract from a letter from a good hand at Dresden.

Postscript.—I learn that an express which left Belgrade the 23rd has brought news that the grand army has left the camp at Semlin and is on the march, as is also that of General Merci. 9 *pages. French. Enclosed,*

The Swedish Resident at the Hague *to M.* Stiernhock.

(*About the negotiations and intrigues to induce the States General to join the Emperor, England and France in the alliance.*) 1718, *June* 17. 3 *pages. French.*

Letter from Dresden.

I learn that news is said to have been received here, favourable to the success of the conferences in Aland, and that the Czar has anew assured the Kings of Poland and Prussia that their ministers at his court may, if they please, accompany Messrs. Tolstoy and Schapiroff, when they cross to that island. There is a prevalent report that the Czar himself intends to be there when the business is drawing to a conclusion. The English Resident has complained by a memorial to the Czar of the protection he grants to the Pretender's partisans and of the offer to give him in marriage the youngest of the Duchesses of Mecklenburg and Courland. That Resident demands that the Pretender's partisans be delivered to the King, his master. We are assured that the marriage contract between the Prince of Weissenfels and the Duchess of Courland has been signed by the King of Poland, but

without knowing on what conditions or what measures will have been taken to obtain the principal object of that alliance, which is to put these future spouses in possession of Courland. 1718, *June* 24. *French.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

[1718, June 29.]—Here is a letter of Mr. Stiernhock and I enclose a paper which I trust will not be disagreeable to you. This Court is coming closer and closer to an accommodation with the Porte and peace is believed to be more than sure and that soon, on the conditions in the enclosed papers. All preparations are making here for sending 30,000 men into Italy but that cannot be done for two months, but commissaries are on the point of being sent there to form magazines, but the shortness of money delays everything here. This Court is much rejoiced at the news of the departure of the English fleet for the Mediterranean and at present they are all Georgians, at least externally, though not internally.

All the advices from Sweden and Muscovy give us the best hopes of a peace being at hand between the Czar and the King of Sweden, which gives great jealousy to several potentates. The Elector of Hanover has had the impudence to demand from the Czar the partisans of King James that are in his dominions, but I imagine he will soon have a reply quite contrary to his ideas. As to the Quadruple Alliance this Court is still hesitating and tries to gain time till the conclusion of peace with the Turks. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered. Enclosed,*

Draft of proposed conditions of peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain and of a treaty between the Emperor and the King of Sicily. French.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

[1718, June 29.]—Requesting him to deliver the enclosed packet to the Duke of Mar and to advise him at least once a month of the receipt of his letters.—I am curious to know if by other ways you have received an answer from Petersburg from Mr. Erskine to the letter I sent him some time ago. *French. This and the last letter are endorsed as received on* 12 *July, the date Stiernhock's was.*

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Thursday, June 19[–30].—Our prints have been extremely barren for some days, not worth sending. They dare not speak out and only give the colours that were given them for Stanhope's hasty departure for Paris.

As we never know a week together what to make of your Regent, and as we adored him ten or twelve days ago, we have cursed him to the bottomless pit since this day sennight, that we came to believe the Spanish design and the

King of Sicily's against Milan, and that they had bit the Emperor as to going to Naples. We concluded all this deep intrigue and the affair of Ragotsky &c. could not have been without your Regent's participation, especially after we heard he began to demur about signing the treaty.

A Whig ministry does not drone like a Tory one, and so Lord Stanhope was dispatched immediately with full instructions and no doubt he'll try your Regent's mettle. Some fancy he'll make an excuse to King Philip for our hasty zeal and our fleet, which we were forced to do to please the Emperor, and, if the Spanish expedition is so far advanced as is said, perhaps we shall go no further at present than Lisbon. The article about the expedition in the enclosed *Post Boy* was in the *Evening Post* of Tuesday. The author is the same and he says he has very good authority for what he has advanced. We cannot be long in doubt.

The *brouilleries* between your Regent and the Parliament are very odd and look like a gangrene. If your subordinate and second-rate parliaments should have more courage and Roman virtue than our supreme ones, it would be pretty surprising. To be sure the armed force will get the better at first, but where it may end it is to be too wise to foretell. 2 *pages*.

ACCOUNT.

1718, June 30.—Of petty charges for the Duke of Mar from May 13 to that day.

APPENDIX.

The following papers were discovered too late for insertion in their proper places in this and the preceding volumes of the Calendar.

LORD MIDDLETON.

[1709.]—"Motives to engage the most considerable nations to oppose the Succession of Hanover to the Monarchy of England." He argues that the restraints put on a Prince of Hanover become King of England by Act of Parliament would not be a sufficient provision to secure the laws and liberties of England. The new King will be of a religion entirely different from the Church of England. Being an absolute prince in his hereditary dominions, he will wish for the same power in England. The nobility and gentry who will come with him, having known liberty only by speculation, will disrelish the exercise of it. A King with foreign dominions must often have interests contrary to those of England. Should war break out between Hanover and any other state, how could a Prince of Hanover, being King of England, be neuter, and would it not be natural for him to sacrifice the interest of England to the support of his hereditary dominions? Might not a Prince of Hanover, when Great Britain has been added to his other great dominions, aspire to the Imperial Crown and, if successful, he would fix his residence abroad and leave England to be governed by a Viceroy? The English republicans would find that that family would have an independent force sufficient to become legally absolute master.

The only objection to the lawful King is his religion. (Arguments to prove the groundlessness of this objection.) Some pretend a Catholic King cannot govern according to his own reason and interest, being over-ruled by the Pope; but, when a Pope acts as a temporal prince, he has always been treated as such by the best Catholics. For instance, Charles V stormed Rome and kept the Pope prisoner, and the present Emperor has this very year (1709) compelled the Pope to depart from his obligations of neutrality as common father, and St. Louis made a pragmatic to maintain the privileges of the Gallican Church, for which reason his successors have never received the decrees of Trent relating to discipline, and let the four propositions made by the French clergy in 1682 be considered.

(Sketch of James' character. The English, if they knew him, would be charmed with his person, but more with his understanding. Perhaps these consequences have been foreseen by those who have raised their fortunes in the public ruin, and therefore they have made it treason to approach him.)

(Praise of James II, though admitting that his orders were ill-advised and worse executed and carried further than he designed by the folly and ignorance of some and the treachery of others; but it were a barbarous injustice to impute to this King what passed before he was born.)

(Review of the different European powers, the States General, the States of the Empire, the Emperor, the King of Sweden, and the King of Denmark, to show that it is the interest of each that a Prince of Hanover should not succeed to England. The regard the King of Denmark might have had for the present Government of England ought now to cease by the death (Oct., 1708) of his uncle, Prince George.)

Reasons why the Princess Anne should favour her brother's restoration on grounds of conscience, honour and prudence. 26 *pages. Endorsed by James III*, "Ld. Mid. paper on the Succession of Hanover."

James III to the Attorney-General.

1716, April.—Warrant for creating Francis Cottington a Baron, calendared in *Vol. II, p.* 133. *Draft.*

Two Papers.

[1716, May 14.]—Giving the signals agreed on between Clanranald and Sheridan, in case any other ships went. *Endorsed by W. Dicconson and enclosed in his letter of that date calendared in Vol. II, p.* 150.

William Gordon to John Paterson.

[1716, Nov.]—Requesting him to pay Major John Cockburne 100 *livres.* With receipt for the same on the back dated 1716, Nov. 11.

A Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England.

[1716 ?]—The writer desires to be resolved in the following queries:—

1. Whether according to the Gospel and the doctrine of the Church of England the Revolution in '88 was lawful?

2. If it was, whether the lawfulness of it was not founded on King James' endeavouring to destroy the Constitution in Church and State?

3. If so, whether his arbitrary proceedings secluded his son from his right to the Crown, and consequently,

4. Whether the Oath of Abjuration in the true and plain meaning of the words is such an oath as an honest man may willingly and heartily bend his conscience by?

5. Whether (supposing all the preceding queries resolved in the affirmative) the attempting to subvert the Constitution in Church and State by any of the House of Hanover in

possession of the throne is not good ground for a new revolution ?

6. Whether they are not both in danger at present ?

With long arguments against answering the first four queries in the affirmative and the two last in the negative, and alluding to the execution of Paul, a clergyman, which took place on 13 July, 1716. 25 *pages*.

Memorial.

[1717, March 12.]—"Of Mr. Wesselowsky, secretary of embassy to his Czarian Majesty at the Court of Great Britain, in answer to the calumnious imputations made to his said Majesty by the ministers of Swedland in the letters now newly published." An abstract of this paper is given in Tindal, *History of England, Vol. II, p.* 579, and the substance of the part relating to Dr. Erskine in *Miscellanies of the Scottish History Society, Vol. II, p.* 422. 12 *pages. Copy.*

William Leslie, Bishop of Waitzen, to James III.

1717, April 12. Waitzen.—I delayed to answer your most gracious lines, till I should have certain advice of your sojourn. Now, seeing your safe arrival in the Ecclesiastical State, I presume to inform you of what passed at Vienna betwixt the deliverer of your missive, who called himself Ibrion (*i.e.* Walkinshaw of Barrowfield), and me. I arrived at Vienna the end of January sick, so was obliged to stay some days in the suburbs with the fathers of the charity, till I should recover.

I was scarce warmed in the Hospital, having travelled many miles, though sick, the same day, when the said gentleman comes with a countryman priest, pedagogue to a Referendary's son, and would presently be entering my room when I was going to rest. I excused myself that I could not receive any stranger there; I was to enter the town in two days, and then would be ready to receive any man, on which Mr. Ibrion wrote next day, which I answered in general terms, holding it to be prudence not to touch particulars, suspecting, as was true and Mr. Ibrion himself confessed, that he had revealed his project to the said countryman, who had disgusted me not only before in declaring openly both at Vienna and Gratz more for the French interest than his, whose bread he did eat, and, though his zeal for your cause, perhaps, might have prompted him, yet the Germans, not reflecting on this, held him properly of the French genie, rejoicing on their victories, which if he had not prudence to conceal, much less had he to manage such a project. What I wrote Mr. Ibrion resented as cold, and wrote another billet. I remained in my first purpose; when I should go into the town, he was master, on which he visited me and drew a billet out of his pocket, in which he had marked what

Prince Eugene answered him in the Emperor's name; that it might do more harm than good and that your Majesty would do well to go to Italy. When I heard this, I very much apprehended the danger of embarking in this project, being a sworn Counsellor to the Emperor, who did not hold it his interest to grant what Mr. Ibrion supplicated for, because I saw manifestly I would thereby lose the credit I have endeavoured to purchase at our Court and not be able, now or hereafter, to serve my native Sovereign. I saw clearly also that I could not appear jointly with Mr. Ibrion, without being discovered to enemies, seeing he had already entrusted the project to such persons, who, though by malice they would not, yet by imprudence they might betray us. Notwithstanding, I asked Mr. Ibrion if he permitted me to consult with two, my most confident patrons and ministers, one laic, the other ecclesiastic, which I did, and both assured me I would effect nothing and harm myself and my credit, for the Emperor, notwithstanding disgusts, would now make no open break or rupture. This I communicated to Mr. Ibrion, whose fervour and zeal transported him to treat me otherwise than I thought my character required. When I asked him what he would have me do, if he would have me resign my bishopric, because to remain and be contrary to the Emperor's inclination, without serving or gaining the intent, would be to break my head against the wall, he replied that many had quitted not only their goods but their lives and liberties. I rejoined, I knew certainly this was not your will and pleasure; I would not omit occasion privately and underhand to serve you with more profit, holding it absolutely not for your service to appear in seconding this gentleman, who, 'tis true, said once he required only underhand, and yet exacted such open steps, which could not be kept secret, yea, he himself revealed to such persons his designs. This is the genuine relation. I not only forgive Mr. Ibrion, but construct that this has proceeded from his forementioned zeal. He confessed his error in making use of a person for his first address, who, he had heard, had disgusted me, and the same person told me he wondered how he could pursue his design handsomely, seeing he knew no language well but Scots, spoke bad French and Italian. This same person, called Justice, has been active where he could, and had always a good intention for your cause, and I appeal to him, if I have not been always so disposed, but with more caution.

Some at Court, under both the Emperors Leopold and Joseph called me to my face a French spy. It would have been no policy or prudence in me to speak openly in their favour and rejoice in their victories. Your father, when I had the greatest honour that ever befell me to kiss his hands, and those of the Queen, your Majesty as Prince of Wales at that time in the year 1700, and the Princess, told me expressly what disgusts he had met with. I had secret commissions from

the Emperor Leopold's confessor to F[ather] Sanders about this matter. These words were in the letter to me of Menegatti, the Emperor's confessor. When an alliance was solicited, which would redound to the benefit of the Catholic religion, which I had proposed to his Reverence, he answered, after having spoken to Leopold: *Remedium foret, dummodo illi, quorum interest, socios admitterent.* I am your Majesty's faithful born subject, but to approve all the French actions and their treaties of peace no ways favourable to you and now the last fatal stroke I never did, nor shall do it, unless I see other proofs and discoveries. I have suffered now above 20 years persecutions for the just cause, as all countrymen who have been at Vienna, can testify, especially Father John Innes, Jesuit, now at Douay. I was excluded from being auditor of the Rota and postponed in many other competencies for bishoprics. All the nuncios can bear witness and the present Nuncio, with whom I conferred several times, while Mr. Ibrion was at Vienna, whom I found most forward and zealous, and it were not amiss your Majesty procured an order from the Pope to an agent, when the conjuncture shall be more favourable. I writ the very same to Cardinal Davia, and shall in May return on this account to stay, if possible, some weeks. We are of the mind that the issue of this campaign should be expected, and no doubt the bad consequences of this new alliance will more and more increase.

I crave pardon, if I have offended you in the person of Mr. Ibrion, who no doubt, seeing he seemed to threaten it, denigrated me beside you, and secondly for the language I writ to Cardinal Davia. If the Italian be more grateful, I'll rather write in that than my mother tongue. I write French and speak it better, but for want of exercise I do not presume to write to my Sovereign. I remit myself for the rest to Cardinal Davia. 6 *pages.*

Paper.

1717, April.—Sent by J. Menzies, calendared in *Vol. IV, p.* 220, *with note by Queen Mary:* "This paper is given me by Mr. Evans, a very loyal man, who is trusted by *the Bishop of Rochester*, and brings this from him. I believe *Mar* has seen him." *Copy.*

James III to the Duke of Modena.

1717, June 12. Memorial.—The difficulties the Duke of Modena has to come to a resolution on his Britannic Majesty's proposal of marriage can only roll on three heads, viz., 1, Les Convenances, 2, Interest, 3, The regard he is obliged to pay to the Emperor.

No one but the Duke himself can answer about the first. He knows better than anyone what may suit him and the different views he may have for the establishment of the

Princess, and it is for him and her to decide a point which touches her so closely and where her happiness is so greatly engaged.

As concerns interest, though among princes it is not regarded so closely as among private persons, as the King's case is singular, everything that may concern this head should be plainly set forth without any concealment. No one knows better than his Highness the King's present state, and that, having no fund on which he can count at present, he cannot give what he has not got nor make anything but promises to be fulfilled on his restoration. His Highness may regard that restoration as far distant. (Reasons why this is not the case.) Besides the unanimous eagerness of the King's friends for his marriage and the solid reasons for it make him regard his marriage as a considerable step in that direction, for it is well known nothing will so animate his friends and discourage his enemies. It is certain further that nothing will more serve to diminish the excessive fear foreign powers have of the English Government and to make them show outwardly the good will which the King knows positively most of them cherish for him in their heart, since the difference then will not be between an established Government and the life of a single person, but between an established succession and a tottering government.

As regards the portion and jointure it is for his Highness to explain himself. The claims of the Queen of England may serve much to facilitate the first and the precedents of the jointures of previous Queens to settle the last in the future. As for the present, the Duke knows what will be proper for his daughter, and it may be added there are solid, not to say certain, reasons for believing that, the King once married, his friends in England will let him want for nothing, above all, when it is considered that it is not a question here of great display or expense, but of what his Highness shall judge suitable for his daughter under present circumstances.

The example of the Duke of Parma will serve to answer the third difficulty. Brother-in-law of the Empress Mother as his Highness is of the Empress Emilia, their regards for the Imperial Court, it seems, ought to be equal. The nearness of their States also makes their dependence on or independence of foreign Courts similar. However, what has happened to the Duke of Parma for having given his daughter to the Catholic King, who is actually in possession of what the Emperor believes to belong to him, and is even at open war against him? The difference between that case and the one in question is very plain, and can one without wronging the piety and justice of the Emperor suspect he will act otherwise to the Duke of Modena than he has towards the Duke of Parma? since he is far from having the same grounds to complain of the first as he has of the second. One can scarcely flatter oneself that the Emperor's positive consent

will be obtained. The matter has been opened to him, and his silence ought, it seems, to serve for a tacit consent, though he may have reasons for not giving a positive consent. He does not appear to have any reason to prevent him from giving a negative answer, if so inclined.

As for the other princes, one does not know of any whom the Duke of Modena can believe himself obliged to regard, who does not personally wish well to the King and would not indeed be delighted to see him married for their own interests.

The Pope's inclinations cannot be doubtful, after what he has already communicated to his Highness, and it may even be added that there is good reason to believe that the conclusion of the marriage in question would contribute not a little to terminate the differences there have been between him and his Highness and to procure for him from the Holy See pleasures which could be obtained with difficulty otherwise. 3½ *pages. Draft. French. Enclosed in the letter to the Duke of* 12 *June*, 1717, *calendared in Vol. IV, p.* 343.

[The Duke of Modena] to [James III].

[1717, May or June.]—It will be the General of the Jesuits who will present the letter, I having believed it better so and more secure, when Santagata is not there. The General knows nothing and has no further duty but to present the letter in Santagata's absence. *In the Duke's hand. Italian.*

Sir John O'Brien.

[1717, Sept. or Oct.]—Reflections to show that Auditor Michelli is entirely in Lord Peterborough's interest and also on some of the arguments by which Lord Peterborough endeavours to clear himself. 2 *pages. French. Two copies.*

James III to Cardinal Gualterio.

[1717, Oct. ? 8.]—I have always regarded Mr. Sheldon's journey as a simple courtesy with regard to Lord Peterborough and otherwise very useless as to any light that might be got from it, so in his absence I avail myself of a little leisure to write to you of this affair, though I shall not send you this till his return.

It appears by everything you tell me that his return is impatiently expected, and that after it they do not wish to delay the release. I am more mortified than surprised at it, and I fear that new efforts will be useless. However, it is becoming to make them, and for this purpose I have written a little memorial, which I beg you to read to his Holiness, when delivering him my letter, enlarging on that subject as far as respect will allow you. It is true that, if his Holiness judges it improper to give him up to my requests, that I should be much mortified, but, as there will then be no remedy, I must behave with prudence, and not make matters worse by

showing vexation, unsuitable for so many reasons. If then our latest efforts have no effect, it will necessary to keep ourselves within the bounds of a respectful silence, but so as, without consenting to his release, to leave to the Pope the care of giving his orders, only arranging to be informed of the time of it, to the end that the letter, which Sheldon is to write in that case, of which you have a copy here, may be delivered before the release. You know that letter is written for the English and to make a virtue of necessity. After many reflections this is the course I have judged the most proper to take. It was what seemed to me the least bad, and I hope his Holiness will not be shocked, if I refuse to give a consent I should believe dishonourable, and which he does not need, though his kindness for me makes him desire it. I can say with truth that I do not act in this matter either from vexation or obstinacy. I neither have done nor shall do anything but what I believe to be proper and necessary, and, if after this his Holiness is not of my opinion, he is master, and my submission to and veneration for him will not be lessened notwithstanding the annoyance I shall receive from it. No one can be more sensible than I am of all his acts of kindness in general and I beg you to convince him of this, but always insisting strongly, when delivering my letter, on the delay of my lord's release, since it is only, I fear, the answers from England that can clear up this matter and justify a resolution with regard to him. 2½ *pages. French. Holograph.*

James III to Cardinal Gualterio.

[1717, Oct. ? 8.]—I write you this separately, that, if you judge it proper, you may be able to show my letter in confidence, in case we lose our suit, and, I believe, it would not have a bad effect. I am surprised at the refusal of the "billets d'impunité," and I should be even piqued at one of the reasons given for that refusal, were I ignorant of the "sisteme de bravoure" of the country where we are. "Quoiqu' il en soit la grande affaire" and that of my lord if he is released, the rest would be no great matter, and, if we keep him still, we may content ourselves with that. In the first case I shall publish a document about him, wherein I shall easily justify myself to the public and wherein "je menagerois," as far as I can, the authors of his liberty. I beg your advice as to the form of it; I should believe a letter of a private person, as after the affair of Scotland, would be sufficient. *French. Holgoraph.*

James III to Pope Clement XI.

[1717, Oct. ? 8.]—Memorial. One cannot be surprised that the public, who are ignorant of the substantial reasons for Lord Peterborough's arrest, have been a little shocked at it,

and one ought to be less astonished at it, when one reflects on the little acquaintance they have with the affairs or laws of England. It is therefore only necessary to cure that ignorance to convince every one of the justice and rightness of that proceeding.

With regard to the first, his Holiness having been already informed of every thing on that subject, it will not be repeated here. He is only entreated to reflect thereon and not to let himself be so preoccupied as not to attend to the singular nature of the business, to which general rules cannot apply, though nothing has been or shall be asked of his Holiness except what cannot be refused by the laws of England to the meanest private person in a similar case.

As to the second head, it appears that, after the protection his Holiness has granted to the King and the manner he has received him in his States, nothing ought to be apprehended from what is the natural consequence of it. It is the first and great step that might have irritated England, though without reason, since she herself was the cause of the refusal of every asylum, but it is inconceivable that it is possible to apprehend anything in the present case. Is it conceivable that England should wish to attack the Pope, not for having arrested her minister, not for having in the least outraged him, not on account of the asylum his Holiness has granted the King, but for having arrested for good reasons a private person, who was always feared and never loved in England, where his character is too well known, and where he is esteemed by nobody? Certainly it may be called an imaginary alarm for any one who knows the above facts.

As for other powers, one would do them great wrong by imagining they would be willing to intervene in such an odious matter and one with which they have nothing to do. Is it not much more probable that they will oppose England than join her in favour of my lord?

It has been shown already that the laws and practice of every country authorize the steps that have been taken, and it may be now added that they authorize a longer detention of the prisoner, since it is unheard of that a person should be released before there is some reason to believe him innocent and here all the suspicions of crime continue without the least proof of his innocence. It might be said the want of proof is sufficient. In the present case the proofs are difficult. An answer from England, to which the King has written, is necessary. A reasonable time is necessary in order to judge of the truth, and, if no more can be discovered, a release will be honourable for my lord and will show the equity of the Pope and the clemency of the King. On the contrary, a hasty release will have every bad effect possible; the King would be obliged to declare that he found no proof of innocence, and would not be able to conceal from his friends in England the truth and that my lord had been released against his

will, though it has been necessary for him to keep up appearances, as far as he could, but, whatever precautions may be taken, the public will not be long ignorant of the truth about the release, and it is feared not without reason that this step will be exaggerated and blamed by those who have no ties of respect and interest to restrain them.

The mischief has been done already; a little time more or less will not make matters worse, but will clear up the truth, and it would be somewhat disagreeable if proofs of the crime were received after the criminal's release. Pressing solicitations in his favour are not to be apprehended, since an honourable release will follow them, provided he is innocent.

It has been believed that what has been presented on this subject should be laid before his Holiness to help him to a determination. The King has chiefly had in view the honour and the interest of his Holiness, since he will always have it in his power to justify his own conduct to the public, in whatever manner his Holiness shall determine this matter. 8 *pages. French. Draft. Holograph.*

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

[1717, Oct. ? 12.]—I have waited till Mr. Sheldon's return to thank you for your letter of the 18th of last month, and, since you have designed to style yourself my counsellor, I venture to declare my sentiments by the same channel you have employed to communicate yours, and I venture to assure you they do not and shall not affect my gratitude and veneration for you. *Endorsed as not sent. French. Copy.*

WILLIAM DICCONSON.

1717.—Memorandum.—Lady Trant had at first 100 *livres* a month for herself and five children, but it was reduced on several universal retrenchments and on the death of one of her children, and about three years ago, it appearing that she had 800 *livres* a year from the French Court, it was reduced monthly to 50 *livres*, whence, he supposes, Mistress Trant alleges she or her mother has been cut off 600 *livres* a year.—Reasons for the reduction. 1. On account of the universal reduction; 2, the death of her children; 3, the pension from France.

By this it appears his Majesty was imposed on when he was told Mistress Trant was hardly used, so that, if he thinks fit to give her 600 *livres* a year, it is a pure gift, which, how it may suit with his present circumstances, when such numbers are sent back to England and Scotland, who have suffered so signally and been refused a subsistence, he alone can determine.

WARRANT.

[1718, Feb.]—For admitting John Hay to be one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber. *Sign Manual. Countersigned* "Mar." (*Calendared in Vol. V, p.* 526.)

Memoir.

[1718, March.]—Concerning the differences betwixt the Elector of Hanover and his son and the effects it has had and is likely to have with the several parties and people of England. The King's friends in England submit to his consideration, what they believe to be a true and impartial account of the situation of the Hanover family there. (Describing how many of those who had been instruments in procuring the establishment of the succession in the Hanoverian family, disgusted with the conduct of the Elector and his German ministers, turned to the Prince, who directed his servants in both Houses to oppose the Crown, the resolution thereupon of the Elector's English ministers to get the better of the Prince by using him as they afterwards did, "as to which the story of the quarrel with the Duke of Newcastle was a thing artfully thrown in his way, which he was fool enough to bite at, in order to give a handle for what followed, and not the cause of it," the Prince's pusillanimity after he was banished St. James', but that, as soon as some of the discontented Whigs got access to him, they inspired him with new courage and he began to declare he would act in parliament against the Army and even speak against the Bill establishing it.) It was publicly talked that the ministry intended by an Act of Parliament to take from him the 100,000*l.* *per annum* settled on him, and great application was made to the Tories by both sides, who, considering it a barefaced attack on property and that they thought it expedient to support the weaker side, declared their resolution of supporting the Prince so far, on which the Ministry dropped their design. (Then follows a description of the Prince absenting himself from the Mutiny Bill, for which see *ante*, *pp.* 83, 85, 86, 106.) Such of the discontented Whigs as had before declared so warmly against the Prince have never since gone near him, and, having been formerly excluded the father's Court, stand in effect on the same bottom with the Tories, but those who were silent at the beginning, though without doubt the Prince's behaviour made as strong an impression on them, still sometimes go to his Court to protect themselves from being thought Jacobites, though they desire as much the deliverance of their country, which all now see can only be brought about by a restoration. The first declare, if the King were to make an attempt to-morrow, they would not oppose him, the latter do not make such declarations, but in all appearance would in that event go greater lengths to procure the deliverance of their injured country and to reconcile themselves to their injured Sovereign.

The present ministers, having put themselves on a foot of a personal enmity with the Prince, and having been the occasion of his receiving such ill-treatment, have nothing to expect in the event of his accession but ruin. It is certain they would have attempted to set him aside in favour of his son, had they not been deterred by their fears that the King's

cause would get great strength by the use the Tories would make of this and the sense the most obstinate of the Whigs must have on their undertaking such a measure. The people, who support the present Government in England, are so far from being a certain support to the Hanover family in all words, that they are full as much afraid of the Prince of Hanover as of the King.

It is plain that the Tories and the body of the people long passionately for the King's return, and that the most considerable of the party, which settled the succession in the House of Hanover with a view of preserving their constitution and liberties, are now sensible that both are overturned by one whom they made a King in order to protect them, and that only his Majesty can deliver them and their country.

Slaves we must remain, notwithstanding the good dispositions above-mentioned, while the army in England subsists, unless his Majesty can obtain from some foreign prince a moderate regular force, under whose protection the people of England may be able to get together. We know that the English soldiers have the same sentiments, and would therefore come over, though they never will come but to a regular force. We see a moral certainty of success, if his Majesty were to make an attempt so concerted, and therefore are amazed when told that the Regent, the King of Spain, or indeed any potentate, is afraid of a Government, which must inevitably fall, as soon as they shall find their account in withdrawing their protection from it. This is still plainer from what has been represented to his Majesty with regard to the state of the trade, the coin and the public credit of England. Though we are sensible that princes are generally governed by what they take to be their own interests, and that they may be but imperfectly informed of the true state of our country, yet some things are so self evident that we think they ought to make the same impression on people of the same degree of understanding everywhere.

This is the opinion not only of those attached from the beginning to his Majesty's cause, but of the discontented Whigs, and therefore the conduct of the several princes of Europe with regard to the Hanover family under the above circumstances is what no man of understanding of any party in this country can pretend to account for. (Written after the Mutiny Bill was carried, which was after 3 March, see *Vol. V, pp.* 525, 526, and *ante, p.* 86.) 12½ *pages. English, with French translation.*

Paper by Father Brown.

1718, [March].—It is an axiom of Theologians that there is a difference between holding an opinion and stating an opinion. The former is to assent to a proposition, the latter is only to narrate historically what has been said or done by others, provided the speaker does not assent to it. He therefore, who only puts forward an erroneous opinion, should

not to be judged guilty of error, provided he does not affirm or deny it, but relates accurately the opinion of others. Therefore he who writes thus (quoting the passage from the King's letter to Dr. Leslie calendared in *Vol. v., p.* 244, from "by the best information" to "undoubted right of the Church"); does not hold the above opinion but only states it, and ought not to be suspected of not being a true Catholic, otherwise infinite absurdities would follow, *e.g.* were one to say that the heretics deny purgatory, transubstantiation &c., he might be charged with holding such heresies himself. *Latin.*

ANOTHER PAPER BY FATHER BROWN.

1718, [March].—Developing the above propositions at much greater length. *Latin.* (For both these papers see *ante, pp.* 133, 185.)

JAMES III.

[1718, March ?]—Memorandum. William (? Inese). What he and his brother said to Mr. Leslie when at Paris three years ago.

His pressing me to open to David [? Duke of Lorraine] and speak freely to him.

His great jealousy of my being away from him.

His bed in the garderobe.

His being left with me a convincing proof of the Cabal.

His little ways on several occasions.

His pliable zeal only turned against those that are not his creatures or of his faction while he courts Floyd and old Samuel, though one is a declared atheist and Whig and t'other offered Patrick (? the King) his good offices.

Jeremy (?) (? France). What he required of me and I won't consent to. *Holograph.*

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